

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS

Fifth Series.

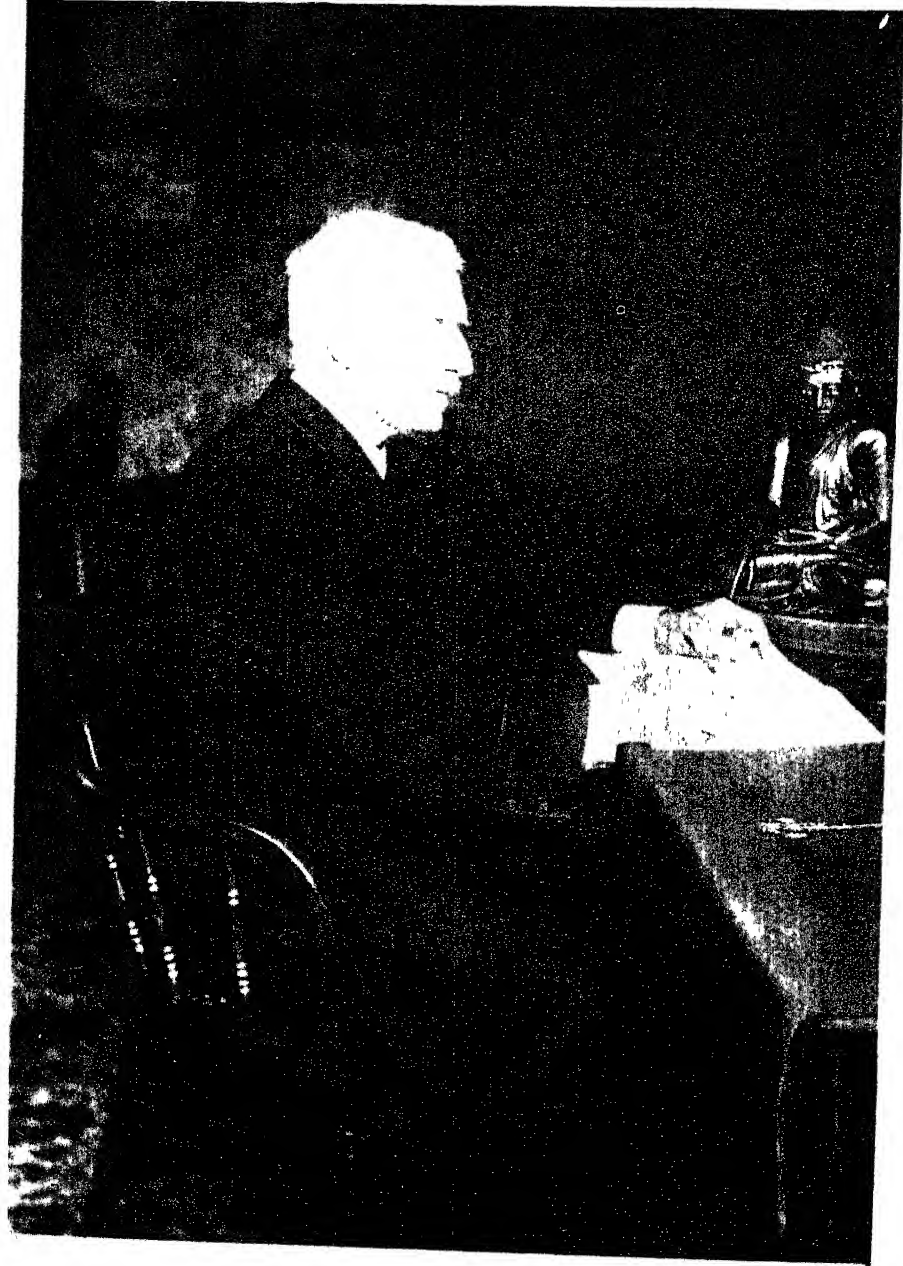
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SIC SEDEBAT

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1840 TO 1897.

Fifth Series.

VOL. I.

BY
ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AND OF THE BOARD
OF MISSIONS OF THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY,
LATE MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

*ὅμοιός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ οἰκοδεσπότῃ, ὅστις ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ
αὐτοῦ καινὰ καὶ παλαιά — MATTHEW, xiii, 52.*

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1898.

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HERTFORD
PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS
(WHO PRINTED FOR ME AS FAR BACK AS 1840)

Dedication.

TO THE MEMORY
OF
THE GREAT ARMY OF MY CONTEMPORARIES, AND FELLOW-LABOURERS,
WHO, DURING MY LONG LIFE OF UNCEASING LABOUR,
IN EUROPE AND ASIA,
HAVE DROPPED BY THE WAY IN THE COURSE OF THE LAST
SIXTY YEARS,
WITH MANY OF WHOM I TOOK SWEET COUNSEL IN MY YOUTH, MY MANHOOD,
AND DECLINING YEARS,
AND SOME OF WHOSE WORDS STILL RING IN MY EARS,
AND
MAKE ME WONDER, WHY THEY WERE CUT OFF YEARS AND YEARS AGO,
AND I HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO LIVE ON THIS DAY
TO SEVENTY-SEVEN.

London.

February 24, 1898.

PREFACE.

"ECCE ITERUM CRISPINUS!" I really ought not to have done it, yet I have the audacity at the age of seventy-seven to publish two more volumes. It so happened that I took stock last year of my published books, contributions to periodicals, and printed matter of every kind, and I found that up to the end of 1897 their number exceeded twelve hundred, the earliest dating as far back as 1840, and the number of periodicals contributed to exceeding seventy. I have been tempted to bring some of these scattered effusions together, and reprint them as a Fifth Series. The composition of some of them cost me days, if not years, of labour, and they may be of use to students and scholars of the next generation to criticize honestly, condemn stupidly, or make use of.

In my partial justification I quote two passages :

(1) "Much of modern journalism is too good to be willingly let die at the end of the natural term of life for a periodical. It is no misplaced vanity, which makes many a writer feel this, and yet the experiment of reprinting in a volume is dangerous, and is very likely to end in disappointment. For a book of reprinted articles to have any chance in the crowd and hurry of modern life it must have some very special character; the author must have a touch unlike other people's, or the information which he has to give must be something, that cannot easily be found elsewhere."

(2) In a Review of the Essays of the late Mr. Románes occurs the following passages :

"An author himself is generally a severe critic of his occasional work. Mr. Románes' mind was essentially a progressive one; he was singularly candid in acknowledging the almost organic changes, which the tone and cast of his thought underwent in the course of a life devoted with rare fidelity to high scientific aims and to the disinterested pursuit of truth. The occasional writings

“ of such a man stand in peculiar need of his own revision, when,
 “ after the lapse of some years, they are again given to the world.
 “ Even if he had seen no occasion to modify the structure of his
 “ thought, he would probably have thought it expedient to amend
 “ and improve its expression in many respects.”

Without venturing to place myself, or my works, on the same platform with this illustrious Author, I have profited by the advice given in the Review.

Some of the manuscript writings in prose and verse, which have come out of my chests, date back to 1837 and even earlier, so my pen has been going during the sixty years of Her Majesty's reign, and promises to go on still, till

“ Sull' estrema página
 Cadra la stanca man,”

and a friendly note on the last half-written page records, that “ He fell asleep here.” But consider during that sixty years how Knowledge has advanced all over the world within the intellectual sphere, to which my thoughts and studies have been restricted :

- (1) Of the Relation of the Soul to the Creator, commonly called “ Religion.”
- (2) Of the congenital gift of uttering Articulate Sounds, commonly called “ Language.”
- (3) Of the power of communicating with future generations, commonly called “ Written Characters.”
- (4) Of the facility of obtaining more correct texts, truer copies, and more intelligent interpretation of the writings of past generations, commonly called “ Lower and Higher Criticism.”
- (5) Of a just appreciation of the works, literary and material, of past generations, commonly called “ Archaeology.” Architecture, Numismatics, Pottery, speak as clearly and decidedly as to their particular date as the Written Character of a Text, and the facts unconsciously betrayed to the Higher Critic in the Narrative.

In the early years of the Victorian Reign the statements of the Old Testament were accepted deliberately, though totally opposed to the most common Scientific Truths: the assertions, that the Sun rose and could be stopped by Joshua to suit the purposes of the petty Hebrew tribes on the path of the marauder, and that the Earth was immovable, were swallowed whole.

It was believed that the great Creator had *fully* and *finally* revealed Himself to the whole of mankind by His communication to the petty tribes of the Hebrews in a very low stage of Human Culture, before the Human Race had attained its spiritual and intellectual adolescence.

Science, 'H ἀγία Σοφία, was supposed to be hostile to true Religion, instead of its great upholder and champion, and it was assumed, that the great Controller of the World had revealed Himself solely in the pages of a Volume, in one of the two thousand Languages of the World, and not in the great and wonderful Panorama of the Universe, as well as in His dealings with the Human Race from their birth to their death in every stage of Culture, under every conceivable circumstance, and in every possible environment. The eyes of the thoughtful are now opened, and the mind can comprehend the infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and longsuffering Patience, of their Great Father, who has made Himself known by sending His Son for a season, and the enduring immanence of the Holy Spirit in each one of God's poor creatures.

Great as has been the actual progress of *Material* Knowledge of things secular, the progress of a just appreciation of things *Spiritual* and *Intellectual* has been greater. The seat of authority is no longer in Bibliolatry, or worship of the Interpretations of the Bible, as handed down by imperfectly informed mediæval writers. Progress in Religious Thought is constructive, and not destructive: there is no hostility to the Sacred Books, but the objection is to the conventional and unwarrantable interpretations of those Books. The relation of the Human Soul to God is of far too vital importance to be left as a matter of convention, or tradition, on the authority of some eminent but narrow-minded person, and not on personal study, reflection, and spiritual enlightenment, of each generation of Human Beings.

It is a dangerous thing to write a book in a great many volumes on one subject: in this busy age very few have time and taste to read through honestly either Milton's "Paradise Lost," or Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." This cannot apply to the multifarious contents of these and my previously published volumes. "Pictures of Indian Life," "Defence of the Government of India in the policy of the Opium Traffic and Liquor Laws," "Justification of the Custom of Caste in India," "Instructions for Conduct of Work in an Indian Cutcherry," "Description of the Languages of Africa," "The Religions of India," "Denunciation of the Cruelty of Chartered Companies and Geographical Explorers towards the People of Africa," are blended with Essays on "Metempsychosis, or The Transmigration of Souls from one Human Body to another," of "The Religious Conceptions of Mankind," "Higher Criticism of the Sacred Books of the World," and "The Methods for conducting the Evangelization of the World."

Whatever pleasure or instruction they may give, or fail to give, to future generations, they were neither written for fame, nor for profit, nor for professional advantages; and no criticism, however severe and well-deserved, can diminish the continuous pleasure, which they have given for sixty years to the writer, whose joy has been beyond description. Forty copies of all my works have been presented to the Libraries of Great Britain, and the same number to the Libraries of the United States. Ten copies have been sent to Continental Libraries, and ten to Libraries in my own dear country of British India.

SERVUS SERVORUM.

LONDON.

February 24, 1898.

(Aet. 77.)

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I.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE PHENICIAN AND
INDIAN ALPHABETS.

IN the *Calcutta Review* of 1877, I published an Essay on the Phenician Alphabet, which was reprinted in Series I of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," 1880. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1884, I published an Essay on the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, which was reprinted in Series II of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," 1887. As further light has been thrown upon the subject in the years, which have elapsed since 1877 and 1884, I return to this difficult, but interesting, subject, treating each branch of it separately.

•
PART I. THE PHENICIAN ALPHABET.

This is admitted to be the elder sister, if not the Mother, of all the Alphabetic systems in the world. I followed my lamented friend, François Lenormant, of Paris, in accepting the theory of De Rouge, of Paris, that this Alphabet was derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Ideograms. The theory seemed plausible; at least, it was something to take the place of nothing: some old Scholars shook their heads, and doubted.

In the thirty-first volume of the German Oriental Society, p. 102, Professor Deecke, of the Strasburg University, asserted a derivation of the Phenician Alphabet from the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabary. It was quite possible from the chronological and geographical point of view, but I have never seen the theory worked out on Palaeographical evidence; but I understand, that this is part of the theory of an illustrious German Palaeographer (Hommel), who is about to publish on the subject. I await his statement with profound respect, as I have ever an open mind to receive new suggestions on this many-sided subject.

The origin of the Phenician Alphabet has been invested of late years with a new interest, owing to the united result of the speculations of the Higher Critics of the Old Testament, and the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Excavations. This is not the place

for Theological discussions, and my argument is purely scientific. The question is :

- (1) Did Moses commit the Law (say the Ten Commandments) to writing?
- (2) If so, what form of Written Character did he use?

It is scarcely necessary to say, that no Phenician Manuscript exists earlier than the ninth century A.D. : that the square Character of the Hebrew only came into existence in the century preceding Anno Domini : that the early Phenician Alphabetic Character is represented by Inscriptions on Stone, of which the Moabite Stone, called Mesa or Dibon, is the oldest, in the ninth century B.C. ; but it is a safe induction, that the use of this Character is at least a century older, as the form of the letters, and the execution, indicate a considerable period of experience and familiar use.

The date of the Exodus used according to Archbishop Usher to be 1494 B.C. ; but our Vice-President, Professor Sayce, announces to us, at page 242 of his "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," that the date of the death of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, is fixed by Dr. Mahler on Astronomical grounds at 1281 B.C. ; consequently the Exodus, in the time of his successor, Menephthah, must have been still later, and it must have been well into the twelfth century B.C., when the Hebrews reached Palestine. Only three centuries intervene betwixt the Moabite Stone and the latest possible period, at which Moses could have committed his Law to writing, not only on stone, as is the case of the two Tables, but on papyrus, skins, or other material, as regards the rest of the writings attributed to him.

Dr. Mahler, however, seems to have changed his mind, for in a German pamphlet published at Vienna, 1896, which I have procured, he shows, that the Exodus took place B.C. 1335 in the thirteenth year of Rameses II. It is not necessary to assert, that Moses wrote with his own hand : all writing in the East is conducted through the agency of scribes, as it is in the offices of every servant of the Government of British India to this day, and clearly was the practice of Paul the Apostle, as at the close of one Epistle he draws attention to the fact, that he had written one passage with his own hand. Another large door is here opened : it is possible, that in grave matters word-by-word dictation may have been made use of, as to a Private Secretary, or to a type-writer ; but all, who know the practice of India, can testify, that the presiding officer gives his orders in the roughest ungrammatical way, and the scribe renders this on paper in smooth, grammatical, and official, form, in whatever Language, or form of script, is required for the recipient.

But what form of Written Character did Moses use? It has always been up to this time presumed, that he used a form of the so-called Phenician Alphabet; at least, no allusion is made in the Old Testament to a change of script, therefore, if we get over the difficulty, that Moses did write, it must be presumed, until disproved, that he used the Phenician Alphabet.

It does not necessarily follow, that he could speak that form of the Semitic Family of Languages, which we call Hebrew, as he had dwelt the forty first years of his life as an Egyptian, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." When he migrated to the Kenites in Midian, he was mistaken for an Egyptian (Exod., II, 19), and lived forty years among this Semitic tribe, speaking their Language. At the age of eighty, for the first time, he lived with his own tribe, the Hebrews: what Language they spoke, is uncertain; unquestionably eleven of the sons of Jacob, who spoke Aramaic, and had four Aramaic-speaking wives, had married women of Canaan, and the Hebrew Language is called the Language of Canaan, and died out of the mouths of men during the Exile, being replaced by the Aramaic. The deep water of the Captivity was the grave of the old Language of the Hebrews and the womb of the new. However, it is a matter of indifference what Language Moses used, and what form of the Hebrew Language was spoken during the Desert-wanderings by the Hebrews. They must have spoken in Goshen some Language intelligible to their Egyptian neighbours, as the Hebrew women borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver and gold, and raiment, which implies some verbal means of communication.

Now there is no manner of doubt, that during the century preceding the arrival of the Hebrews at the frontier of Palestine, the inhabitants of that Region, to whatever race they belonged, were not illiterate barbarians, like the tribes of South Africa in the nineteenth century, but had among them both scribes, who could wield the pen, engravers, who could engrave Inscriptions on stelae or pillars, and Libraries, in which these literary documents were collected. Moreover, there were two forms of script, representing the two great foreign Powers of the Nile and the Euphrates, who from century to century, down to the time of the Persian Monarchy, which conquered both Egypt and Mesopotamia, contended for the possession of Syria. One of these forms of script were the Egyptian Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Ideograms, with Monuments of which Egypt teems, and the other the Assyrian Cuneiform Syllabaries, the presence of which in Egypt has been revealed to us in these last days by the excavations of Tel el Amarna on the Nile. If it be boldly asserted, as a hypothesis, that Moses, by help of his scribes, made use of one or other of these forms of script, and that gradually, as time went on, they were transliterated into the Phenician Alphabet, a palaeographer

could accept this as a working hypothesis, on the analogy of the Nágari Veda, which we have under our eyes transliterated into the Roman Character; but on Scriptural grounds this cannot be accepted, as we are told, that on the two Tables of Stone were written the Ten Commandments, and that these identical tables were kept in the Ark in the Temple at Jerusalem until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century B.C. Thus a continuity of the very same Inscription is asserted.

Professor Sayce remarks in the "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," that it would be a miracle, if in that literary age Moses had not left written documents behind him. It is a strong expression to describe the limited power of writing, or capacity to read, the Egyptian and Cuneiform forms of script, possessed by a limited portion of the inhabitants of Syria, as constituting a literary age. I take an analogy from India: when we conquered the Panjáb in 1846, I had placed under my charge a virgin-district, in which no European had settled before that date, and in my office, seated at my feet, sat scribes, who took down my spoken orders, and engrossed them on native-made paper in the Nágari, Gurmúkhi, and Arabic, Written Characters, and in the Persian, Hindi, and Urdu, Languages, according to the requirements of the office; while close by me, seated at a table, was a Bangálí Clerk writing my letters in the English Language on English paper. This sounds exceedingly "literary," and it would be difficult to find a parallel in Europe; yet the scribes, who could do this, were few: each could read or write his own Written Character only; and of the crowds, who stood around, and dwelt in thousands in the towns and villages, not one in a thousand could read or write any Character at all. Under the orders of the Supreme Government of India I had to issue a Code of three new Laws:

- I. Thou shalt not burn thy widows.
- II. Thou shalt not kill thy daughters
- III. Thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers.

If I had written these laws on a stone tablet, and placed it in a chest in the chief Hindu Temple, it would have been of little use for the guidance of the unlettered population, who committed these offences daily. As a fact, *oral* instructions were given to the leaders of the people, and the Police, and they were made to obey them by prompt punishment of offenders.

Ranjit Singh, the sovereign of Lahore, was totally illiterate; and yet the Professor considers, that it would be a miracle, if Moses, who had sojourned forty years among the Kenites in the direction of North Arabia, and forty years of his youth and manhood as the reputed son of the daughter of Pharaoh, in Egypt, could not with his own hand, or by the hands of Hebrew

scribes, born and bred in the house of Egyptian bondage, write Laws, and record events, in a Written Character, of the existence of which at that remote period we have no trace; and, what is still more remarkable, Solomon, when he built the Temple, though he had an Egyptian wife, who must have been familiar with Temples and Palaces covered with Inscriptions, and though he had the advantage of skilled workmen, supplied by Hiram, King of Tyre, in Phenicia, is not recorded to have placed one single Inscription of any kind on the walls and pillars of the Temple, nor has one scrap of Inscription earlier than the date of King Hezekiah been found as yet in Palestine. This looks very much as if, in that "literary" country two hundred years after the latest date possible for the arrival of the Hebrew in Palestine, nothing was known, even by powerful Kings, of the Phenician Alphabet.

And as to it being a miracle, if such a man as Moses had not left behind documents written by himself, what shall we think of the fact, that the three greatest, who bore the form of man, left no documents written by themselves behind: (1) Gautama Buddha, who died 543 B.C.; (2) Socrates, who died 399 B.C.; (3) Jesus Christ, whose appearance marks the great dividing epoch of the world? None have left behind them deeper impressions on the Human race; both the two last lived in a supremely literary age and environment, and both could make use of a different form of the Phenician Alphabet, yet neither left anything, neither are credited with the intention of leaving anything, on papyrus, or parchment, or on stone, for the use of those, who came after them.

In the account of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor we read, that Peter and his two companions beheld three great personages, and by some means not stated recognized the two elder ones, who had lived and died 800 and 1,400 years previously; yet all three conversed together on the subject of the Crucifixion, and their words were intelligible to Peter, a fisherman on the Lake of Tiberias, who spoke a Galilean Dialect, different from that spoken at Jerusalem. What linguistic means of communication did these three great personages make use of? Whatever Language Moses spoke, it could scarcely have been intelligible to Elijah, who spoke the Hebrew, used by Amos and Micah: could either of the two first have understood the Aramaic spoken by the third? So also as regards the Written Character used by them. We know that Jesus Christ could write, as it is mentioned that He did so, and his allusion to jots and tittles shows, that he referred to the square Hebrew Character, which we all know. Elijah was a contemporary of that king of Moab, who erected the Moabite Stone, and it was therefore possible, that he could write, though extremely improbable. At any rate, neither he, nor Elisha, though they were the greatest of the Hebrew Prophets, left a scrap of writing behind

them, and yet we are told, that it would be a miracle, if Moses, who lived 600 or 400 years earlier, had not left written documents behind him.

Professor Sayce works a new mine, and suggests, that the Phenician Alphabet was not a Mother-Alphabet, created as a new invention, but was only the daughter of an older Alphabet, traces of which are found in Arabia: this is the great interest, which he has roused ("Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 39): "The explorations of Dr. Glaser in South Arabia [Munich, 1889] have lately put the question in a new and unexpected light. He has recopied a large part of the Minaean Inscriptions on the rocks and ancient Monuments of Yemen and Hadhramaut, and has added more than one thousand fresh ones; they are in the Himyaritic Language, and in two different Dialects, the Minaean and Sabaeen." And he declares, that the Minaean Inscriptions are far older than the earliest known to us, that are written in Phenician Characters (p. 42). Instead, therefore, of deriving the Minaean Alphabet from the Phenician, it becomes necessary to derive the Phenician Alphabet from the Minaean. The Phenician Alphabet ceases to be the *Mother-Alphabet*, and becomes the daughter of an older one.

He then proceeds to show, from Philological reasons, that even, if this view of the matter be right, the Written Character of Egypt is still the ultimate source of the Alphabet, but by the intermediary of Yemen, and not of Phenicia (p. 45), and that it is extremely improbable (p. 45), that the Israelites at the time of the Exodus were unacquainted with Alphabetic writing.

These are bold assertions, which Professor Sayce makes on the authority of Dr. Glaser and Professor Hommel, both Palaeographers of the highest repute. I have the profoundest respect and admiration for my old friend Professor Sayce, and I have faithfully read every word, which he has published. Still, by this last assertion he takes my breath away, and I ask for time before I can accept this new and revolutionary departure. I ask for "More Light." I ask to see Dr. Glaser's statements in print, and to study them. I am extremely amenable to, and receptive of, new ideas, and am not the least bound by old-world prejudices. The allusions to one of the successors of Alexander the Great in the Inscriptions of Asóka, are sufficient, to my mind, to fix an approximate date for those Edicts. The scratchings at Abu Simbal of the Greek mercenaries of King Psammetichus, and the Inscriptions found at Naukratis, in Egypt, and in the Island of Santorin, are sufficient, to my mind, to fix a date for the earliest known Greek Inscription. The allusion to Ahab, King of Israel, is a sufficient chronological stamp of the Moabite Stone. The Egyptian papyri, and the Assyrian clay-bricks, have established certain dates, which I am able to accept provisionally; but these

Arabian rock-Inscriptions have only been seen by one, or at most two, scholars: the scaffolding is hardly strong enough to carry the weight of the new hypothesis.

Provisionally I must rest on the fact, that there is no evidence of Alphabetic writing earlier than the ninth century B.C. The Tables of Stone were reputed to be in the Ark and in the Temple, but seen by no one, and at the time of the destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar they disappeared. They were not carried by the exiles into Captivity, nor did they return, as both these facts must have been recorded. Modern excavators at Jerusalem may bring them to light; and hundreds of stone and clay documents, earlier than any date assigned to Moses, have been given up by the Earth to excavators. The form of the Written Characters would be of the highest interest: will they resemble Dr. Glaser's early Minaean Inscriptions, or the later stone of Mesa? How extravagant are the vagaries of good, pious, and yet ignorant, men, is evidenced by the statue of Moses, still on view in the Cathedral of Malta, holding in his hands the two Tables of Stone with the Commandments in the Hebrew Language, in the square Written Character only introduced in the last century B.C., more than one thousand years after Moses; and in the text the Second Commandment is missing, and the Tenth Commandment divided into two, to suit the requirements of a Church, which inculcated the worship of images, and an age, which was entirely devoid of a literary conscience.

Here I leave the subject, ready to receive any new contribution to Knowledge, but the date of the old Arabian Inscriptions must be fixed on evidence analogous to that, which has provisionally fixed the dates of the earliest, Egyptian, Assyrian, Indian, Phenician, and Greek, Inscriptions. Thirty years hence my scruples may be laughed at, and fresh excavations may produce evidence, which Scholars will gladly accept. Nothing is so probable as what seems to be impossible. Our minds must be receptive.

Even supposing that Dr. Glaser does satisfy us of the existence of Arabian Inscriptions of a date earlier than the one now assigned to Moses, the twelfth century B.C., we have still to ask how Moses acquired the knowledge of this Alphabet during his forty years' residence among the Kenites. It is possible, that a religious leader of men in the nineteenth century could read and write Chinese or Hebrew, but we ask for some proof of the way, in which he acquired that knowledge. No doubt the art of the engraver, and the skill of the penman, were not unknown at that period in Egypt and Assyria, and in the intervening country of Syria, which was for centuries the scene of conflict for possession betwixt the great Kingdoms on the Nile and the Euphrates; but we really must ask how it happened in the sudden flight by

night, without baggage-animals, of the two n a on Hebrews (such a number is required to make up 600,000, adult fighting-men), that they brought implements for engraving, and materials for writing, and behind that, whether in the house of bondage, where they had languished for centuries, there was any knowledge of reading or writing at all among the fugitives. And of what profit would be tables of stone, or skins of writing, such as the Synagogue-Rolls in the Museum of St. Petersburg, if no one, not even the Priests, could read them?

Inscriptions were indeed put up in all countries, to gratify the pride of Monarchs, in inaccessible places like the lofty rocks of Behistun in Persia, or to be lost sight of in caves, and rocks covered by moss, like the Inscriptions of Asóka, or buried away in the soil, as in Egypt, but the books attributed to Moses were meant to be the daily guides of released slaves in their new life, in a new country and new environment. If no one could read them, they would be useless. The power of reading and writing does not come as a congenital gift of God to Man, like speaking.

And we know that long before the pen and papyrus became the vehicle of communication to future generations, there was the Human tongue, and the Human memory. Oral Tradition was the natural vehicle of ideas, tribal laws, and legends of an unlettered people. Such songs as that of Moses after the crossing of the Red Sea, and of Deborah after the defeat of Sisera, may well have been handed down from mouth to mouth in the very words, while legendary tales, such as that of Balaam and Balak, Ruth and Boaz, Jephthah and his daughter, may have come down in substance, each narrator refashioning the old story until the introduction of Alphabetic writing gave it a permanent place in Literature. We know, and all readily admit, that such was the case with Hindu Literature, exceeding in bulk the few records of the Hebrew Nation of an older date than the date of Amos, which for the present must be provisionally accepted as the earliest date on scientific grounds. We shall see further on, that a much later date is accepted for the earliest date of the Literature of the Indian Nation, which far exceeded in number the petty tribe of the Hebrews, and has left behind everlasting Monuments of its literary genius in every branch of Knowledge, and the same capacity of oral tradition seems sufficient in both cases. The question before us is not whether Moses propounded certain moral laws, and ritualistic by-laws, but in what form of script, if any, he gave them other support than the memories of the Priests and the people.

If Major Conder, or his fellow-workers in Palestine, could only disinter the two Tables of Stone, which may be somewhere beneath the soil on Mount Moriah, it would be a "find" surpassing all the marvels of the present century: here would be Monumental

evidence of the script used by Moses. It must be recollected, that the Egyptian literary survivals of every kind entirely ignore the existence of their Hebrew slaves, and of their Exodus, and that there is no literary independent evidence to support the Hebrew narrative: it is not so as regards the narrative of the intercourse centuries later of the Hebrews with the Kingdoms in Mesopotamia.

We cannot assume in an offhand way, that such a thing must have been the case, because it ought, according to our notions, to have been so. Let me take a modern analogy. Our late President of this Society, Sir Thomas Wade, was learned in all the wisdom of the Chinese, their Languages, and their Ideograms: he may possibly have known something of the Syllabic Cuneiform Character of Mesopotamia, as Scholars have asserted, that there existed some intercourse betwixt China and Mesopotamia, but there is no more connection betwixt the Chinese Ideograms and the Cuneiform Syllabary, than there was betwixt the Egyptian Ideograms, and the Cuneiform Syllabary, though they came into juxtaposition before the Exodus. But can it be assumed that, because our late President understood the Chinese and Mesopotamian script, he could have written books in the Nāgari Alphabetic Character of India without any possible or alleged contact with the people of that country? Such was the position of Moses, as far as existing scientific evidence goes, as regards the Phenician Alphabetic Character, of the existence of which Character in the Mosaic Epoch there is no proof. Nobody would rejoice more than I should, if the progress of excavations should enable me to cry out "*Peccavi*" and "*Εἴρηκα*": in what I write now it is,

"Non quod volumus, sed quod possumus."

PART II. THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

It is obvious, that Dr. Glaser's theory, that a form of Alphabetic script, traces of which are found in Arabian Inscriptions of a very remote date, represents the *Mother-Character*, must have an important bearing on the channel of the origin of the Indian Alphabet. However, until that theory is expounded by competent Scholars, and receives acceptance, I must place it aside, with all due respect to the Scholar, or Scholars, who suggest it.

I find notices in the *Geographical Journal*, 1896, p. 659, of traces of the Phenician Character in Sumatra, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, p. 510, of a connection between the Alphabetic writing in Japan and the Indian Alphabet; and in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1881, of a Smico-Indian origin of Indo-Pali writings: but I pass them by at present; I feel compelled to accept, for sake of argument at least, and provisionally, a Semitic, and therefore Western, origin of the

old Indian Alphabets. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in 1884, I wrote a paper on this subject; and Hofrath Buhler, at page 2 of his Indian Studies, No. III, on the Indian "Brahma" Alphabet, describes it as "an exhaustive review of earlier opinions on that subject." It is unnecessary to go over that ground again. I restrict myself to noticing what advance has taken place since that date. Professor Weber had, in 1852, refused to admit the idea of an indigenous Alphabet in India, and this seems to be now accepted by competent Scholars. Differences of opinion on other details have arisen.

Monsieur Émile Senart, of Paris, contributed to the *Journal of the Société Asiatique* of Paris, in 1879, an important paper on this subject; and at page 895 of our own Journal for 1895 we have a paper from Don Martino de Zilva Wickremasinghe on the subject of the Semitic Origin of the old Indian Alphabet, and Professor Rhys Davids is quoted as to the possibility of the people of India having borrowed their Alphabet from the people of Ceylon, who borrowed it from Semitic Traders who, in the pursuit of Commerce, visited their shores. This is a mere hypothesis, but it has to be considered.

My essay of 1884 originally contained no opinion of my own. I was pressed to record an opinion, as I had combated the views of others; so I added the following lines:

I. The Indian Alphabet is in no respect an independent invention of the people of India, who, however, elaborated to a marvellous extent a loan, which they had received from others.

II. The *idea* of representing Vowel and Consonant-Sounds by Symbols of a pure Alphabetic Character was derived from Western Asia beyond any reasonable doubt.

III. The *germs* of the Indian Alphabet are possibly to be found in the Phœnician Alphabet.

IV. It cannot be ascertained with certainty upon the evidence before us by what channel, or through which branch of the Phœnician Alphabet-stem, India received the *idea* or the *germs*.

Professor Dowson contributed a paper just before his death, 1880, to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xiii, p. 102, 1881. He considers, that the peculiarities of the Sūtra were such, that their production and transmission were almost impossible *without the use of letters*. That, as the Vedic Teachers instructed their pupils in the Rules of Sandhi, or Euphonic change, it was incredible, that the study could have been conducted with reference to Sounds only, without names for the Sounds or Symbols to represent them. He admits that there is no proof of this. He is strongly of opinion, that Pāṇini knew about writing; he lived about 400 B.C.: this leads him to the conclusion, that the Art of writing was practised by the Hindu five or six centuries B.C.

He does not think it incredible, that the Hindu, who were such

masters of Language, and also invented Numerals, could not invent their own Alphabet. He thinks, that neither in the North or South Asóka have we the original Indian Alphabet; his only proof is that, in his opinion, such an Alphabet *ought to have existed*.

He admits, that writing was known in the West of Asia long before there is evidence of its existence in India, but the fame of the Art of conveying ideas by Symbols must have penetrated to India by the channel of Commerce, and the *idea* of an Alphabet reached India from without, though the practical application of the *idea* came from the Indians, at a considerable period later than the settlement of the Arians in India.

With all respect to my lamented friend Professor Dowson, this is a mere hypothesis, and in that resembles the theories of my illustrious friend Professor Sayce: it is the order, in which events, according to their idea of the fitness of things, *ought to have taken place*. Dowson has a profound respect for the Vedic Teachers. Upon Sayce the personality of the Hebrew Lawgiver makes a deep impression. We have to deal with the evidence of hard facts, and reasonable inductions from those facts. Let me illustrate this: it is a fact that the Moabite Stone has a date contemporary to King Ahab of Israel, and it is a fair induction that the skill, with which the letters are engraved on that stone, imply a knowledge of Alphabetic writing for one or more generations of engravers; to assert more is to venture into Cloudland.

Professor Max Muller, in his "History of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p 497, writes thus, thirty-six years ago: "There is 'not one single allusion in the Vedic Hymns to anything connected with writing. Such, indeed, is the case, with the exception of one doubtful passage, with the Homeric Poems. Throughout the whole Brahmana period there is no mention of writing materials, whether paper, bark of trees, or skins. In the Súra period, although the Art of writing began to be known, the whole Literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only; more than this, Kumáрила's remark, that the knowledge of the Veda is worthless, if it has been acquired from writing, amounts to condemning its use after it is known to exist. However, the use of the word Pátíla, or Chapter, for the Súra, a word never used in the Brahmana, lets in a sidelight. Its meaning is 'a covering,' the surrounding skin or membrane; hence it is used for a tree, and is an analogue of *liber* and *biblos*, and means 'book,' pre-supposing the existence of the Art of writing."

Again, in 1878, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, Max Muller writes that "there is no really Alphabetic written Literature much earlier than 500 B.C.; all Poetry and Legends must have been previously handed down orally. An Alphabet may have been used for Monumental purposes, but there is a great difference betwixt this and the use of it for Art, pleasure, and Literature."

Hofrath Bühler qualifies these remarks by reminding us, that since the date of the expression of these opinions by our learned Honorary Member, Max Muller, a great many new MSS., and a store of Buddhistic writings, have become accessible.

In his Essay "On the Introduction of Writing into India," Professor Max Muller remarks, that there were two kinds of evidence available for fixing the date of a script I. An engraved tablet of stone or other metal, which tells its own tale by its environment, or by quoting certain names or facts of a date fixed by other methods. II. Allusion to writing in the pages of esteemed authors, such as in Pāṇini's Grammar, the Tripitaka of Buddha, or the Pentateuch It is obvious, that the date of these esteemed writings must be first fixed by independent evidence, before they can themselves contribute evidence to the fact of the use of Alphabetic writing in the period of the reputed writer of the treatises. It is obviously working in a vicious circle to state first, that the Pentateuch is of the age of Moses, without giving independent external evidence, and then to assert that Moses could read and write, because it is so stated in the Pentateuch; and in this particular case there are no engraved stelae or metal tablets, which have come down to us, as is the case in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Indian Monuments.

Professor Max Muller concluded, that the knowledge of writing was known in India about 400 B.C., but that it was not at that date applied to Literature.

In the Introduction to the *Vīṇaya* Texts from the Pali, vol. xiii of "Sacred Books of the East," 1881, two very competent Scholars, Professor Rhys Davids and Professor Oldenberg, thus express themselves (pp. xxxii to xxxvi):

"There are several passages, which confirm in an indisputable manner the existence of the Art of writing at the time, when the *Vīṇaya* Texts were put into their present shape. . . .

"Writing was in vogue at that time for the publication of official announcements, and the drawing up of written communications in private life. The Art was not confined to clerks, but was acquired by ordinary persons, even by women. . . .

"But for recording sacred Literature it had not yet come into use. Nowhere do we find the least trace of reference to Manuscripts amid the personal property, so to speak, of the Buddhist Vihāra, much less of ink, or pens, or leaves, or writing materials.

"It is clear, that the Buddhist community did not think of the possibility of using writing, as a means of guarding against painful accidents; the Art of writing had not been taken advantage of for the purposes of this kind of Literature, but its use was wholly confined to short messages or notes or private letters, or advertisements of a public character, a result, which may have been due to the want of any practical material, on

"which to engrave the letters that were, nevertheless, evidently "known."

What approximate date do these Scholars assign to the older portions of the Vîniya? Their argument is founded on the fact, that there is no allusion in the Vîniya to the well known Ten Points; had they existed, allusion must have been made to them; the absence of allusion proves that their date is anterior to the Council of Vesâh, where they were promulgated. This Council took place about one hundred years after the death of the Buddha, which, according to the Ceylon Chronicles, took place 218 years before the consecration of King Asôka, and will fall about 483 B.C., or thereabouts. The date of the Council of Vesâh may be fixed at about 350 B.C., and we thus arrive at the conclusion, that the Art of writing, as above described, was known at a date still earlier.

I quote the following extracts from Hofrath Buhler's Essay on "Past and Future Exploration in India" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, art. xx, p. 656), as bearing on the date of the earliest appearance of Alphabetical writing in India.

"A real progress with the reconstruction of Indian History can only be made, if new authentic documents are obtained, such as are older than Asôka's, as well as such as will fill up the great gaps, which occur in the second and first centuries B.C., and in the third and fourth centuries A.D. And such will be only found underground, and partly only at a considerable depth

"The expectation of Inscriptions in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. is by no means unfounded. Both the literary and the palaeographic evidence shows, that the Art of writing was known and extensively practised in India for several centuries before Asôka's time, and there are even some inscribed coins, which cannot be later than the fourth century . . . The probability, that writing was used, not only for marking coins, but for longer Inscriptions, becomes very strong through certain stories contained in the Buddhist canon."

What strikes the unprejudiced student is the purer air, and the greater freedom of independent judgment, tolerated and encouraged in discussing the basis, on which rests the structure of somebody else's Religious Convictions compared to that which is allowed in discussing what relates to our own Religious Convictions.

The pious Hindu would protest against the idea, that his ancient Sacred Books were not written on the material available in the age and country, where his Prophets and Lawgivers resided, though the late Dr. Burnell, in his "South Indian Palaeography," justly remarked, that "in the North-West of India, the cradle of Indian Literature, no indigenous material for writing existed before the introduction of manufactured paper." The Vedic Fathers were as badly off for writing material, pen, ink, and material for reception

of marks in ink, as the Hebrew Lawgiver in the Desert after the flight of his countrymen from the house of bondage in Egypt. Hofrath Buhler's learned paper, No. III of his "Indian Studies," is entitled "On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet," or, in the Vernacular Language, "Brahma Lipi," for the convenient legend soon sprang up in a credulous age, that the Creator of the World, Brahma, created the Art of writing, in order to keep the affairs of the world in their proper course, or in order to remove doubts regarding legal transactions. Well done, Brahma, and Brahmans! The Hebrew Chroniclers shirked the dilemma; the Hindu boldly fabricated a legend. It is very helpful to a Religious conviction to have such legends. Mediaeval Europe is familiar with them.

The world has not advanced intellectually very much, for a thousand years later the followers of Mahomet asserted as a fact, that the Korán came down from Heaven in its actual form, and now, more than a thousand years later, the Theosophist derives his knowledge from Mahatma, old Indian sages, who appear suddenly to instruct him from some unknown residence in the Himaláya.

Unfortunately we find, on inquiry into the history of mankind, that, while on the one hand Articulate speech is a congenital gift to all for the purpose of differentiating man from animals, the Art of writing is essentially human, and the village child in 1900 A.D. has an Art forced by fear of the rod upon his fingers before he understands the object of it; an Art, which Abraham certainly, and the composers of the Veda, never dreamed of. The Human memory, through the funnel of the Human voice, supplied, and well supplied, the absence of pen and writing materials.

But there comes a time in the History of all nations, when something more is required. The savage gets as far as messages by token, as marks on the sand, as branches broken off, or bark scraped off the tree, in the forest; and thus was suggested the idea of a more specific way to communicate with the absent, until some bolder spirits devised the marvellous conception of having communication with future generations still to be born. Thus Literature sprang into existence. The Pandits, who can from memory repeat the whole of long Prose and Poetic treatises, are but a survival of a period, when oral speech was the sole means of communication.

It is to me a subject of regret, that the names of the ancient Languages of India should have been changed. When I left India, and even to the date of the International Oriental Congress at Leyden in 1883, the new names were unknown. I read a paper on the subject of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, which was discussed for a day and a half by the assembled Scholars of Europe. The so-called Kharosthi was then known as the Arian, Ariano-Pali, Bactro-Pali, Gandharian, or Northern Asóka; and the so-called

Brahma was known as the Lath, Indian Pali, Indian, or Mauriya, or Southern Asóka. I was puzzled to find North Asóka called Kharosthi, until my friend M. Émile Senart assured me, that they were the same script. I think that it was a pity making the change. They may indeed be the native names, but both are in themselves objectionable. The only derivation, that Hofrath Buhler can give of Kharosthi is, that it is called after the name of its inventor, whose name means "Ass's lip," which is degrading; while on the other hand the reintroduction of the term Brahma Lipi into modern publications merely gives a new life in the minds of extremely conservative Hindu, that the Written Character was the invention of the great Creator of the Universe; in fact, a theological bias, which it is tried to eliminate from the History of the Phenician Alphabet, is unnecessarily introduced into the tangled scientific history of the Indian Alphabet, as in the Phenician.

Sunt et sua fata sepulcris: such is also the fate of theories connected with Sepulchral Inscriptions. The late Dr. Burnell, whose name is never mentioned except with affection and admiration, contended for the antiquity, and the independent antiquity, of the Vattelutto Alphabet in South India. But Hofrath Buhler sweeps it away in three lines in a Note to page 23 of his Essay, and, identifying it with the Pandya Cera Alphabet, he deems it to be a cursive form of the Tamil Alphabet, and therefore a derivative of the Brahma Alphabet. On the other hand, a new name has become conspicuous, the Bhattiprólu; the Inscriptions found in the Kistna District, in South India, in this form of script, supply many variations of form, and in the opinion of Hofrath Buhler considerably strengthens his argument. I quote a description of this important "find" from a local paper:

"Dr. Buhler has succeeded, a Bombay paper says, in deciphering "the Inscriptions on the relic-caskets, which Mr. Rea, Archaeological Surveyor to the Madras Government, had recently the "good fortune to discover in an old tope, already searched, in the "Kistna District. Mr. Rea had noticed, that the caskets found "by the explorers, who preceded him, were at the side rather than "at the centre of the mound, and a judicious further exploration "led to the discovery of these additional caskets. The Inscriptions "on the caskets are, according to Dr. Buhler, not later than "200 B.C., and may be a little older. They reveal a system of "writing, which is in some respects radically different from the "writing on the rock of Asóka's Edicts at Junágar and elsewhere, "and prove, therefore, that these cannot be, as they have been "supposed to be, the earliest attempts of the Hindu to write. "Dr. Buhler believes, that the Art of writing had been practised "in India for centuries 'before the accession of Chandragupta to "the throne of Patálpútra,' or, in other words, before the time

"of Alexander the Great. There is something pathetic in the records that thus, thanks to Mr Rea and Dr. Buhler, are brought in these latter days to light. We quote one, which declares that 'Kura, Kura's father, and Kura's mother, have joined to defray the cost of the casket and box of crystal, in order to hold some relics of Buddha' The casket and the box of crystal have kept their charge till now, and Dr. Buhler thinks, that there is little reason to doubt, that the dust and fragment of bone they have now given up are the dust and the bone of Buddha."

It is necessary, in this age of wonderful discoveries, and still more wonderfully-spun theories, to cherish in the intellect a strong capacity for doubt and mistrust. During the last six months the Religious world in England has been stirred by Prof Petrie's discovery of the word "Israel" on a Monument of King Menephthah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Many serious difficulties are raised by the unlucky combination of Hieroglyphics, and it is to be hoped, that the real reading should be Jezreel, which seems better to explain the meaning of the words that follow. Similarly, the allusion to the bones of Buddha found in this Bhattiprôlu relic casket is to be regretted. It would have been better, if the bodily tenement of the great Teacher had been drowned in the Ocean, or carried away by the winds, instead of surviving in this form, a tooth here, and a bone there, like the relics of a mediæval Romish Saint. There is not much scientific veracity in such localities.

It is a singular fact, that the letters of the Kharosthi Alphabet are written in Semitic fashion from right to left, while the letters of the Brahma Lipi flow from left to right. However, too much stress must not be placed upon this fact, as, strange to say, the Ethiopic Alphabet is written from left to right, and the Greek Alphabet passed from one to the other, some Inscriptions being written in the boustrophédon fashion, one line to the right and the next to the left. Moreover, Sir A. Cunningham's Eran coin represents the Brahma Lipi flowing from right to left, a proof that both varieties were in use. Sir A. Cunningham found coins at Tâxila, in the Gandhâra District, with Inscriptions partly in the Kharosthi, and partly in the Brahma Lipi, proving that about 300 B.C. both forms of writing were used at the same time in the same places.

Hofrath Buhler, in his "Indian Studies," No. III, an Essay of ninety pages, exhausts the whole subject, and his work will ever remain a resting-place in the great discussion, as he sums up the result of the speculations of his distinguished predecessors, and contemporaries. Albert Weber, to whom he dedicates his Essay, was literally the first, who pronounced in favour of a Semitic origin of the Indian Alphabet, and this seems now to be generally accepted, but Hofrath Buhler writes, that both passages in the literary works, and the characteristics of the oldest Alphabet, point

to the conclusion, that the Indians extensively used the Art of writing at least about three centuries before the time of King Asóka; this would mean 600 B.C.

No doubt the Hebrews were, at any rate not earlier than 800 B.C., freely using the Phenician Alphabet. They took their sacred books with them to Babylon, and found themselves in a country, where the use of the Cuneiform Syllabaries had prevailed for centuries. We have the great fact, that at a date later than the Captivity of the Hebrews, Darius, the son of Achaemenes, inscribed his tablets on the Behistun rock in Persian Cuneiform. We are told incidentally in the Book of Esther, that Xerxes, the son of Darius, issued letters to the Governors of his Provinces from India to Ethiopia according to the writing thereof, and unto every people after their Language. Now, whatever date is assigned to the composition of this book (and it cannot reasonably be later than 300 B.C.), it is clear that, at the time of its composition, it was understood, that there were not only different forms of Language in each Province, but different forms of writing, and that India, the Panjáb, or the Gandhára country, the Region where both the Indian forms of writing were in use, was included in that Empire.

Hofrath Buhler dwells at great length upon the Literary evidence as to the antiquity of the Indian script, but he dwells also at length on the Palaeographic evidence. It appears to him, that the number of variations in the forms of the signs in the Asóka Edicts, which are assigned to the third century B.C., prove, that the Alphabet even at that time must have been ancient. The arguments are too technical and too lengthy to quote. He is satisfied, that both on Literary and Palaeographic evidence the Brahma Alphabet is the oldest in India, and may have been in common use even in the sixth century B.C. He sees clearly that, if this be the case, the theory, that South Arabia was the channel of communication of the Phenician Alphabet from the Semites to India would be untenable; but he has heard of Glaser, and Hommel also, and their assertions, that Arabia is the Mother-country of the Semitic Alphabet, no longer to be called Phenician, and he wisely remarks that more light is required, and more time, in which sentiment I entirely agree.

But while he rests provisionally on the *terminus a quo* of the Moabite Stone, and accepts 800 B.C. as the earliest date, to which Phenician writing can safely be carried back, resisting the attempts of Professor Sayce to trace it back by the help of Glaser's Inscriptions beyond the date of Moses, he himself flies a kite of the same kind, and draws a cheque on the Bank of probability, and the fitness of circumstances. It seems to him, that some further considerations make it probable, that the actual importation of the Semitic Characters into India took place at the same date as the Inscription on the Moabite Stone, about 800 B.C.; between the

importation and the elaboration of the Brahma Alphabet there was a prolonged period, and the hand of the Grammarian is evident. The introduction of the Semitic signs was due to the merchant class, for they came most into contact with foreign Nations, and they had daily need of a means of recording their transactions. The Brahmans possessed their system of oral instruction for preserving their literary compositions, and for teaching their pupils, but they gradually adopted the new idea, and developed it. Still, there was always a prejudice against writing, and in favour of oral transmission, which, in fact, constituted a monopoly.

I can hardly consider the arguments brought forward as sufficient to uphold so great a superstructure. For myself I am forced to relegate this theory to the same airy region, where I have already, with all feelings of respect, deposited Professor Sayce's theory with regard to the use of the Arabian Alphabet by Moses in the fourteenth century B.C., or, according to later calculations, based on the death of Rameses II, in the twelfth century B.C. It may be so, but I plead for time, and more light. The last ten years seem to have established the theory of a Semitic parentage of the Indian Alphabet; another decade may pile up proofs of the date of its birth, and of the channel, through which it developed itself from the Hieratic Ideograms.

M. Halévy is rarely absent on the occasion of great Scientific controversies. In 1885, in the *Journal Asiatique*, series viii, tome vi, Paris, he published the Essay, "Sur l'origine des écritures Indiens." In the same volume he published a Note "Sur l'origine de l'écriture Perse." In 1895, in the *Revue Semitique*, July, he published "Nouvelles observations sur les écritures Indiennes." I confine myself on this occasion to a notice of the last of the three documents, as it is the last word of the distinguished author, and this last word was elicited by the Essay "On the Origin of the Indian Brahma Alphabet" by Hofrath Buhler. I have the profoundest respect for both these Scholars, and a sincere and ancient friendship with the latter.

It must be recollected, that in the discussion of Indian subjects there are two companies: I. Those who have lived in India, and know the people, or, though they have never visited India, have made it their chief and serious study. II. Those, who take India as one Region of the Scientific world, and have made no profound study of its Literature. Hofrath Buhler belongs to the first class, and M. Halévy to the second. It is obvious, that there are advantages, and disadvantages, which belong to both sides. If to the first class India, a country of 280 millions, acquires an undue importance, when brought into contact with the whole Semitic world, the second class does not attribute to it sufficient importance.

I have already stated Hofrath Buhler's argument: I now proceed

to M. Halévy's adversaria. The pith of his objections are, that the Brahma and Kharosthi Alphabets have a common Aramean source, and that the introduction of Alphabetic writing into India cannot be put back to the date suggested by Hofrath Buhler. The combatants are not unworthy of the great contention, in which they occupy different sides. The result is of no great importance to History or Literature, which is the only point of view, from which I look on the subject, and the depths of theological convictions and prejudices are not disturbed to the same degree as they are in the question discussed in Part I of this Essay.

Halévy quotes at great length his adversary's arguments, and opinions. He accepts with gratitude the pile of facts, which he has collected and set forth in his treatise, but rejects absolutely his two conclusions, (I) that a knowledge of the Art of writing existed in India before the time of Alexander the Great; (II) that the Brahma Alphabet was of a date anterior to the Kharosthi. He argues at great length, not only on the question of evidence, based on the shape of letters in Inscriptions, but also on the thorny side of Literary Chronology.

The Kharosthi has been the subject of a separate passage-at-arms between Hofrath Buhler and M. Halévy. The former, in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vol. ix, published an Essay on the "Origin of the Kharosthi Alphabet," which was reprinted in the October and November Numbers of the *Indian Antiquary* of Bombay in 1895. In the same year M. Halévy published in *La Revue Semitique* of October, 1895, Paris, "Un dernier mot sur le Kharosthi." Hofrath Buhler quotes the writings of those, who preceded him on this subject: Mr. James Prinsep's Essay, edited by the late Mr. Edward Thomas; the Alphabet by Dr. Isaac Taylor; and "The Coins of Ancient India," by the late Sir A. Cunningham. The last-named authority lays down that

- (1) The Kharosthi is an Indian Alphabet, not an alien.
- (2) It held only a secondary position by the side of the Brahma Alphabet.
- (3) Not a single Inscription has been found in it West of the Hindu Kúsh.
- (4) The tract, to which the Kharosthi Inscriptions of the third century B.C. are exclusively confined, corresponds to the Gandhára country of Ancient India: here this Alphabet must have originated.

Mr E. Thomas points out the close resemblance of certain signs with the signs in the transitional Aramaic Alphabet; Dr. Isaac Taylor suggested, that the Achaemenian conquest of North-West India, about 500 B.C., led to the introduction of the Aramaic Alphabet into North India.

Hofrath Buhler assumes, that the Persian Satraps carried with

them into India a staff of their own subordinates, who were accustomed to the use of the Aramean scripts: this would explain how the inhabitants of Indo-Persian Provinces were driven to utilize these Characters, though already possessed of a script of their own, viz., the Brahma. And, further, he is of opinion, that the Kharosthi did exist in India during the Achaemenian times, and did not originate after the fall of that Empire, and that the Kharosthi and Brahma Alphabets were used together in the Panjáb. This argument is worked out in great detail. He remarks, that it was not a literary or scientific Alphabet, but only of use for the requirements of ordinary life. He assumes the date of the earliest signs to be 500-400 B.C.

M. Halévy agrees that the Alphabet came into existence in Gandhāra, and was pretty well restricted to that Province, and that it was introduced by the Persian Satraps: the two authorities pass into opposing camps on the subject of the date, and M. Halévy places it as late as the time of Alexander the Great, 330 B.C. After a long argument with regard to each letter, in which it is impossible to follow with advantage either of the learned authors, M. Halévy lays down as the result of his inquiry the following four propositions:

I. The Kharosthi and the Brahma have for their common base the same Aramean Alphabet, viz., the Alexandro-Egyptian papyrus, to which also the Pehlvi of the Arsacides is traced back.

II. The Brahma is indebted to the Kharosthi for a series of consonants, and for the system of medial vowels.

III. Both these Alphabets are spontaneous creations, and not the result of a gradual development.

IV. Before the invasion of Alexander the Great, 330 B.C., there was no form of Alphabetic Character in use, either in Persia or in India.

We see that the drift of the argument of the French Scholar is to reduce the antiquity of the Indian script, and that of the German Scholar is to expand it. My own view is, that the truth will gradually be found somewhere in the middle.

M. Halévy suggests a compound origin for the Brahma Alphabet as follows:

8 Consonants are derived from the Aramaic of 400 B.C.

6 Consonants, 2 Initial Vowels, the Medial Vowels, and the Anuswāra, are derived from the Kharosthi.

5 Consonants and 2 Initial Vowels are derived from the Greek.

The blending of these materials took place about 325 B.C.

It is well, that this memorable passage-at-arms between such redoubtable antagonists has taken place. Nothing is so dangerous for a theory, or a cause, as unanimous agreement of all. A Judge of Appeal once remarked to the Counsel, who pleaded that all the

lower Courts were in favour of his client, "So much the worse for your cause, as it has not been fairly argued out." It seems to come home to the reader, that one is a European, and the other an Indian, Scholar. Each has a something which the other has not: the one treats Alphabet as a Universal feature, the other as an Indian speciality. We remark the same antagonism in the case of a clergyman arguing about the early date of the Hebrew Alphabet, and the Scholar, who is *super Religionem*.

The spectacle is a moving one; there has been nothing like it in the History of the world, past or present. In the early centuries the form of Written Character, and the Religious conception, were National specialities. The Egyptians had both, but neither of these wonderful developments got beyond the Kingdom of Egypt, and both died where they were born. In Mesopotamia, there was a totally different form of Written Character and Religious conception. the latter died where it was born; the former, as we know from the excavations at Tel el Amarna, for a short period anterior to the Hebrew Exodus obtained an extra-territorial expansion, but it died childless, and for centuries was utterly forgotten. Neither the Egyptian script, nor its Religious conception, died childless. From its script sprang, at some doubtful date, and in some uncertain manner, the germs of the great Alphabetic system destined to rule the World, and to which the Ideographic system of China is the sole antagonist in the nineteenth century. It appears from the admissions of the two great combatants, that it is conceded, that the people of India had no indigenous form of script, and at some doubtful date, and by some uncertain route, derived their idea, and their form, of script from Western Asia. The South Arabian route, which used to commend itself, is in suspense, until these new revelations of Inscriptions in Arabia are expounded. If proved to be of a date antecedent to Moses, they belong to a period long anterior to the date of the possible advent of the Alphabet in India, whether by land or by sea. The utmost that is claimed by Hofrath Buhler is something later than the date of the Moabite Stone (say 800 B.C.); the earliest possible date admitted by M. Halévy is 325 B.C.

About five hundred years is the rift of time, which yawns betwixt the two great Scholars. Something to my mind seems to depend upon the date, on which the Cuneiform script ceased to be used in Persia, and it is certainly an argument for a late date, that it is not enumerated in the 64 or 68 different Alphabets of the Buddhist and Jain. The absence of allusion to the Cuneiform script seems to render necessary a later date, when that wonderful form of writing had been forgotten, and been superseded by the Aramaic Alphabet, or its congener, the Yavanáni. If Darius used it for his Inscriptions at Behistun, it is a fair hypothesis, that his subordinates would have put up Inscriptions in the same script in

India, just as at this day Inscriptions are put up by the British in the Roman Character, and on the death of the Emperor Augustus tablets were put up in different parts of the Roman Empire recording what he had done. Those which have survived are in the Greek Character.

Another consideration occurs to me: we make so much at our Epoch of the importance of the discovery of Printing, that we lose sight of the fact of the importance of the discovery of Writing for ordinary purposes of Life. Somehow or other the ancient men in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian era did manage to commit to writing literary works, which will live for ever. In the centuries antecedent to the discovery of Alphabetic writing, say 800 B.C. for the Semites, 600 B.C. for the Greeks, 400 B.C. for the people of India, the world was a narrow one, and the voice of man reached to the extent of his environment. Travellers came back with wonderful tales, and delivered them orally; legends were oral, Instruction was oral; the Law was unwritten, the customs of the neighbourhood had the force of Law, and had in each case to be discovered. Even if some could write, could the majority of the ordinary citizens read? Writing might have been useful in those days for Monumental Inscriptions, State-Treaties, State-Records, mercantile business, but not for ordinary life. I have often wondered why Joseph in the pride of his power in a country, where Literature flourished, did not intimate by letter to his Father, that he was alive. It is clear, that there were communications between the countries, as the Hebrews heard that there was corn in Egypt. Perhaps the reason was, that neither Jacob nor his sons, who were nomad shepherds, nor anyone in the country, could read what was written. Nor is there reason to believe, that the Hebrews acquired a knowledge either of the Egyptian Ideograms, or of the Phenician Alphabet, during their sojourn in Egypt. They were cattle-breeders, brickmakers, and, as their own countrymen in after centuries wrote, "in the house of bondage." The Human race is born with the congenital power of speaking; the Census records the number of those who cannot speak. The power of writing is a Human acquisition after much labour. Without proof shown, we can no more accept the statement, that the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus, or the natives of India at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, could write and read, than we can in these last days assert, that the inhabitants of Central Africa, or Melanesia, could do so before the arrival of the Missionaries, let the proof be produced, not a mere theory of what ought to have been. As stated above, about 800 B.C. the Phenician Alphabet got into general use. Hosea and Amos wrote the books attributed to them about that date. Later on the mercenaries of Psammetichus, King of Egypt, left their names scratched on the legs of the great statues of Abu Simbal, in Upper Egypt, in the Greek Character. Herodotus, the father

of History, wrote his immortal work about the close of the fifth century B.C. The people of India never attained the Art of writing History at all.

The evidential value of a long narrative handed down for many generations orally, and receiving accretions, and variations, and undergoing changes, as it passed from mouth to mouth, until it was at length committed to writing in its last stage of gradual development, cannot be compared in freshness with those contemporaneous tablets inscribed at the time, possibly looked at by the Monarch himself, who ordered them to be prepared, and which haughty Time has spared to be witnesses of undoubted genuineness, when the nineteenth century strives to arrive at a just conception of the degree of civilization, to which these ancient races had attained, and which the learned classes of the Greek and Roman periods in their supercilious egotism, and the schools of the European Middle Ages in their profound ignorance, chose to ignore.

By a happy conjunction of circumstances, in the Spring of the year 1843, I was with Professor Lepsius at the Pyramids in Egypt, and took my first elementary lesson in Hieroglyphics. In the Autumn of that year I met in Calcutta Major Henry Rawlinson, traversing India from Herat to Bombay to embark for Baghdad, and his desire was to copy the Cuneiform Inscriptions on Mount Behistún I had never heard of Cuneiform before. In 1844 I visited Banáras, on my road up to Gandhára or the Panjáb, and heard for the first time of the great names of James Prinsep, and King Asóka, and his Edicts. These three great intellectual puzzles were then only in germ, and the last half-century has made the world wiser, but we have still a good deal more to learn on each of these great subjects, and, when I think of the succession of great Scholars, whom I have had the honour of conversing with in each of these great *παλαίστραι*, and *ἐργαστήρια*, I feel pretty sure, that the next generation, or the one after it, will *know something*, as it has fortunately happened, that in things scientific there cannot be, as in things theological, any attempt to cough down, or sneer at, or put down by force, opposition. The Bulls of Popes, and the Articles of Churches, are of no avail to crush honest discussion. Scientific Truths will hold their own in spite of the ignorance and presumption of mediæval Authorities, allowed too long to maintain their chains over the reason of mankind. "*E pur si muove*," was the remark of Galileo, when reproved for stating, that the Earth revolved round the Sun, which the Pope of that time considered to be contrary to Scripture-Truth. And the necessity for, and certainty of, an intellectual advance will continue, until all things are known.

"Magna est Veritas, et praevalabit."

LONDON, November, 1896.

II.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASÓKA.

It has been said, and with some show of justice, that Darius, son of Hystaspes, has left behind him on the rock of Behistún the proudest and grandest Monumental Inscription that ever could be imagined: in three Languages, (1) the old Persian, (2) Scytho-Median, and (3) Assyrian, representatives of three distinct Families of Languages. He tells in bombastic phrase of the Nations, whom he had conquered, the rivals, whom he had overthrown, the glory with which he had surrounded the name of the Achaemenides, he forgets to mention the defeat of his Armies by the Greeks at Marathon. Worldly glory, intolerable arrogance, and pitiless slaughter, are revealed in every one of the thirteen hundred lines, of which this grand triumphal song is composed. By an irony of Fate its existence was forgotten from the day of its completion until, as it were, yesterday. The Greeks never heard of it, not even Herodotus or Xenophon, or Ctesias; the Romans would not have condescended to notice it, even if they had heard of it, or understood it. There it stood neglected and forgotten, on the high road between Baghdad and Ekbátana, until Sir Henry Rawlinson brought it to the notice of the present generation, and compelled the Rock to give up its secrets, which date back to the sixth century before the Christian Era.

British India has unconsciously treasured a cluster of Monumental Inscriptions, more interesting than those of Darius. English industry, and intelligence, have compelled certain Rocks, Caves, and Pillars, to disclose a forgotten Chapter of History, and revivify the name of a King, Asóka *alias* Priyadási, who in the third century before the Christian Era erected these Monumental Inscriptions in every part of his wide dominions, with a view of preaching Peace and Mercy to the lives of Man and Beast, of inculcating Maxims of Morality and Self-denial; of teaching his subjects, that there was a more excellent way than the path of Earthly Glory, and above all insisting upon Religious Tolerance. Such a revelation of moral excellence, existing before the Christian Era, and wrought out by the unaided efforts of Mankind (if, indeed, God's creatures can at any time be said to be unaided by their Heavenly Father), would of itself constitute one of the richest treasures, which haughty Time has been compelled to surrender to the energy of this generation. But the Monuments

themselves are treasures of Linguistic, Palaeographic, and Historical, lore, and they let in a new light upon the relation of the successors of Alexander the Great to the Sovereigns of India.

During 1878, General Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Surveyor of India, has published the first volume of his "*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*," which is wholly devoted to the Inscriptions of Asóka, and brings together the scattered data, supplied by such great Scholars as James Prinsep, Westergaard, John Wilson, Horace Wilson, Norris, Eugene Burnouf, and Christopher Lassen, and by a host of less known contributors to this great work. As the work is rare, and exceedingly learned, it may be a convenience to epitomize the contents, and state briefly the nature of the Monuments, the place, the date of erection, the character in which the Inscriptions are recorded, and the Language, which these characters reveal; the purport of those Inscriptions; the History of the Sovereign, to whose genius, and piety, and power, we are indebted for these precious waifs of time; and lastly, the names of the Greek Sovereigns alluded to.

The Monuments consist of Inscriptions carved on the Native Rock, in Caves, generally artificial, and on Pillars of a uniform height, and architectural design. They are the earliest Indian Inscriptions that ever existed, or, at any rate, that have survived the wreck of Time; and, when we come to consider their date, they will appear comparatively modern in the eyes of the student of Egyptian, Phœnician, and Grecian, Monuments. There are thirteen Rock-Inscriptions, though only five are of first-rate importance, there are seventeen Cave-Inscriptions, but chiefly mere fragments. Although ten Pillars exist, six only have Inscriptions upon them, and five only are of importance. Setting aside, therefore, the Monuments with no Inscriptions, or with unreadable or fragmentary ones, we have ten Monuments of the greatest interest, five Rock, and five Pillar Inscriptions; the fragments are of value, inasmuch as they are unquestionably written in the same peculiar character, and therefore assist the Palaeographer in his work of deciphering letters, which have stood the blasts, and the heat, and the rains of twenty-one centuries, and survived the neglect, and the wantonness, and the iconoclasm, and vulgar taste of leaving one's own name on the records of antiquity, of sixty-three generations of men. Fortunate was the lot of those, which were protected by the incrustation of moss, or the sympathetic embraces of the impenetrable forest. Those suffered most, which fell under the eyes of men, and into the hands of arrogant Kings, who added their own names, or of bigoted Priests, who tried to destroy what they could not understand.

The field, in which these Monuments are strewed, is literally the whole of Northern India, from the Indian Ocean on the West, to the Bay of Bangál on the East, from the Southern slopes of the

Vindhya Range on the South, to the Khyber Pass across the River Indus to the North. Some are found in Ganjam, in the Province of Madras; some in Kathiáwar, in the Province of Bombay; the Central Province, the North-West Provinces, and the Provinces of Bangál, and the Panjab, have their representatives. One is in the neighbourhood of Jaipur in Rajputána, another at the spot, where the River Jamna leaves the Himaláya Mountains. In fact, the field of the Asóka Monuments is continuous with that of the Arian people, and none have as yet been found in the Land of the Dravidians.

The ten famous Inscriptions are found in the following localities :

I The Rock of Kapúrdagarh, which is called Shahbazgarhi by General Cunningham, is in the Yusufzai Country, beyond the River Indus, or, in other words, in British Afghanistan, forty miles East-North-East of Pesháwar, of the Province of the Panjáb. It is a large shapeless mass of trap, twenty-four feet long, and ten feet in height, eighty feet up the slope of the hill. The Inscription is on both faces of the Rock, and although so situated, that it cannot be photographed, impressions and eye-copies have been taken. It was discovered by General Court, and transcribed by Mr. Masson forty years ago.

II. The Rock of Khalsi is situated on the West bank of the River Jamna, just where it leaves the Himaláya Mountains to pass betwixt the Dehra and Kyarda Duns, fifteen miles West of the Sanitorium of Mussourie in the North-West Provinces. It was discovered by Mr. Forrest in 1860, encrusted with the dark moss of ages, but, when this was removed, the surface came out as white as marble. The text is the most perfect of all. There stands, two hundred feet above the River-level, a large quartz boulder, ten feet long and ten feet high on the South-East face, which has been smoothed, is the bulk of the Inscription, the remainder being on the South face. A figure of an Elephant, with the word Gajátama, is on the North face. It is not stated by what process copies were taken.

III. The Rock of Girnár is situated half a mile to the East of the city of Junagarh, in Kathiáwar, of the Province of Bombay, forty miles to the North of the famous Temple of Somnath. The first transcript of the Inscription was taken by Dr John Wilson, of Bombay, forty years ago, but Major Tod had the honour of reporting its first discovery in 1822. It covers above one hundred square feet of the uneven surface of a huge rounded and somewhat conical granite boulder, rising twelve feet above the surface of the ground : it occupies the greater portion of the North-East face, and is divided in the centre by a vertical line. Its figure is well known from the Photograph in the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Although excellent eye-copies had been taken, Mr. Burgess

took an estampage of the whole Inscription, which has been photographed and published. There are other Inscriptions, of a later date than those of Asóka, but of well-known periods.

IV. The Rock of Dhauh is on the opposite Coast of India in the District of Cuttack, of the Province of Bangál, twenty miles North of the Temple of Jagarnath. It was discovered by Captain Kittoe forty years ago. It is quartzose, on an eminence, and has been hewn and polished for a space of twelve feet long by ten in height, and the Inscription is deeply cut in three tablets. Immediately above is the forepart of an Elephant, of superior workmanship, hewn out of the solid rock. It is not stated by what process copies were taken.

V. The Rock of Jáugada is situated in a large old fort eighteen miles West-North-West of the town of Ganjam in the Province of Madras, and therefore very near to the last-mentioned Rock, amidst a population speaking at the present time the same Language, the Uriya. The Inscription is engraved on a high mass of Rock, of which the dimensions are not given, facing the South-East. It was brought to the notice of the Madras Government in 1859 by Captain Harington, who sent photographs of it, but it has transpired, that its existence and nature of its contents were perfectly well known to Sir Walter Elliot in 1850. Impressions have since been taken, and additional photographs, and a very good Text has been secured. The Inscription is written on three tablets. It shares with its neighbour at Dhauh the merit of being the most carefully and neatly engraved, and of possessing two additional Edicts. It has been much injured by the peeling away of the Rock.

Including these additional Edicts, we have thus disposed of seven of the Rock-Inscriptions; the remaining six possess certain points of interest, as furnishing chronological data: they are situated at Sakasarám on the Kymore Range, seventy miles South-East of Banáras; at Rupnáth, at the foot of the same range, thirty-five miles North of Jabalpúr; two at Bairát, forty-one miles North of Jaipúr; at Khundagíri, near Dhauh in Cuttack, and at Deotek, fifty miles South-East of Nagpúr: they are very brief.

The Cave-Inscriptions are found at four different places. Three are found at Barabar, and three at Nagarjuni, both places fifteen miles North of Gya in the Province of Bangál; nine in the hill of Khundagíri in Cuttack, and two at Ramgurh in Sirgírja.

The Pillars are believed to have been much more numerous, but only a few are now known to exist, besides several fine capitals without their shafts. The Chinese Pilgrims make mention of many more than the five, which are still known to us with Inscriptions; and we know from the Inscription on the Delhi-Siwalik Pillar, that the King had given order "for Stone Pillars, and Stone Slabs, by

which his religious Edicts should endure unto remote ages." Good Man ! his wishes have been realized. David and Solomon had no Alphabet, in which to record their views, but Hezekiah, and Josiah, Kings of Judah, have left no sculptured line as a memorial of their Faith, and their wishes. Hezekiah has left one Inscription in the Pool of Siloam. they might have done more, if they cared for the Eternal Truths, of which they were the custodians ? Five Pillars present, in a slightly variant form, the text of six of the Edicts. The sixth is a short mutilated record on the fragment of a pillar lying beside the great Sanchi Stupa at Bhilsa, on the River Nerbada. the reading is too doubtful to be of any value.

I. Pillar at Dchli, known as Firoz Shah's Lat, which is so well known to all travellers. Contemporary Mahometan Historians mention, that it was brought from a place on the banks of the Jamna, below the Siwalik Range, ninety miles North of Dehli, and therefore not very far from the Rock-Inscription of Khalsi. The Pillar has gone through many vicissitudes: it is now forty-two feet in height, and has two principal Inscriptions, besides several minor records of pilgrims and travellers from the first centuries of the Christian era to the present time. The oldest Inscription is that of Asóka, clearly and beautifully cut, and only a few letters are lost by the peeling of the stone. There are four distinct Inscriptions on the four sides, and one long Inscription, which goes completely round the Pillar.

II. Pillar at Dehli, which according to contemporary historians was brought from Mirat to Dehli by Firoz Shah. It was thrown down by an accident in 1713 A.D., and remained there in a broken state. The Inscription, after the lapse of a century, was removed to Calcutta, but has now been restored, and the Pillar re-erected in its old site. The Inscriptions are very imperfect from the mutilation and wear of time. Impressions were made for comparison with the Text of other Pillars. Only about one-half of the original Inscription remains.

III. Pillar at Allahabad. This is a single shaft of polished sandstone, thirty-five feet in height: there is no trace of the capital: the circular abacus still remains with a scroll of alternate lotus and honeysuckle resting on a beaded astragalus of Greek origin. The Inscription of Asóka is in continuous lines round the column, very neatly and deeply engraved, but a great proportion has been destroyed by the vanaglorious Inscription of the Emperor Jehángir, and the peeling of the stone. On the same Pillar are Inscriptions of a King of another Dynasty, and three smaller Asóka-Inscriptions. There is a mass of travellers' names cut in quite modern Characters. It appears to have been thrown down more than once, and these casual cuttings of names help to fix the dates of these accidents. It stands now secure

in the centre of the Fortress at Allahabad, but General Cunningham thinks, that it was moved to Allahabad from Kosambhī by the Emperor Firoz Shah.

IV. Pillar at Lauriya, near Bettiah, in the Province of Bangál, is a single block of polished sandstone thirty-eight feet in height. It has no capital; and, being in an out-of-the-way place, has escaped the disfigurement of travellers' names: the engraving is very neat and clear, and divided into two distinct portions. Impressions and eye-copies have been made.

V. Pillar at Lauriya, near Bettiah, near the ruined fort of Navandgurn, has still retained its original capital, a lion seated on its haunches with its mouth open, but injured by a cannon-shot. The height is thirty-two feet, and the capital has a circular abacus ornamented with a row of wild geese picking their food: together with the capital the height of the Monument is thirty-nine feet. The Inscription is in two columns, clear and deep cut. There are some unimportant name-cuttings upon it.

We must now consider the date, at which these Monumental Inscriptions were erected, and the argument lies within a very small compass. They bear the name of Priyadási, who is identified with Asóka of the Mauryan dynasty of Mágadha or Bahár by a chain of argument, which is quite convincing. Asóka was the third of the dynasty which ruled at Pabbothra or Patna, and the grandson of Chandragupta, who is identified with that Sandracottus, to whom Seleucus, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, sent Megasthenes as Ambassador at a date, which is fixed in Greek Chronology. Here we touch ground. In the Inscriptions Asóka makes mention of Antiochus II of Syria, Ptolemy II of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander II of Epirus. This justifies the date of B.C. 253 to 251 being assigned to the promulgation of these Edicts. Late as this may seem compared to the Chronology of Western Asia, it is the oldest in India, and has the advantage of resting upon unquestionable data.

These Inscriptions, in a linguistic point of view, are invaluable, as they present us with an undoubted specimen of the Court, or Official, Language of the period, and show clearly, that it was not Sankrit, but Pali, that intermediate stage, through which the modern Arian Vernaculars of Northern India have passed. To assert that it can be safely assumed, that this was the spoken Language of the people over this vast area, is unreasonable and most improbable, for it would then have to be shown that the modern Languages of Kathiáwar, Cuttack, Bahár, Central India, Northern India, and Pesháwar, which are well known, are respectively derived, within the two thousand years which have elapsed since then, from the Language used for the Inscriptions; and we know that such is not the case. Three Dialectal variations are noted in the Language of

these Inscriptions, a Northern, a Middle, and Southern, but these variations appear to extend only to the Phonetics, and only one instance of peculiarity of Vocabulary is mentioned, and none of Grammatical construction.

The form of Written character used is still more precious and interesting: here we find two distinct varieties: the one known as the Northern Asóka, or Ariano-Pali, is confined to the Rock-Inscription of Kapúrdagahi (No. I of this paper); the other, known as the Southern Asóka, or Indo-Pali, is used for all the other Rock, Cave, and Pillar Inscriptions. The first is read from right to left, the second from left to right, and this difference, which seems portentous to the student, vanishes into nothing, when it is recollected, that the Greek Character passed through both stages, and even the intermediate boustrophédon, turning backwards and forwards like a plough in a field. We have not space to enter into the discussion, which the study of these two characters has produced. General Cunningham has started, or rather developed, a theory, that the Southern Asóka Alphabetical character has been derived from an independent and indigenous seedplot in India. He admits that the Northern Asóka can be traced back to a Semitic parentage, but, contrary to the opinion of those, who maintain that the Southern Asóka is of the same stock, he has worked out his idea of the development of these Alphabetical characters from the Ideographs of various objects, and by the same process known as the acrostychic; the object was adopted as the symbol of the sound of the first letter of the word which expressed it. This theory, with all due respect to the learned Archaeologist, has not been accepted.

The purport of these Edicts is as follows:

- I. Prohibition of slaughter of animals for food or sacrifice.
- II. Provision of a system of medical aid for men and animals, and of plantations and wells on the roadside
- III. Order for a quinquennial humiliation, or republication of the great moral precepts of the Buddha's "Noble Way"
- IV. Comparison of the former wretched state of things, with the happy existing state under the King.
- V. Appointment of Missionaries to go into countries, which are enumerated, to convert the people and foreigners by teaching.
- VI. Appointment of Informers and Guardians of Morality.
- VII. Expression of desire, that there may be uniformity of Religion, and equality of rank.
- VIII. Contrast of carnal enjoyments of previous Rulers with the pious enjoyments of the present King.
- IX. Inculcation of the true happiness to be found in Virtue, through which alone the blessings of Heaven can be propitiated.

- X. Contrast of the vain and transitory Glory of this World with the reward for which the King strives, and to which he looks forward.
- XI. Inculcation of the doctrine, that the imparting of Dharma, or Virtue, is the greatest of charitable donations.
- XII. Address to all unbelievers.
- XIII. (Imperfect : meaning only conjectural.)
- XIV. Summing up of the whole.

It is a bitter satire to think, that for the last two thousand years there should have been sermons on stones, and moral precepts carved upon enduring Rocks with iron, and no one to read, mark, or understand. There would be no room for the abomination of Sarvism or Vaishnavism, where such a code prevailed. Moreover, the King prays with every variety of prayer "for those, who differ from him in creed, that they, following his example, may with him attain eternal Salvation" (Pillar Edict VI). This has the ring of true Christianity. He ordains Tolerance in the following words (Rock Edict VII): "He desires, that all unbelievers may everywhere dwell (unmolested) as they also wish for moral restraint, and purity of disposition; for men are of various purposes and various desires."

The Soul wakes up in glad surprise to think, that men of old could, out of their own hearts, have conceived such good things, and the same sensation overpowers us, which we feel, when we read the discourses of Socrates. If the study of Monumental Inscriptions had done no more than record the Edicts of King Asóka, they would have benefited mankind with an imperishable gift. The blast of the Royal Trumpets of King Darius; the wail of Ezzunázar, King of Tyre, over the vanity of life, the ostentatious devotion of long lines of Egyptian and Assyrian Kings to Amen Ra, and Ashur, their great gods and Lords, the proud patriotism of the Athenians in the famous Greek lines over those, who fell at Potidaea; the stately record of the Emperor Augustus of all that he had done for Rome, in the Ancyrean tablets: all these varied and affecting strains, which have been spared to us, when Temple and Tower have gone to the ground, sound faintly through the corridors of Time compared with the still small voice from the broken Pillar, the moss-grown Rocks, the forgotten Cave, preaching Mercy, Toleration, and the highest idea of Human excellence, to Mankind. How knightly seems that princely figure, whose only recorded title was "Beloved of the Gods," whose only boast was that he had conquered himself, contrasted to those haughty Monarchs, who only wished to be remembered by posterity as the slaughterers of their enemies, the destroyers of cities, and the depopulators of Provinces, as the Enemies of the Human Race!

These lines suggest to the thoughtful student of the History of Mankind, that the Great Creator cared for all His poor creatures,

scattered over the great Globe, through all the ages. and did not restrict the operations of His Holy Spirit to the tiny and faithless, and disobedient, tribes, who for a few centuries dwelt in Palestine, a mere drop in the Ocean compared to the Hundreds of Millions of India.

Journal of the Indian Institute, 1879.

"Pictures of Indian Life." 1881

Translated into Italian, *Nuova Anthologia*, Florence, 1881.

As was to be expected, additional Inscriptions of Asóka have been found since the publication of General Cunningham's memorable work, and by the General himself. Hofrath George Buhler describes as far back as 1877 three in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, and a separate Pamphlet: (1) Sahasrára, (2) Rupnáth, (3) Bairát. The length of time, which is between Buddha's Nirvána and Asóka, is absolutely fixed, and the direction pointed out, in which future efforts should be directed to find the exact date of that important event. The discovery of another is recorded in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1895.

December 31, 1896,

III

ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS SOCIETY.

IN 1878 I drew up a paper, and circulated it among friends, on the subject of starting a Society for the purpose of concentrating interest upon, and forming a centre for collecting information, and indicating sources of information upon, this important subject. If it were important in 1878, how can it be described at the close of 1896? It is the one feature, which we meet in every part of the world, and in every stage of Culture, and it may be stated at once that Pictorial as well as Ideographic, Cuneiform, and Alphabetic Inscriptions, are included in this category.

We think a great deal of our Literature and Printing-Presses, as the machinery for recording facts and theories for the benefit of future generations; but the men of the Ancient world appear to have been influenced by the same desire of leaving a track on the sands of Time, which those that came after could see, perhaps read, possibly understand. In the last half-century the discovery and interpretation of Inscriptions have advanced wonderfully, and the difficulty is to lay a ready hand on the last publication on the subject of one particular Branch. Of course the great central Branches are well known: (1) Greek, (2) Roman, (3) European of modern times, (4) Semitic in all its varieties, (5) Egyptian, (6) Mesopotamian in all its varieties, (7) Indian, (8) Persian, (9) Chinese: but occasionally a necessity arises to refer for information on such subjects, as Inscriptions in the Canary Islands; Punic, Berber, Ethiopic, in Africa; Lydian, Carian, Phrygian, Cretan, Lycian, Cypriote, in Asia; Mexican, in America; and even those, who have access to great Societies' Libraries, are sometimes at fault.

The first thing is to have an Encyclopædia of Inscriptions and a Bibliography: it has become a Science of itself, and a most interesting and instructive Science. Then there should be periodical Meetings for listening to Lectures and discussions at such an Institution as the British Institution, Albemarle Street, and a Quarterly Periodical, consisting of Reports and Correspondence. No expense need be incurred in Plates, as the original books can always be referred to, with indication as to the particular Library, in which the book is to be found, or the locality where it can be purchased. The Journal would be more of the nature of an Indicator to other Journals, and to Libraries, than a contribution of independent Essays, though, if such were available, it could be made use of for that purpose.

December 31, 1896.

IV.

INDIAN PALAEOGRAPHY.

Two Books of remarkable learning have come under my eye simultaneously: (1) General Cunningham's Volume on the Inscriptions of Asóka, (2) Mr Burnell's "Elements of Southern Palaeography" (2nd edition). The authority of both these Scholars is recognized in Europe and Asia. General Cunningham writes as follows:

"Upwards of twenty years have passed, since I came to the same conclusion, which Mr. Thomas has boldly advanced, that the South Asóka Alphabet was a perfectly independent invention of the people of India. My opinion was formed after a careful comparison of all the characters with the pictorial representations of simple objects, of which many of the letters represent either the whole name, or the first syllable of the name."

He then supplies us with a table of the Alphabet, and the pictorial Ideographs, from which, in his opinion, the people of India in process of time developed their phonetic Alphabets, after the same manner that the Egyptian, Phenician, and old Persian Alphabets were incontestably developed; but in India *not the slightest trace has survived of the use* of such Ideographs.

Mr Burnell writes without any knowledge of General Cunningham's Book, but with Mr. Thomas's theory before his eyes, as follows:

"Thus, before the conquests of Alexander, the Natives of India had ample opportunities through Persian and Egyptian Commerce to learn the Art of Writing from others, or to invent a system for themselves; and thus it must be held that they copied, for there has not been found as yet the least trace of the invention and development of an independent Indian Alphabet."

* * * * *

"The foregoing facts will, I think, prove that the Art of Writing was little, if at all, known in India before the third century before the Christian era. As there is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system, it necessarily follows, that the Art was introduced by foreigners."

He then indicates the three routes, by which the Alphabet may have found its way to India:

- (1) Direct from Phenicia.
- (2) Through the medium of the early Himyarites of Arabia.
- (3) Through an Aramaic medium in Persia or Babylonia.

Here then we have two of the greatest Palaeographic Scholars of India ranged against unquestionably the greatest Linguistic Scholar in India, on a subject of the highest importance; and I ask you to give publicity to the above in your pages without further comment, as it may elicit the opinion of European Scholars, and assist the solution of this great question, whether the Indians, who held such a high place in antiquity did, or did not, fall behind the Egyptians, Chinese, Proto-Babylonians, and Mexicans, in never devising a method of conveying their ideas to a graphic medium. And even if it be admitted, that there did exist in India an independent germ, it is apparently the Dravidian race of South India, to which it is to be attributed, and the Arian race of North India must have been content to use borrowed symbols from apparently inferior races in the scale of Culture.

The Athenaeum, February, 1879.

NOTE.—The three great Scholars alluded to have long since passed away, and the weight of competent learned opinion is decidedly in favour of the theory, that India borrowed both forms of her Alphabet, the North and South Asóka, from the Natives of Western Asia. The date, at which the Alphabet was first introduced into India, and the route, by which it found its way, are now the bone of contention.

December, 1896.

METHODS OF CONVEYING IDEAS TO MATERIAL OBJECTS.

THERE are three methods of conveying ideas and sounds to the more lasting custody of stone, metal, leaves of trees, or prepared material.

- I. The Hieroglyphic or Ideogram System.
- II. The Cuneiform or Syllabic System.
- III. The Alphabet or Letter System.

The first is still represented by the Chinese form of Script. The second has entirely perished from the use of Mankind. The third has attained a worldwide expansion in many and varying forms, but all derived from the same source.

It appears to be admitted, that the source of the origin of Alphabets was the Hieratic Ideogram System of Egypt. Some may still doubt, or assert a claim for the Cuneiform System: nothing is absolutely certain: the admission is provisionally postulated.

The question is, by what route did the invention find its way from North Africa into Asia and Europe?

Here a difference of opinion has arisen. The hitherto universally accepted opinion was, that Phenician Merchants elaborated it from inspection of Manuscripts in Egypt, and the Alphabet was called the Phenician, being handed on thence to Europe on the West, and Asia on the East. The discovery of certain Inscriptions in Arabia by Dr. Glaser of a higher alleged antiquity than any Phenician Inscription as yet discovered has brought a new element into the subject, but we have yet to wait for a decision, if not *final*, at least *provisional*.

The next question is the date of the origin of the Alphabet: here, unfortunately, a Theological bias has been introduced into a Scientific subject: the Moabite stone of the ninth century B.C. is the oldest extant Phenician Inscription, and it cannot be asserted with any sufficient proof, that any document written by the Hebrews is of an older date than that of Hosca and Micah, 800 B.C.: this has caused much searching of heart in certain circles, to soothe which a date of three centuries older has been asserted for the above-mentioned Arabian Inscription to satisfy men's minds, that Moses committed his Laws to Alphabetic Writing, and did not entrust them orally to the Priests, or write them in Egyptian Hieroglyphics. In a few years we shall have more certain information on this subject.

In India the subject is still more complicated. There is a general concurrence of opinion, that the great Alphabet of India, the mother of infinite Indian varieties, owes its existence to the great Alphabet of Western Asia above described. It used to be asserted by a group of Scholars, that it was indigenous: that view is no longer entertained, and may be placed aside.

By what route did it find its way from West Asia to India? Here there is a considerable conflict of opinion. Did it come by sea from Arabia? There was commercial intercourse at an early date with Ceylon and South India both by way of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Did it find its way by land through Persia, and Afghanistan, into North India? There was overland communication betwixt the valley of the Indus as far back as the time of the Persian Monarchy, if not earlier. The earliest Inscriptions in India are those of King Asôka of the Third century B.C., and it so happens, that there are two Alphabets used in different parts of India for these Inscriptions, indicating a possibility of a two-fold importation from the West. This question is still undecided.

The next question is the date of the importation from the West by whatever route into India. Here the noise of the clash of swords, and the shrill cries of the combatants, is distinctly heard. The difference of date is not great, but the difference of opinion is acute. No Scholar pretends, that India had an Alphabet before the ninth century B.C., or the period of the Moabite stone, and no Scholar denies, that in the time of Alexander the Great, and King Asôka, they had an Alphabet in the Fourth century B.C.: so five hundred years represent the battlefield, and the arena is clear from all fond prejudices, or Theological partialities: so the Truth, and nothing else, is sought for by all parties. A German Scholar is the chief advocate for the earlier, and a French Scholar for the later. The English Scholars look on.

The subject is one of great interest: for to this great invention of alphabetical symbols modern Europe is indebted for all its Knowledge, and the magnificent literature of the Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. I close with the following suggestive remarks: Of the three great features of Humanity, Physical, Linguistic, and Religious, the last-mentioned changes more easily and often than the two others, and, when changed, has a tendency to modify the other characteristics of the race. No Religion, accompanied by the literary faculty, is introduced into a race without carrying with it the Alphabet, in which its Dogma and Ritual are embodied; and Alphabets have generally, though not always, only found their way to a race, when there was a Creed to accompany them. Thus, all over the Pagan illiterate world at this moment the appearance of a Religious Conception is the herald of, and the creator of, a literature, not so much for a purpose, as for a natural consequence.

Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, January, 1897.

VI.

AIDS TO HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

HOWEVER valuable the power of "conveying words to Writing" may be, and whatever may be the thanks, that we owe to the Father of Written History, Herodotus, and his successors, it is not everything there are other sources of real History, which are now plentifully developed, and by which Written History, when it exists, can be corrected, or, when it does not exist, as in India, and Etruria, and all over the Barbarian World, it can be created. The primary meaning of the word *Λόγος* of Plato, Philo, and John the Apostle, is "Reason," as any Greek Dictionary will tell us; the secondary is the vehicle of communicating Reason, a "Word." It is to be feared, that by far the greater number of words uttered are mere sounds of an instrument for emitting sounds, without any idea conveyed, and a considerable number are issued to conceal the thought entertained, like the feints of a fencing-master. Professor Petrie, at the British Association of 1896, descants on the interesting subject of "Man *before* Writing." It is clear, that in the eight or ten thousand years, during which man has existed, the power of writing, except in Mesopotamia and Egypt, did not exist at all until about 800 B.C., and was very sparsely used until the great outburst of Education in this century: we may therefore be grateful for the survival of other means of Historical Knowledge, which have been spared to us: what are they?

- I. Geographical and Astronomical Knowledge, which contrasts dates and localities
- II. Monumental Inscriptions, or Sculptured Tablets.
- III. Works of Art, such as Pottery, Sculpture, Carving, Architecture, etc.
- IV. Numismatics.
- V. That strong common-sense, the result of experience and Education, which prevents the assertion of anything supernatural in ordinary life.

I. Now a Knowledge of the Geography of the *whole world*, enables us to contrast the statements of early narratives, based on lying Legend, or the oral accounts of a mendacious traveller: we find the latest trace of this in the "Arabian Nights." Astronomy enables us to correct dates: an eclipse took place during a battle,

a planetary conjunction is reported at a certain time, such as the death of Ramesses II, and a date is fixed, which no chronicler can impugn. I remember once visiting the Oasis of Okba, South of Biskra in Algeria, North Africa, and my Arab guide pointing with his arm to the South, and indicating the supposed position of Timbaktu, the nearest cultivated country across the Sahára, and I thought of Herodotus in Egypt, inquiring whence the Nile came, and the uplifted arm of the Egyptian Priest pointing to the South as the direction, from which the waters of the great River flowed, the source of which was not discovered for more than two thousand years afterwards.

II. The Monumental Inscriptions and Sculptured Tablets speak to us from the Rocks, and the walls of Temples, or isolated stones, like voices of the Past: there can be no fraud of intermediate Historians here: the very persons, who wrote these proud Inscriptions, and placed *in situ* these pretentious Monuments, must have seen them, and they have been dead thousands of years ago: yet patient study unfolds the mystery, and translates the Legend: the eyes of Herodotus may perhaps have fallen on the Monument, but the meaning was not revealed to him, as it is to us: they are documents of as unquestionable genuineness and authenticity, as the Records of European Monument-Rooms. And we must not be surprised or pained, if cherished misconceptions are swept away, and over-esteemed reputations lowered to their proper level.

III. The Works of Art, which haughty Time has spared though in a mutilated state, tell the same story. Pottery, which fills such an unimportant part in the present Epoch, is an important factor in ancient excavations: when one city has been built over another, as the Tel or Mound of Lachish in Palestine, fragments of broken Pottery help the excavator to assign dates. The Science of Painted Vases is a special Science of itself: the Art of the Painter, the skill of the fabricator, the Inscriptions, and the subject of the Painting, are all helps to History and Chronology. We pass on to Sculpture. Greece is now giving up forgotten treasures at Athens, Mykénæ, Olympia, Delphi, and numerous other places: the Legends of the Past are undergoing correction, excavations reveal Architectural remains. Two thousand years have passed away since in Africa, Asia, and Europe, all these things were buried out of sight. The bronze statues were melted, the marble statues were mutilated; beautiful temples and tombs destroyed: how all this happened, History is silent. We read in modern times of a statue of Queen Victoria suffering from a ceaseless dripping of water from a hole in the roof of the Royal Exchange: all these causes of destruction were multiplied, and earthquakes, strokes of lightning, storms, overflowing of rivers, and the brutality of barbarous invaders, completed the catastrophe: however, the rediscovery corrects, or confirms, written Histories.

IV. Numismatics have played an important part in every country, where the Art of coining had come into existence: the features of Alexander the Great, and his dates, and the coins with Greek Inscriptions, which have been found in India, confirm the truth of the narrative which the Romans doubted.

*“et quicquid Grecia mendax
Audet in Historiâ.”*

V The last characteristic is obvious. We live no longer in a credulous age: the public will not swallow in the nineteenth century A D. wonderful stories, which they were able in their dense ignorance to digest in the centuries B C. In the event of a sudden death by the alleged action of a holy man, the Coroner's Inquest would make it very uncomfortable for him. If a Brahman at Banâras acted as Elijah the Tishbite is reported to have acted, he would have been hung. The rumours of a miraculous event would attract correspondents of the Daily Papers, and unpleasant criticism. The Heavenly bodies in their courses have revolved through thousands of years very much as they do now. Day and Night, Winter and Summer, Birth and Decay of Animal and Vegetable life, seem to proceed upon certain and unchangeable principles. Why should we credit upon imperfect evidence irregularities recorded in a credulous age? In this manner, by the aid of the Public Press, the unsparing independence of modern literature, and the advancing intelligence of a certain, though small, portion of the general public, Truth in History is being obtained both for the Present and the Past.

Asiatic Quarterly Review, January, 1897.

VII.

ADVANCE OF KNOWLEDGE ON CERTAIN SUBJECTS IN THE LAST HALF-CENTURY.

[JUBILEE CONTRIBUTION TO *Calcutta Review*]

IN March, 1846, under my tent in the camp of Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, before the walls of Lahór, the Capital of the conquered Kingdom of the Panjáb, I wrote my first contribution to the *Calcutta Review*, which was then in its infancy. My subject was the "Countries betwixt the Rivers Satlaj and Jamna," a region, where I had dwelt since June, 1844, and in which I had taken part in the great Satlaj-campaign. Perhaps of the men, who took part in that struggle, no one but Field-Marshal Haines and myself have survived to this date. Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, remarked to me that, as I was a civilian, he could not give me any Military honours, so he mentioned me in his dispatches to the India Office, and gave me charge of the Virgin District of Hoshiarpúr, in the Jalandhar Doab, at the age of twenty-five, under John Lawrence, as Commissioner, and Superintendent.

Oh! the joy of that wondrous period from 1846 to 1849. The first charge of a District is like a man's first love, never to be forgotten. And such a District! half in the lower ranges of the Himaláya, half in the beautiful submontane plain, with the clear streams of the Rivers Satlaj and Beas flowing on each flank; studded with Mangoe-groves and feudal castles; occupied by a manly race of agriculturists. I moved out alone in their midst, without guards: the troops were kept within their Cantonments; here was learned the great lesson, first taught by Virgil in the Sixth book of the "Aeneid":

*"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."*

The iron hand in the velvet-glove: the soft word and the strong order, and the instant obedience: the Court of the Ruler held in the Mangoe-grove, where all were welcome: the evenings spent with the people, far from the sound of the English Language, and the din of cities. And when the second trouble, the Panjáb War, broke out in 1849, I had my reward as regards my own District, for vain were the attempts to induce a well-satisfied people to join a Rebellion, which ended in the entire annexation of the Panjáb.

Since that date I have contributed forty-two Articles, on every sort of subject. I attach a list to the last page of this my Jubilee, and probably my last, contribution, for at seventy-five years of age we are not as we were at twenty-five, "*Consule Planco*," or, as I interpret it, the time of Dalhousie and Lawrence. I have the highest opinion of the value of this periodical, and of the ability, with which it has, under its different Editors, been produced for half a century. Many of those, who contributed to its pages have been my dearest friends, from the days of Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Muir (still living), to the present period. Young men of this generation have the priceless advantage of being able to inform themselves of what their predecessors said, did, or thought, and thus a continuity of purpose is maintained. Nothing in my old age strikes me more than the vast strides which we have made in every Branch of Knowledge, of all time since the Creation, and in every part of the world. In 1843 I was a companion of Professor Lepsius, of Berlin, when he was making his excavations at the Pyramids in Egypt, as this was the dawn of Egyptology. I conversed with Major Henry Rawlinson in 1844, in Calcutta, on his way to Baghdad, with the key of the great Mesopotamian treasure-house in his brain: this was the dark hour before the dawn of Assyriology, and the Cuneiform form of Writing. In the same year, at Banáras, I heard with wonder of the Asóka Tablets, and of the Records on Rocks of Ancient India. There were no Telegraphs, Photographs, Railways, Electricity, Chloroform, and many other ordinary scientific contrivances then. Africa and Oceania were merely Geographical expressions then: the classification of Languages was unknown: the scientific testing of Historical Documents, now called the Higher Criticism, had not been developed. people were content with the interpretations and opinions of their grandmothers, and had an unlimited power of feeble acquiescence and wholesale swallowing. A healthy feeling of mistrust now exists, and a desire to know the "how," the "why," and the "when," of each Historical document. The Round World has been thrown open, and we see dimly fifteen hundred Millions of men like ourselves moving on the surface; and by facts, inductions, and reasonable theories, we are led on to believe, that they have been there in their succeeding generations for ten thousand years or more before the present Epoch, men of like passions as ourselves, and like desires; waging wars, and committing acts of cruelty, as convinced, as we are ourselves, of the absolute Truth of their Religious Conceptions and Moral Laws; erecting magnificent Monuments; leaving behind them imperishable literary memorials of their pride and their greatness, and of their groping into the impenetrable darkness of the Past and Future; composing great poems, which can never die, and grand philosophic treatises, which no Time can gainsay; calling

to us across the abyss of thousands of years: "We were men, as good as you, and like unto you will your vaunted Epoch leave behind it traces of its brief existence as durable and as heart-stirring as we have done?"

Years ago I have fallen by chance on treatises, such as Herbert Spencer's classification of the Sciences, which have stirred me, as I read them in my solitary canvas-tent under the Mangoe-groves in my District, far, away from the daily Newspaper, and the strife of men. I put these lines together on the chance of their falling under the eye of some one young enough to be my grandson, that he may know what the orbit of studies of one of the Ancient Men, who to the extent of his humble capacity helped to make British India, was in his declining years.

I. The Religious Conceptions of Mankind

II. The Forms of Speech or Languages spoken by Mankind.

Both these were congenital gifts by the Creator to the creatures whom He made by His own will, and for His own pleasure.

III. Anthropology in all its branches. ("The proper study of mankind is Man")

IV. Higher Criticism of all ancient documents, with no possible exceptions

V. Archaeological Excavations in India, Persia, Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, Central America.

VI. Geography in all its Branches, all over the round world.

VII. History.

VIII. Tests applied to the foundation of History.

I. THE RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF MANKIND.

The Science, or Philosophy, of Religion, has come into existence during the last half-century. I remember in 1844, that a Secretary to the Government objected to the word Religion being applied to any other Conception, or cult, except the Christian: all others were in a general way, though the centre of the hopes in this world and the next, and the guide of life, were consigned to Satan. When the population of the Round World became dimly known, if the view of this Secretary were right, it was clear, that the strong man was, and had been since the Creation of the World, out of possession of his own house: for during the eight thousand years, which preceded the Christian era, the Hebrews, about five Millions, were credited as the sole representatives of a True Religion in the elder world, and their Scriptures the only Sacred Books, which had been written before Anno Domini.

All this has changed now : the long Series of the "Sacred Books of the East" has revealed new intellectual wonders. Let me pass under review the Religious Conceptions of the ancient world before the great Epoch of the Incarnation. There are two main Divisions :

1. Animism or Worship of Spirits, known as Nature-Worship.
2. Ethical Conceptions or Book Religions.

We may pass over the first as a disappearing phenomenon, and subdivide the latter

1. *Dead Conceptions.*

- (1) Egyptian.
 - (2) Babylonian.
 - (3) Assyrian
 - (4) Graeco-Roman.
 - (5) Teutonic, Keltic, Slavonic.
 - (6) Semitic.
 - (7) Etruscan.
- And several others of less importance.

2. *Living Conceptions.*

- (1) Brahmanism.
- (2) Zoroastrianism.
- (3) Judaism.
- (4) Buddhism.
- (5) Jainism.
- (6) Confucianism.
- (7) Taoism.
- (8) Shintoism.
- (9) Animism in many moribund forms in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania.

We know all about these wonderful phenomena now ; we knew nothing at the period, at which the *Calcutta Review* commenced, or, if we knew anything, it was incorrect, or incomplete, seen darkly through the smoked glass of Prejudice and Ignorance ; but all now is as clear as day. We have discovered that the men of ancient days, Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Babylonian, Zoroastrian, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucianist, who have left such indelible marks in the History of the World by their Buildings, and their Writings, which the hand of Time has spared, were not fools, or fanatics, or barbarians, devoid of the Religious sense, but according to the measure of their Gifts and opportunities, wise, thoughtful, pious, and seeking after Holiness, according to the measure of their simple ideas, and not unconscious, or regardless, of a Future of Rewards

and Punishments Such phenomena of the Human intellect should not be treated with contempt They represent the state, in which it pleased the all-wise Controller to allow the great, powerful, and gifted races of these countries to remain for a time, to tarry His leisure, till in the fulness of time He sent His own Son. Whatever the pietists of Europe may say in their ignorance and unchristian spiritual pride, He loved *all* His poor Creatures then as he does now.

These are the lessons, which some of us have learned in the last half-century.

“ Full many a heathen lived out holy days,
 “ Died for his Altar, for his country strove;
 “ Spake hymns Heaven-prompted, full of prayer and praise,
 “ And words of Wisdom, Piety, and Love.
 “ Fell not Thy shadow, Lord, on those behind,
 “ When on the Cross Thou suffered for Mankind ? ”

The world, indeed, would have been poorer, if the words of Plato, Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Buddha, and many a Papyrus, Stela, and clay-brick, from the Libraries of Egypt and Mesopotamia, had perished, or remained buried.

II. THE FORMS OF SPEECH OR LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY MANKIND.

The second congenital gift of God to man, as a means of communicating with his fellow-creatures. No tribe has been found so low in Culture as to be unable to convey ideas by articulate sound, and the power is exercised unconsciously. I came across a Grammar of the Hebrew Language, published at the close of last century at Edinburgh, the Author of which, in his Preface, complacently remarks, that there are about eighty Languages in the world, and that all were derived from the Hebrew. It is well on all matters to speak with reserve, subject to correction by the men of the next generation; but as far as an opinion can be formed based on collected facts, there are at this moment about two thousand forms of speech mutually unintelligible, call them by what name you please, Language, Dialect, Patois, Jargon, and no one, who has studied the subject, can hesitate to consign the idea of a common seedplot to all Languages to the waste-paper basket: it might as well be asserted, that all mankind, white, black, brown, yellow, and red, with different physical details of structure, came from one common parent Not only is there an essential difference in word-lore, but such a contrariety in structure, and sentence-lore, as indicates an entirely different logical conception of the mode of conveying ideas. Certain great linguistic Families, or Groups, have been built up: some Languages are isolated, the sole survivors of an extinct Family.

Passing on to the great Human invention of expressing ideas, not only by word, but by symbols portrayed on clay, metal, leaves, or papyrus, we find that the vast numerical majority of Mankind have, even in the nineteenth century, never attained to this degree of acquired Knowledge; and such Nations as have attained it in the early periods of the Human Race, have exercised the power in a threefold manner:

- I By Ideographic pictures.
- II. By Syllabic Cuneiform symbols.
- III. By Alphabetic symbols of single sounds.

The second category is totally extinct; the first is represented by the Monosyllabic Ideograms of the Chinese. The third, in a multiform variety of the same principle, is spread over the world, conquering and to conquer. We can watch the death of Languages, like the fall of the leaves of the trees in Autumn. Some more powerful and more highly developed form of speech treads out a poor feeble patois; and at the same time there is a *birth-giving* of new Languages of a mixed or Creole character, the result of the combination of European and non-European elements.

All this has been revealed to us in the last half-century, though there are still problems which require a solution, and theories which have to be stiffened by the lapse of time, and accumulation of experiences.

III. ANTHROPOLOGY.

The new Oxford Dictionary of the English Language thus defines this pure Greek word of the time of Aristotle:

- (1) The Science of man, or of mankind, in the widest sense.
- (2) The Science of the nature of man, embracing Human Physiology, and Psychology, and their mutual bearing.
- (3) The study of man as an animal, investigating the position of man zoologically, his "evolution" and history as a race of human beings.

The subject is inexhaustible, and full of intense interest. As we pass down the galleries of the British Museum, or the Oxford Museum, we see what man was in his savage, or barbarous, state, in different parts of the world; we read of his Religious Conceptions, Ethics, his customs, his habitations, his physical features, his skull, his hair, the colour of his skin: yet he is still man, differing by his congenital attributes from the beasts around him. The student is led on to speculate on the Antiquity of Man; and we find evidence of him in prehistoric Archaeology, in the Cave-

Period, the Drift-Period, and passing through the different stages of Development of Civilization.

All this Knowledge has been acquired in the last half-century. It raises a smile of pity to think of the Chronological theories of good Archbishop Usher, and his date of 4000 B.C. for the Creation of man: Geological researches tell another story.

IV. HIGHER CRITICISM OF ALL ANCIENT DOCUMENTS, WITH NO POSSIBLE EXCEPTIONS.

The Lower Criticism confines itself to the Text of ancient documents. The Higher Criticism considers the context, and the reasonable difficulties, which arise to every intelligent mind in the study of the contents of the document. When the reputed Author of a Book in the last chapter describes his own death and funeral obsequies, the Higher Critic demurs, and cannot pass over in silence the fact of an event being recorded in a Book of reputed date, which is proved by good evidence to have taken place centuries later. Niebuhr, the great German Scholar, who died in 1831, led the way in his handling of the Roman Legends: he was followed by Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who died in 1842. It seemed like a great enfranchisement of the Human Intellect, and the same process was applied to other Histories, even to those bearing the honoured names of Herodotus and Thucydides. A further extension of the principle has destroyed the unique dignity extended without inquiry to Homer. The same principles have been unsparingly applied to all the Sacred Books of the Ancient Nations; and at last the time came, when the Books of the Hebrews must be submitted to the same ordeal. Here a sensitive portion of the modern believer was touched: he could readily assent to any of the above-noted Criticisms, however harsh and painful to heathen believers, if they were based on accurate scholarship and sound logical reasons, and he could not pretend, that a document of whatever date, or however long a pedigree, was anything but a representation of Human industry; but, when it came to offend his prejudices in his own particular sphere, loud was his outcry: yet still the work goes on; if it be true, Truth must conquer. No true Religion can afford in the nineteenth century to be supported by a lie, a fabrication, a false legendary report, a manifest interpolation, a defiance of all canons of literature.

V. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS.

Archaeology is no longer a mere fad or dilettante amusement, but has become essentially practical, and the life-occupation of serious, learned, and highly trained, excavators; and the result has been, that a wonderful light has been thrown on the History

of ancient prehistoric Nations. To know something of such results is an indispensable component part of a liberal Education. It is a wonderful thought how, under the combined scientific researches of the great European Nations and the Citizens of the United States, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Etruria, and Central America, have given up treasures, exceeding the wildest dream of the most enthusiastic worshipper of Antiquity. The glory of Pompeii and Herculaneum is indeed dimmed, when brought into juxtaposition with Olympia and Mykénæ.

Monumental and epoch-making works have been published detailing the results of the excavations, and Museums are filled with specimens of the Art and Industry of men, which had been buried in the earth for many centuries. The scanty outlines of History, which the Greeks and Romans handed down to us, have been filled in, and we stand face to face with men and women, whose very names had been forgotten, and yet who in their time had done deeds, which ought never to have died. It seems to have been the cold, stern policy of the Roman Nation to crush out the Civilization of the Nations which preceded it, and blot their very existence out of the memory of men. Such was the fate of the Etruscan, Carthaginian, Greek, Syrian, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian Nations: they were not only conquered—and that was a fair game, which they had played themselves in their own time—but the waters of Lethé passed over all those features in their individual existences, which are described in this Essay: Religious Conceptions, Languages, Customs, Written Documents, or engraved Monuments, Geographical features, Historical incidents, Coins, Pottery, Architectural remains; and it is only during the last fifty years, that tardy justice has been done, and the deepest sympathy has been roused with the ever-multiplying evidences of the greatness of these Ancient Nations, their Wisdom, their capacity, and innate goodness. A voice seems to cry from the tomb, from the ruined palace, from the desecrated place of Worship: "We were men, "men of like passions, like powers, like sense of High Morality, "like Faith in a Creator, like expectation of Life beyond the "grave, as yourselves: we led the way in the great triumphant "path of Human Development: we showed the way to pile up "imperishable buildings like the Pyramids: we invented the "methods of conveying sounds by the medium of symbols to "material substances: we invented and practised the Art of Writing: "you have only slavishly imitated our Methods, distorting them to "suit your miserable requirements: we devised them to suit the "genius of our form of speech, and to chronicle our own ideas. "Thousands of years have passed away, and yet we have lived "through this great abyss of time. Will anything which has come "out of the boasting Europe, the heir of all the ages, survive eight "or nine thousand years, when the Deluge has closed over you?"

VI. GEOGRAPHY.

When I left Eton College, as Captain of the Oppidans, in 1840, I used an Eton School Atlas of the old type, which has survived in my bookcase to this day. I knew where Athens, Rome, and Carthage were, and the supposed route of Alexander the Great, and the pass of the Alps, which Hannibal made use of; but the line of teaching was drawn there: when I made my first European tour in 1841, I was surprised to visit Berlin, Vienna, and Munich, and hear of the Geography of Europe. When I reached India, and travelled in a palanquin from Calcutta to Banáras, Dehli, and Ambála, I practically learned the Geography and Topography of India. Geography was not taught then as a Science: there was no Geographical Society: the Teachers of Schools could not teach what they did not know themselves. As to the Geography of Asia, Africa, and America, it was a sealed book, and Oceania had not come into existence. The majority of mankind was only a little in advance of the contemporaries of the Apostles, who did not hesitate to call Asia Minor, Syria, and the Eastern portion of the Mediterranean, *ἡ οἰκουμένη*, the inhabited world (Acts, xi, 28), or the "Regions under Heaven" (Acts, ii, 5).

A great change has happened since then: the great round world has been discovered: Africa is no longer a blank space on the map; the Nile has been traced to its unknown sources, as well as the Niger and the Kongo, the mountains of the Moon have been spotted, and the Teacher of Geography is on the warpath; and the subject is so fascinating, that hundreds gather together in great Halls to hear lectures, sometimes from the very lips of a great Explorer. We can imagine poor old Herodotus asking the Priests in Egypt whence the Nile came: centuries later, no doubt, the Emperor Hadrian asked the same question, and got the same vague answer. If there be still something to find out in the Arctic and Antarctic Circle, it is well, for it is a test of manhood to leave nothing undiscovered.

Geographical Knowledge naturally divides itself under certain heads: (1) Physical, revealing all the wonders of the conformation of Land and Water. (2) Political Geography follows: the boundaries and populations of Kingdoms. (3) Then follow the details of the Languages which they speak, and the Religious Conceptions, which they profess, and the ancient customs to which they cleave. (4) Then Commercial Geography tells us of the raw and manufactured products of each Region, the gold, silver, opium, saltpetre, and other contributions, which each country makes to the wealth of the world. A moderate-sized volume for each portion of the Continents tells us all this in a general way, but volumes are required to exhaust the subject.

Cartography has taken new developments: Maps have risen above the most sanguine conception, and the raised Maps, and even models of the Globe, bring the subject home.

VII. HISTORY.

A few words are sufficient: perhaps the Historian still develops too much of a bias in one particular direction, allowing himself to regard facts, which happened long ago, from the point of view of the nineteenth century, and unconsciously colouring the policy of past ages with the colour of the Historian's own proclivities and weaknesses. This is peculiarly the case in the History of new Empires, such as Modern India. A new process has been proposed by Lord Acton, at Cambridge, by which the causes and effects of certain tendencies in Man at different periods should be traced during the succeeding centuries, independently of National idiosyncrasies, boastings, and humiliations: in fact, a real Philosophy of the History of Mankind. What is Liberty? Is it an absolute moral right of all Mankind, to be obtained for one's self at any cost, and respected in others at any sacrifice? or is it only a selfish desire on the part of the Nation, which is strong, to secure Liberty for itself, and do the best to deprive weaker nations of their Liberty? Does not the History of Great Britain require being written in a philosophic spirit, a Nation jealous of its own Liberty, ready to avenge any drop of blood of its own citizens, and yet ready to destroy the Liberty of other nations, slay innocent and unoffending barbarians in Asia, Africa, Oceania, or America, for the mere purpose of selfish aggrandizement, or finding a new market for Lancashire manufacturers?

“ It is excellent
To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant.”

How will Posterity judge the conduct of Great Britain? We pass hard judgment on the Monarchs of Mesopotamia and Egypt, on Attila, Genghiz Khan, and Tamerlane. They knew no better. Of what meaning is Christianity, if the tribes of South Africa, East Africa, and West Africa, are slaughtered and plundered, merely to enhance the dividend of a Chartered Company?

“ In the name of the Prophet Figs!” cries the Mahometan fruit-seller at Smyrna and Damascus. “ In the name of Religion and Civilization, Murder and Confiscation of Property!” cries the Christian (?) Shareholder, led on by a so-called Christian Land-Pirate.

VIII. TESTS APPLIED TO THE FOUNDATION OF HISTORY.

When the Father of History, Herodotus, went down into Egypt, ignorant of the Language, and with the credulous spirit of his age,

he picked up the Legends of the country from the Priests, and intelligent wayfarers whom he met: everything went down into his notebook, was swallowed, digested, and handed down to posterity in the marvellous beauty of his Ionic Greek. The travelling M.P., who makes a winter-tour in British India, forms an opinion on the administration of that country, picked up from the "intelligent" man, met on the Railway-platform, who did not wish his name to be mentioned; from the young English-speaking Native Collegian, "who spoke like Macaulay or Dr. Johnson"; from the Indigo-planter, who was not allowed to persecute the cultivators; from the Anti-Opium and Anti-Liquor fanatic, and from the rabid Native papers.

Fortunately, other Tests are supplied. I have already alluded to Geography. Things contrary to Physical Geography were impossible then, as they are now. Of History ancient men had a very strange idea. The Author of Deuteronomy, whatever may be his date, invites the Hebrews to "ask of the days that are past," but it is difficult to say in what quarter they could have applied with a chance of a reply, as they had no records of their own of an earlier date than Moses; and even if they could have read the great Egyptian Inscriptions, they would have learned from them very little of any country except Egypt, and the countries with which Egypt made war, and a great deal of the favour shown by Egyptian gods to Egyptian kings.

Those Inscriptions are now copied and translated, and similar records of antiquity have been found in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and, in fact, everywhere except in Palestine, which has contributed one Inscription only, of the date of King Hezekiah. The importance of Inscriptions in India is very great, as in the voluminous literature of the Indians History is not represented.

Numismatics have also come to the assistance of the Historian, though at a later period, and other Works of Art, such as Pottery, Carvings, Architectural remains, bricks bearing the stamp of the Monarch, who ordered the erection of the building. The evidence of Pottery is of great importance, as in the late excavations in Lachish in Palestine, it was found that a succession of cities had been erected on the same mound, one upon the other, but differentiated by the fragments of pottery found in each.

These subsidiary survivals of past generations have enabled trained, cautious, and self-restrained, students and excavators, to recreate a Past, which has been buried for many thousand years.

*"Artem, quae latuit Graecos, latuitque Latinos,
Nostrorum è tumulo suscitât ingenium."*

CONCLUSION.

It is well for each of us, as we turn over in this vast Ocean of acquired Knowledge, and cautious speculation, that we cry out :

“ Domine, illumina nos,
ut
Tideamus clarè, loquamur humiliter,
et
Scribamus sapienter, et restrictè ”

It is of no use resisting the incoming flood of Truth, or confine its action to one Branch of Human Knowledge, and shut it out from others.

“ Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὑπερσχήνει.”

Pilate asked, “What is Truth?” and got no answer *then* : nor can we find any certain road nineteen centuries later. We read in the Gospel, John, xvi, 17. “Sanctify them through Thy Truth: Thy Word is Truth” But amidst the accretions of Superstition, and the envelopments of gross, interested, mediæval, Ignorance, how can we get at the precious ore, except by careful and humble search, unbiassed investigation, and strictly logical conclusions, strengthened by prayer for Spiritual guidance? for the desire for Knowledge, the Method to attain Knowledge, the Intellect to appraise and record Knowledge, are all

“ Δύρα τοῦ Θεοῦ,”

to be used for His Glory and the Benefit of Mankind

It is obvious, that the orbit of inquiry and study above sketched, is but a small section of the great treasure-house of Piled-up Knowledge I have lived on intimate terms with men who had other orbits of research, Astronomy, Geology, Geodesy, Chemistry, Botany, Geometry, and such like, which were sealed subjects to me, but I heard from their lips, or read in their reports, of Progress, Progress everywhere. I witnessed lives devoted to Arts, something, to my mind, very inferior: Music, Painting, Sculpture, Military and Naval experiences, and such like I witnessed many more throwing away their lives and their faculties in Field-sports, fleeting amusements, merely to kill the passing hours.

But for the steady, continuous, and thorough labour of a host of Scholars, of all Nationalities, during the last half-century, it would not have been possible for the illustrious Scholar, Hofrath G Buhler, of Vienna, to undertake, with every reasonable promise of success, the gigantic enterprise of compiling “an Encyclopaedia of Indo-Arian Research, the first attempts at a complete, systematic, and concise survey of the vast field of Indian Languages, Religion, History, Antiquities, and Art, as a Book of reference for Students,” and a new point of departure for the

further Research of the Twentieth Century. Those, who live into that Epoch, may hope to know something; we men of the nineteenth century have been, as it were, groping in the dark. Upwards of thirty Scholars of various Nationalities have undertaken to co-operate to build up this great Edifice, portions in the German, and portions in the English Language. Natives of British India have not been found wanting in this great enterprise. There will be three Volumes: (1) General, Languages; (2) Literature and History; (3) Religion, Secular Sciences, Art. In each of these great sections of the great subject, there are subdivisions, exhausting the whole orbit, which I have attempted to illustrate, as regards British India. The example will, no doubt, be followed as regards other regions of the great world, now thrown open in its entirety: it is amusing to find the word "world," or "*mundus*," or even "the earth," applied by some to the narrow section of the great Globe, which has come within their own limited ken. Circumstances have changed within the last half-century, and there is Geographically little or nothing more to discover.

A LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE "CALCUTTA REVIEW."

<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject.</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Subject.</i>
1	1846	Countries between the Satlej and the Jamna.	24	1879	International Congresses, No 2.
2	1847	Jalandhar Doab	25		Monumental Inscriptions
3	1852	Palestine and Lebanon.	26	1881	Geography of Greece and Rome
4		Present state of Turkey.	27		Languages of Africa.
5	1853	The Ramáyana	28	1884	Algeria
6	1854	Collector of Land Revenue	29		The Russians on the Caspian
7	1855	Mesopotamia	30		Athens, Rome, Carthage, and Syracuse.
8	1858	A District during a Rebellion.	31		Opium-Trade
9	1859	The Lahore Division	32		International Congresses, No 3.
10		Examination-System. "Detritus dignum"	33	1885	A "Cook's Tour" in Egypt and Palestine.
11		Non-Regulation-Justice	34	1886	Egypt
12		French Courts of Justice	35		Census of India in 1881.
13	1864	Unpaid Native Agency "Home Rule."	36	1887	International Congresses, No 4.
14	1872	Words and Places	37		Races and Languages of Oceania
15	1873	Royal Asiatic Society	38	1888	The Liquor-Traffic in India.
16	1874	International Congresses, No 1.	39	1889	Relation of Missionaries to Civil Power.
17	1875	Modern Indigenous Literature of India.	40	1890	International Congresses, No 5.
18		Oriental Scholars	41	1893	Opium-Trade with China, 1893
19	1876	Egyptology.	42	1894	The Ancient Religions of the World.
20	1877	Phœnician Alphabet			
21		Study of Russian Contemporary History			
22	1878	Religions of India			
23		Languages of the East Indies			

VIII.

MUIR'S "SANSKRIT TEXTS," VOL. II. (SECOND EDITION.)

THE object of this Volume is to assist the people of India in their researches into the *Origin and History of their Nation*, their *Literature*, *Religion*, and *Institutions*. The name "Sanskrit Texts" scarcely applies to this Volume.

It is a compilation from the works of the best Authors in Europe, and of original quotations of the Sanskrit works of the highest authority, which are given in the original words rendered in the Roman character.

The Method and argument belong to the compiler alone, and are ingenious and exhaustive. Some original observations are added to elucidate particular points.

The general object is to prove that :

- I. The Hindu Nation was not, as they fancy, autochthonous in India.
- II The Hindu immigrated from Central Asia at some remote period
- III. Their ancestors formed one community with the progenitors of the Persians, Greek-Romans, Teutons, Kelts, etc.
- IV. The Sanskrit Language shows undeniable marks of affinity with the ancient Language of the above-mentioned races.
- V. The *earliest* Religion and Mythology of the Hindu are connected with those of Persia by various points of contact and resemblance.
- VI. The Hindu Nation originally occupied only the North-Western corner of Hindustan, now known as the Panjáb, the Country of the Five Rivers, or the Upper Basin of the Indus.
- VII. They were distinguished by Language, Religion, and customs, from the tribes, with whom they came into collision, as they advanced down the Basin of the Ganges.

To carry out the Philological portion of this argument it became necessary to show :

- I. That the *original* Sanskrit Language (whatever it was) has undergone a long series of gradual mutations, the ultimate result of which are the Sanskritic Vernaculars of Modern India, in each of which there are four elements : (1) pure Sanskrit (Tatsamuh); (2) modified Sanskrit (Tadbhava); (3) aboriginal non-Arian words (Désaja); (4) Loan-words, Arabic, Persian, etc.
- II. That intermediate betwixt the original Sanskrit, and the Sanskritic Vernaculars, exist the Prakrits, of which there are four distinct existing types :
 - (1) The Prakrits of the Drama.
 - (2) The Pali of the Buddhist Books of Ceylon and Burmah.
 - (3) The Languages of the Rock-Inscriptions, known as the Asóka.
 - (4) The Language of the "Gatha" of the Buddhists in Northern India (Nípál).
- III. That Sanskrit was the original Language of Northern India, and was in some form or other a *spoken Vernacular*; and that the Vedic hymns were in the Language spoken by the composers of them, long before the existence of any treatise on Grammar.
- IV. That Sanskrit, being a Vernacular, was exposed to all the mutations, which are undergone by other Languages, viz. : the friction of Time, accent, fashion, and contact with the outer world.
- V. That unquestionably the Veda, and among them the Rig-Veda, are the most ancient survivals, as evidenced by their Language, and the Religious system described.
- VI. That unquestionably there is an affinity betwixt Vedic Sanskrit and Zend, Greek, and Latin, both as regards the word-store, and Grammatical structure; but not such an affinity as would in any way justify the conclusion, that those Languages were derived from the Vedic Sanskrit in the same way as unquestionably the Prakrits were derived, since they contain forms older than Sanskrit, and a large part of their word-store is different.
- VII. That it is inferred, that the ancestors of the Hindu Nation, at some remote period, lived in the same community with the forefathers of the Greek, Roman, and Iranian Nations; that the Iranians and Indians dwelt the longest together; and that the cradle of the Indo-European or Arian Race was *not* in India, but in some central tract North of the Hindu-Kush, whence the different Branches diffused themselves over the widely separated countries, which they eventually occupied.

- VIII. That in India there is unmistakable proof of the existence from the earliest period of hostile autochthons, or at least earlier immigrants than the Sanskrit-speaking Authors of the Vedic hymns.
- IX. That traces of the progress of these last, and retrogression of the original occupiers of the soil, or their subjection to the invader, are traceable throughout the Sanskrit literature
- X. That to this day the Language of South India, the Dravidian, and of the Kolarian of Central India, are essentially and *fundamentally* different from the Sanskrit
- XI. That it is utterly impossible, that these Non-Arians could ever have been descended from the Arians.

The result of the whole argument is that :

- I. The Arians first appeared, according to their own Books, on the North-West frontier.
- II. They advanced gradually down the Basin of the Ganges and across the Vyndya Range.
- III. They are themselves not autochthonous, but immigrants from Regions to the West of the Indus.

The book under consideration is of rare merit; a repertoire of sound Knowledge, of comprehensive reading, and convincing argument, but, if intended to reach the mind of the Hindu, or, in fact, to be intelligible to any but the advanced European Scholar, it has entirely failed: it is not even readable, except by those, who are already well read in the subject.

For this reason it occurs to me, that it might be expedient at some future time to make a full Review of it, condensing the argument, omitting the proofs, and quotations, and thus placing at the disposal of the Native Hindu, or Anglo-Indian, the question, the proofs, and the result. To a European Scholar nothing is so easy as to accept it from a Philological point of view: the physiological is a harder nut to crack. but to a Hindu, or to an ancient Athenian, the idea, that he is an immigrant into his own land, not better than a European, or a Mahometan, except by priority of Time, will not be an acceptable subject. Moreover, the Author does not mention, that the Dravidians, according to Bishop Caldwell, were immigrant so-called *Scythians*, who came *via* the Bolan Pass, from their home in Central Asia, leaving tracks in the Language of the Brahu, and pointing back to the second tablet of the Rock of Behistún: possibly the Kolarians may be another immigration from the Basin of the Brahmapútra

This matter has stood over for twenty years like many other subjects, which I should have loved to handle. The study of the

Languages of India led on to the study of the Languages of Africa, Oceania, and North Asia, and America, and insensibly I passed into the new world of the Religious Conceptions of Mankind. In the meantime the Author, my dear and honoured friend, has died, and the Knowledge of the great subject has widened. Notably, the theory of a common Ethnological or Racial origin to the great so-called Arian Races of India, Iranic, Graeco-Roman, Slavonic, Teuton, and Keltic, has burst, and the seventh proposition of the learned Author must, with all due respect, be laid aside; but the existence of an Arian Linguistic Family rests on other and surer grounds: we still require "More Light."

December 31, 1896.

IX.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN BRITISH INDIA.

At the tenth International Oriental Congress, held at Geneva in 1894, the subject of the condition of the Asôka-Inscriptions in India was brought before the Congress by Mr. G. A. Grierson, of the Indian Civil Service (*Actes du Congrès de Genève*, 1894, 2^e partie, p. 149); and the Congress passed a Resolution, addressing a petition to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and to the Viceroy of India, in favour of the preservation of the Asôka-Inscriptions.

At my request, our illustrious Honorary Member, Hofrath G. Buhler, contributed to our *Journal* of 1895, p. 649, some admirable "Notes on Past and Future Archaeological Explorations in India." The story is a pathetic one: so much has been done, and yet so much remains to be done: the power of the Government of British India to aid the work is greatly reduced by its financial difficulties. No other Association, except the Royal Asiatic Society, is likely to come forward, and it really is part of the duties of this Society at this critical conjuncture: no doubt the Mother-Society of Calcutta and the Sister-Societies, would lend their aid, if from the first they are consulted.

I had the honour of being in the company of Professor Lepsius during his Explorations near the Pyramids in Egypt in February, 1843, and my eyes as to Archaeology were opened. I had the further honour of meeting Sir Henry Rawlinson in September of the same year in Calcutta, and heard from his lips, that he was going to try to interpret some old Persian Inscriptions at Behistûn,

in Persia. None of those at table with him understood clearly what he was after: *we all know now*. In May, 1844, I was at Banâras and met Captain Kittoe, and heard from him about the Indian explorations, and for the first time the names of James Prinsep, and King Asôka; and I visited the ruins of Sarnâth in his company. From that time until now explorations in India have had a deep interest to me. The India Office has liberally supplied me with copies of its stately publications, and I am more or less up to the time of day, having read very much of what has been written, and being honoured by the acquaintance of many of the explorers: it is something to have touched with one's hand a pillar of Asôka, to have visited Ellora and Ajunta, and the Stupa of Sanchi; but to the younger generation of Anglo-Indians, the History of Indian explorations has never been presented in a *popular* form, and those, who have never been to India, have never heard of them.

Magnificent volumes are published, describing what has been done for the Archaeology of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and delightful reading they supply. Annual progress reports of exploration-Societies keep alive the interest. Of what has been done in India for the last half-century, and of what is doing, or not doing, at the present time, the general public is not informed. Of course it may be stated with truth, that the discoveries in India are, as regards antiquity, nothing compared with those of Egypt and Mesopotamia: the dates of the discovered Inscriptions in those two countries go back to three thousand years before the Christian era, long before the reputed dates of Moses, and Abraham, and Noah: in India we are unable to get back beyond the comparatively modern dates of the Return of the Hebrews from their Exile, and the defeat of King Darius by the Greeks, 400 to 500 B.C. In fact, the career, political and literary, of Egypt and Mesopotamia had ceased before that of India came into existence, but neither of those countries left such a magnificent literature as India, which can only be equalled by that of Greece.

I have thought over the subject a very long time, and consulted no one but Mr. Sewell: my desire is, that the Society, as the representative of Asiatic Knowledge, should do something.

- I. To establish a permanent Indian exploration-Fund, which, supported by private contributions, and managed by its own Committee, should year by year survey the great work, and publish in our Journal an Annual Progress Report. We should, of course, place our rooms and library at its disposal.
- II. To draw up, by the assistance of competent Archaeologists, a "*compte rendu*" of the work done from 1840 to 1895, a space of fifty-five years.

For the present I leave the first heading alone, and confine myself to the second. In the next Session we ought to take up seriously the first heading.

My suggestions are as follows :

- I. That this Society appoint at the final Meeting of this Session on June 9, a Sub-Committee, consisting of Members of the Society and invited non-Members, to consider the advisability of publishing a complete account of the Explorations and Inscriptions found in British India, exclusive of the Burmese Provinces, since 1840
- II. That the field of inquiry be divided into North, South, East, and West, India, leaving the precise limits to be fixed hereafter, and each Region be entrusted to competent Archaeologists, who have themselves taken part in the explorations, or published treatises on the subject I mention no names, for they will occur to all, who read these lines.
- III. That, if necessary, payments be made to Scholars, who consider that their circumstances compel them to solicit pecuniary remuneration for literary labour. That the rates of payment be fixed at the usual literary rates, and that private contributions be solicited to assist the funds of the Society.
- IV. If the principles of the operations are settled, it is not necessary, that all the Scholars should commence work simultaneously: on the other hand, time should not be lost, as the services of ripe Archaeologists might be lost through death or illness.
- V. That a certain portion of the Society's Journal for 1897, be set apart for the Reports made by the Scholars entrusted with the duty: one of the four Regions might be described in the Journal of each Quarter.
- VI. That at the time of printing the Reports for the Journal, the Printer strike off a number (to be fixed hereafter) of copies, which, on the completion of the four Regions, could be bound together and sold to the Public.
- VII. That, if thought proper, these Reports, or selections from them, could be read at the ordinary Meetings of the Society, or at special Meetings in the British Institution, with a view of rousing interest, and attracting support to the scheme of establishing an Indian exploration-Society.
- VIII. That the expense of Plates of Inscriptions will not be required, as in the noble works, published by the Government of India, there are abundance, from which quotations can be made, if necessary.

- IX. That the President of the Society, or one of our Archaeologists, read a paper at the International Oriental Congress at Paris in 1897, and describe what is doing, and what is desired to be done, and, if any Regions have been reported upon by that date, lay copies of the Reports on the table of the Congress.
- X. That the subject being technical, one of the skilled Archaeologists, who resides in London, be appointed Chairman, but an Honorary Secretary be named to take charge of the correspondence, so as to throw no additional burden on the Secretary and Assistant-Secretary of the Society.
- XI. As time presses, with the sanction of the President, a Special Meeting of the Council should be held in July, to receive the Report of the Sub-Committee, and make final arrangements.

B. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

X.

NATIVE LITERATURE IN MODERN INDIA.

AN Article in the *Calcutta Review*, supplies some particulars as to the modern indigenous literature of British India. Freedom of the Press has produced deplorable results. Many obscene books are published, but it is the same in Christian countries, notably England and France. We are not disposed to estimate too highly the danger to Indian Morality from the lithographed erotics of the Vernacular Press. I myself have seen in Northern India, half a century ago, Books of purely Native composition, with illustrations of a native-painter, as bad as possibly can be.

Among the books published in the Panjáb we have :

- (1) The little office of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.
- (2) Praises of Mahomet by his followers.
- (3) Attacks on the Prophet by Christians.
- (4) Stories of Krishna
- (5) Talismans from the Korán.

In these we have proof of the wonderful chaos of Religion, race, and Language, of which British India is composed

In the North-West Provinces there are Books published in Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, Arabic, and English. We find treatises on Astrology and Electro-platings side by side ; a Book on practical Surgery, and on the forms used by the Fakirs : all in Urdu. In British Burma there is published a Book of songs in praise of the new Umbrella of the Dagon Pagodah. In the Central Provinces we find an Edition of five hundred copies of Astrological calculations.

In Bangál the Press is most actively at work, and the readers are most numerous, and some of the Editions are large. They include Temperance-Tracts, Defence of Polygamy, Lives of the Apostles, Brahmo-Somáj Discourses, Letters of Madame Blavaskie and Colonel Olcott on Theosophy, Songs on the loves of Krishna with the Forty Thousand Milkmaids. Of a book detailing the infidelity

of wives one thousand copies were printed, and it is reported to be obscene from the first page to the last. We do not lay too much stress upon this point; and the fact that the Gita Govinda, of which admittedly a great deal is obscene, is now being translated into English verse by a distinguished Orientalist, under the title of the "Indian Song of Songs," may suggest the consideration, that a trenchant Hindu critic might apply the same remark to much, that we would not willingly see expunged from the Sacred and Profane literature of Europe. We are apt to be mightily indignant at the grossness of Oriental literature, and sympathetically indulgent to the sad failings of our own in thought and word.

In the independent Kingdom of Maisúr in South India, we find eight thousand copies of the Wesleyan Catechism in the Karnáta Language, and four thousand five hundred of Stories about Rama and Sita, Krishna and the Milkmaids.

Madras turns out Books in Tamil, Telugu, Malayálm, Karnáta, of the Dravidian Family, as well as in English, Urdu, Sanskrit, Marahiti, and Sindhi. A Book of verses in praise of the Virgin Mary, and a prose tale of a demon with a thousand heads, may serve to show the large-heartedness of the Indian Publisher, the versatility of the Indian Mind, and the opposite poles of danger; for to the thoughtful dipper into the Future, a false and lying Legend, fresh made in the nineteenth century, dishonouring to God, such as the legend of the Immaculate Virgin, will be more injurious than the ridiculous survival of a many-headed Jack the Giant-Killer. A gratuitous Edition of 1,050 copies of a Tamil work on Astrology is noticeable. there are several other treatises on the same delusion of the early world, that the revolutions of the Heavenly Host, and the conjunction of Planets in their eternal orbits, had any relations to the fortunes of poor worms of mankind, crawling on the surface of one of the smaller Planets. One of these, 2,500 copies, was distributed by hand-to-hand devotees, and its great merit was, that it was two thousand years old. So much the worse for the delusion, and the better for mankind, who are beginning, under the guidance of Higher Criticism, to feel their way amidst the rubbish of the early centuries and see clearer.

"Domine, illumina nos cum Tua luce !"

What shall we say of a Tract denouncing Christianity, as contrary to the Religion of the Indians for five thousand years, and condemning the use of spirituous liquors, and animal food: five hundred copies of such a work were issued.

Bombay is equally heterogeneous in its Languages and Written Characters, Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Gujaráti, Sanskrit, Karnáta, Sindhi, Pahlavi, Zend, and Portuguese, being all more or less in use. Among the Books are prayers to the Jain Saints; exposure

of Jugglers' tricks; poem describing the miseries of girls married too young to very old husbands; seven ways of reading the Korán; the Zoroastrian Scriptures; genealogy of Brahman families; a guide to parents arranging for the marriage of their children; the mirror of health, and a Tract against swindlers. The translations of European books are curious: Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," in Urdu, 2000 copies, Pope's "Essay on Man," an adaptation in Bangáli, 250; Thomas a Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," in Bangáli, 500, "Gil Blas," in Marahti, 1000; Shakespeare's "Julius Caesar," an adaptation in Marahti, 1000. Some of the Religious works issued by Missionaries in Native Languages are Translations from European sources. The Bible figures largely in these lists. The entire absence of political speculation or discussion is noteworthy, though the Press is quite free: the only approach to criticism on the ruling race is a drama satirizing the Tea-planters of Assam.

It must be confessed that the Article, from which we gather these particulars, does not lead to a high estimation of the outcome of Native Presses. It is a new feature to see the Printing-Press enlisted in the service of *bond-fide* Idolatry, and old-world Superstitions, though it is used in modern days for the same evils in an insidious form. The Brahmo-Somáj has a keen sense of the value of a pure literature free from old-world illusions, and this remarkable movement may aid greatly in the work of purification.

Such a phenomenon has never occurred as a free Press in the hands of a race, which with the inheritance of a literature of more than two thousand years, and using more than fifty Languages, has never had the schooling of ignorant centuries of half-Knowledge, and the bonds of Ecclesiastical tyranny, to check its early development: it has not passed through the discipline of Press-Laws. Some would restrain the freedom of the Indian Press on this or similar grounds as futile. Let them alone: the flowers of the field burst forth without the training of Man in their luxuriant beauty: let the flowers, even if intermixed with stubble, of the Human Intellect have the same liberty.

Though all the winds of Doctrine were let loose on the earth, if Truth be in the field, we do injury by licenses and prohibition to misdoubt her strength. Let Truth and Falsehood grapple: have no more mercy on the lie from Rome than from Banáras. Truth will conquer: who ever knew Truth to be worse for a free and open encounter?

Letter to Record, 1874.

XI

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES FOR 1895.

IN his important volume on the "Dawn of Civilization," Professor Maspero treats at great length upon Egypt, his peculiar Province, but his three chapters on Chaldaea are of extreme importance: allusion to them was omitted in the late Review of this book in our Journal, which treated exclusively on Egypt, but the summary of the History of Chaldaea should not be lost sight of.

II The Dutch Bible-Society has published a Translation of the Gospel of Luke in the Language spoken in the Island of Rotti, in the Malay Archipelago it belongs to the Malayan Family of Languages, and is an addition to our Knowledge contributed by a Missionary.

III. Mr. E. B. Michell, legal adviser to the Siamese Government, has printed and published at Bangkok, in 1892, a Siamese-English Dictionary.

AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

A Nyanja-English Vocabulary has been published by the S. P. C. K. for the Mission at Likoma, on Lake Nyasa it is the Vernacular of the inhabitants of the Island.

Seven years ago Mr. Holman Bentley, of the Baptist Mission on the Kongo, published a Dictionary and Grammar of first-rate excellence of the great Language spoken in that Region, and known by the name of the Great River. It was an admirable Book, and marked an Epoch in our Knowledge of West African Languages South of the Equator. A special interest was attached to it, as the wife of the Missionary, a most competent Scholar, had largely contributed to the work. Other books have followed, and Translations of the Bible, and a bi-monthly Magazine in the Vernacular, have been started: it has taken about ten years to make an intellectual stride in West Africa, which it took one thousand years in Europe. The necessity of an appendix both to the Dictionary and the Grammar of this exceedingly luxuriant Language was soon felt. New ideas had to be represented by newly

developed words without foreign loan-words; knotty points of Grammatical construction had to be solved; the tongues of men, women, and children had been let loose in the School, the Mission Hall, and the Village; and it is the art of a true linguist to catch words alive, as they issue from the lips of unconscious barbarians. Mr Bentley has now published in London an appendix of four thousand words in addition to the previous ten thousand: the Roman Alphabet is adapted to suit new sounds. A young native, named Nlemvo, materially contributed to the work of compilation and translation, and exhibited great aptitude and intelligence. The great Bantú race are born orators, and have in them the stuff, which Education will develop into Culture and Civilization.

Herr A. Seidel has published at Vienna, Pest, and Leipzig (Hartleben's Verlag) practical Grammars of three South African Languages.

- (1) The Nama, a Hottentot Language of Namáqualand, South Africa.
- (2) Hereró, a Bantú Language, South-West Africa.
- (3) Ndonga, a Bantú Language, South-West Africa.

They are in the German Language, accompanied by reading Selections and Vocabularies.

The same accomplished and indefatigable Scholar has issued two additional parts of his useful "*Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen*" at Berlin in the German Language.

Part III contains:

- (1) A Vocabulary of the Tíkúu (a new Language) and the Pokómo, both Bantú, in East Equatorial Africa. By F. Wurtz (German.)
- (2) A Grammatical Note of the Chagga Language, Bantú, in East Equatorial Africa. By A. Seidel. (German.)
- (3) A Beast Story of the Bondei tribe, Bantú, in East Equatorial Africa. By A. Seidel. (German.)
- (4) Tales in the Language of Kihmání, in Portuguese East Africa. By Père Torrend, S J. (French.)
- (5) The place of the Temné Language in the Bantú Family. By Dr. G. A. Krause. (German.) This Language is spoken by a tribe on the West Coast of Africa, North of the Equator, within the Negro Region, and up to this time considered to belong to the Negro Language Group. In my "*Modern Languages of Africa*," 1883, I grouped it as Negro on the best information then available: it is supplied with considerable literature by a most competent Scholar, Schlenker. Dr. Krause

has been led, by a searching inquiry into certain features of this Language, to start the theory that it belongs to the Bantú Languages, South of the Equator: the question is a most interesting one, and must be left to time to decide.

- (6) Preliminary observations to a comparative Vocabulary of the Bantú Family of Languages. By Carl Meinhof. (German.)

Part IV contains :

- (1) Continuation of the Vocabulary of Tikúu and Pokómo in Part III. (German.)
- (2) On the mode of forming adverbs in Mbundu or Bunda, a Bantú Language, on the West Coast of Africa, South of the Equator. By Heli Chatelain (German)
- (3) Remarks on the Bah, a Bantú Language, in the Kamerún Region, West Africa, North of the Equator. By E. Zintgraff. (German)
- (4) Songs in the Pokómo, a Bantú Language, East Equatorial Africa. By F Wurtz. (German)
- (5) An obituary notice of Buttner, an unwearied contributor to the study of African Languages. By Carl Meinhof. (German.)
- (6) The káda Language on the River Geba, in Portuguese West Africa, a Bantú Language By Dr. G. A. Krause. (German)

OCEANIC PHILOLOGY.

Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen, Part iii, No. 6.

Texts of the Languages of the Bismarck Archipelago, Oceania, with translations by Sidney H. Ray (English). This is a most important contribution to our knowledge, in an entirely new field, by this industrious and promising Scholar.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO NEW LANGUAGES OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND OCEANIA, IN 1894.

A. Asia.

I. In the Dehra Dún, North-West Provinces of British India, the Language of Gurwáli or Tiri is spoken by a rural population, and a Gospel has been translated into it, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

II. In the same locality there is a Language, called Jaunsári, which has also been honoured by becoming the vehicle of communicating the Gospel to an Indian tribe.

In both these cases there has been a distinct addition to our linguistic knowledge. Whether these two Languages will retain their position in collision with the lordly Hindi, remains to be seen.

B. *Africa*

A tribe exists on both banks of the great River Kongo in Equatorial Africa, not far from the confluence of the River Kasai, their name is Bangi; they have a distinct Language, and a Gospel has been translated into it.

C. *Oceania*.

I. The Dobu are a tribe in British New Guinea, and their Language has been studied, and the translation of a Gospel made.

II The same may be said of the Panaméti, also in New Guinea.

These facts may seem small and unimportant, but they indicate that annually fresh Languages are being discovered: the translations are, at any rate, genuine, and furnish material for skilled Grammarians to find out new phenomena of linguistic variety in word-store and structure.

NOTES ON AFRICAN PHILOLOGY.

The most notable feature is the appearance of the "*Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen*," edited by Herr A. Seidel, Secretary of the German Colonial Society. There are most important contributions on African Languages by the Editor, and by such men as Christaller, Grube, Meinhof, and Krause. The contributors are chiefly German, and the Languages are chiefly within the sphere of German influence, but the enterprise is a most important one, and deserves every support. It is much to be regretted, that there is not a similar publication for the scores of Languages spoken in the African Colonies, Protectorates, and Spheres of Influence of Great Britain. One paper on the Languages of Oceania is contributed by Mr Sidney Ray.

North Africa.

I. Major-General F. T. Haig has published in London, in 1895, a tentative Grammar of the Beidawi Language, spoken by the tribes in the North-Eastern Sudan, with short Vocabulary and sentences. It consists of only seventy-nine small pages: the Author spent some months at Suákin, while engaged in assisting the distribution of relief in the famine-stricken tribes, who had crowded down to that Fort. On his return to England he supplemented his original collection by reference to the celebrated work of Professor Almkvist, of Upsála, in Sweden.

West Africa.

II Major Leonard Darwin, M P, has published in the *National Review* a paper on the Niger Territories and Hausa Association, which has for its object to gather information with regard to the Hausa Language, the important *lingua franca* of that part of Africa

III. A new accession to our knowledge of the Languages of the Guinea coast has come to us under the title of "Manuel Mahoméen," by M. Delafosse, comprising an Introduction, Grammar, Reader, and Dictionary. The inhabitants of the Kingdom of Dahomey speak a Dialect of the far-spread Ewé Language

South Africa.

IV Dr. Laws has published at Edinburgh an English-Nyanja Dictionary This is an important Language spoken in the neighbourhood of the Nyasa Lake in British Central Africa. It is primarily for the use of the Missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland, but it is a great addition to Knowledge.

V. I mention the remaining small Works of the Bantú Family of Languages collectively. In Swahili we have to record a new edition of St. Matthew's Gospel in the Arabic character; in Kaguru, portions of the Book of Common Prayer; the same, as well as hymns, in the Language of Tavita, a mountainous district about one hundred and twenty miles West-North-West of Mombasa, to which Language Mr. J. A. Wray has also written an excellent Grammatical introduction. The Dialect treated of in this little manual is called Ki-Sagalla. We further mention a Catechism and a Primer in Ganda, and a First Reading Book in Nyanja The Universities' Mission Press at Magila, in the Bondei district, has issued a volume of Bondei Exercises, on the plan of Steere's Swahili Exercises, by the Rev. G. Dale, a very accurate and trustworthy Book There is also a Book of Stories, Enigmas, and Proverbs, in the same Language, edited by the Rev. H. W. Woodward, and a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew. From South Africa we have received a useful English-Mashóna Dictionary, with conversations, by the Rev. A. M. Hartmann, and a Dictionary of Suto by the late A. Mabile. Approaching now the great Angóla Nation in Portuguese Africa, we first note an Essay by Heli Chatelain, on the Geographical names in the Province This paper and the three following have appeared in the Bulletin of the American Geographical Society They are entitled "Bantu Notes and Vocabularies," and treat of Kishi-Lange and Luba, with comparative lists of words in Bundu, Bangala, Kioko, Lunda, Songe, Kuba, Beneki, Teke, and a few other Languages. We owe to the same Bantú Scholar also a volume of "Folk-tales of Angóla," in the original Bundu, with English Translation, an introduction, and notes.

NOTES ON OCEANIC PHILOLOGY.

I Graf von der Schulenburg has published, at Leipzig, a Grammar, Vocabulary, and Sentences, of the Language of Murray Island, adjacent to New Guinea: it is in the German Language, and comprises 133 pages

II I mention the publications of Sidney Ray, collectively:

- (1) Note on a Vocabulary of Ulia, in the Caroline Islands.
1890.
- (2) Sketch of Aulua Grammar, with Vocabulary of Aulua, Lamangkan, Malekula, New Hebrides, in Melanesia.
1893.
- (3) Language of British New Guinea: Journal of Anthropological Society. 1894.

Parts I and II.

- (4) Languages of the New Hebrides: Royal Society of New South Wales 1895.
 - (5) Oceanic Ethnology. 1895.
- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895.

PHILOLOGY NOTES FOR 1896.

- A. *Asiatic Languages.*
- B. *African Languages.*
- C. *Oceanic Languages.*

A. *Asiatic.*

I. "Vedische Beitrag": Journal of Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, 1896, xiii. Professor Albrecht Weber in his old age has made this contribution to our knowledge of the Veda, and dedicated it to his life-friend, Dr Reinhold Rost, whose loss is deplored by us all. The treatise is highly scientific, and beyond the understanding of the ordinary reader, but to those, who study the Veda, it will prove of great value.

II. On the occasion of his assuming the office of Rector of the University of Leipzig, Professor Windisch delivered a luminous oration on "The Importance of the Study of Ancient India" He passed under review the results of the study in late years of Indian Literature and Archaeology, not only from the point of view of its own intrinsic value, but also of its influence on the culture of the Human Race. It is a contribution of unsurpassed value.

III. A very full Vocabulary of the Colloquial Arabic, as spoken in Egypt, from the pen of S Spiro, has lately appeared at Cairo : it comprises official and technical expressions, idioms, and common phrases of the lower classes

IV. At Leipzig has appeared a seventh fascicule of the valuable work of Professor Radloff, of St Petersburg, "Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Turki Dialecte."

V. The Rev A J Maclean, who has been for several years employed in a Mission of the Anglican Church to the members of the Eastern Syrian Church at Urumia, has published a valuable Grammar of the modern Dialects of Syriac, as spoken in Kurdistan, North-West Persia, and in the Basin of the Euphrates at Mosul.

VI The second volume has appeared of the "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie," to which the two leading Scholars of that branch of Linguistic Science, Professor Noldeke and Mr. West, have contributed: the former discusses the Persian Shahnamah, and the latter has written an Essay analyzing Pahlavi Texts. Dr. Weisbach, of Leipzig, contributes a full list of old Persian Inscriptions, with Notes, and an account of their decipherment and interpretation.

VII. Mr. E. G. Browne, of the Royal Asiatic Society, has published a Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Cambridge University Library. In the course of his methodical arrangement he has come on a commentary of the Korán, of about the fifth century after the Hijrah, and other papers of interest.

VIII. The Clarendon Press has issued vol. xxxviii of the "Sacred Books of the East," the concluding moiety of Dr. Thibaud's Translation of the Vedanta-Sutra and Sankara Commentary: the usefulness of this Book is increased by careful indices made by Dr. Winternitz.

IX. The Rev. Anton Tien has published a Grammar of the Osmanli-Turki Language, commonly called Turkish. In the Appendix are Dialogues, and a list of professional and technical terms.

X. The second Volume of "The Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography" consists of the Unādigana-Sutra of Hemachandra, edited by Professor Kirste, of Graz. There are nine hundred words not included in the Sanskrit Dictionary of St. Petersburg.

XI. Dr. Hultzsch has published his result of a search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Nellore District of the Madras Province: upwards of seven hundred MSS. are described. Six MSS. are in the Grantha Written character; the remainder in the Telugu Written character.

XII. Mr. Sturdy has published a Translation of the Nārada-Sutra, a short treatise on the subject of Bhakti, or Faith, with an original Commentary.

XIII. At length a third edition of the Arabic Grammar by the late Professor W. Wright, of Cambridge, has appeared. The

first portion was edited by the lamented Professor Robertson Smith, and the remainder by Professor De Goeje, of Leiden, and Professor Bevan, of Cambridge. The latest results obtained from recent study have been incorporated. It is unnecessary to add a word to the high praise, to which this Book is entitled.

XIV. A Jesuit Father, J. B. Belot, has published a "*Cours pratique de langue Arabe*": he has noticed the peculiarities of the Dialect spoken in Egypt, and has added a list of the technical terms of Native Grammarians.

B. *African.*

I. Mr. Crabbtree, Missionary, has published an elementary Vocabulary of the Soga Language, and a few verses of the New Testament: hitherto we had no knowledge of this Language, which is spoken by a Bantú population in the Region North of the Victoria Nyanza in Eastern Equatorial Africa.

II. Mr. Caldwell, the Secretary of the Zambézi Industrial Mission, has published a simplified Grammar of the Nyanja Language spoken in the Region South of the Nyasa Lake, of the Bantú Family.

III. The French Missionary Jacotet has published a volume of "*Contes Populaires des Ba-Suto*" in the Suto Language of the Bantú Family in South Africa.

In the *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen*, vol. ii, Nos. 1 and 2, we have several interesting notices:

IV. *Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Kani Sprache in German East Africa*: by Seidel.

V. *Legends of the Pokómo tribe*: by Bockling.

VI. *The Language of Ki-limáni*: by J. Torrend.

VII. *Ashanti-words*: by J. G. Christaller.

VIII. *Grammar of the Pokómo*: by F. Wurtz.

IX. *Words and Phrases of the People of the Nyasa Lake*: by Miss Alice Werner.

X. *Collection of Tunisian Songs, etc., in Arabic and Kabaili*: by H. Stumme.

XI. *The importance of the Suto Language for the study of the Bantú Family of Languages*: by C. Meinhof.

C. *Oceanic.*

In the *Zeitschrift für Afrikanische und Oceanische Sprachen* we find the following:

Communications on the Languages of the Solomon Islands in Melanesia: by Sidney H. Ray.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1896.

XII.

A PRACTICAL URDU GRAMMAR In Two Volumes. Compiled by Lieut.-Col. A. O. GREEN. (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1895.)

By the courtesy of the Manager of the Clarendon Press a copy of this new Grammar, prepared on a new system, has been forwarded to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and it is with great pleasure, that notice is now taken of it in our Periodical Reports. The Language is well known to all Anglo-Indians, as it is the *lingua franca* of the whole of India, and the special Vernacular of the Northern Provinces it is a beautiful and highly refined form of speech, having incorporated with the Hindi, which is its linguistic base, vast loans of words, sentences, and inflections from the Persian and Arabic: its other name is "Urdu," or the Camp-Language of the Mahometan invaders of India from the Regions West of the Indus.

Colonel Green was interpreter to the Bengal Sappers and Miners at Rurki, and, as far back as the year 1875, formed a desire to write a Grammar of this Language, which was his ordinary official vernacular, based upon the lines of such works as Otto's German, French, and Latin, Grammars. For the convenience of the learner the book is divided into two parts. Part I contains a concise Grammar, the rules being illustrated by copious exercises, to which are appended a well-known vernacular Romance to be used as a Reader, and a selection of lithographed Manuscripts on various subjects. These are printed in the well-known Semitic Arabic written character, with additional symbols to represent the peculiar sounds of an Arian Language. In an Appendix the Author adds a few remarks on the Nágari or Indian square written character, which is also used to record the literature of this Language.

Part II contains a key to the exercises and stories in Part I: these Translations are not only *printed* in the Arabic character in the regular form adopted by the Press, but *lithographed* in a written series of gradually increasing difficulty to accustom the beginner to the handwriting of native letter-writers. A free Translation into English is also given of the Romance above alluded to in Part I, and the other Hindi selections, and the handwriting is both transliterated and translated.

In other respects there is no originality of this Grammar, differentiating it grammatically from the excellent Grammars, which a long succession of Anglo-Indians has profitably used during the last sixty years. The type and style of this work reflect the greatest credit upon the Clarendon Press: it is a pleasure to a proficient in the Hindustani to read it. It is impossible to predict, whether this elaborate handbook of the Language will supersede

its predecessors. experience alone can decide this point. under any circumstances this is a most praiseworthy and creditable performance of one, who knows the Language, which he treats scientifically and thoroughly.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1895.

XIII.

SOME ASSAMESE PROVERBS. Compiled and annotated by Captain P. R. GURDON, I.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Goalpara. 1896.

THE local Government of the Assam Province in British India has this year published a very interesting little volume with the above title, compiled by one of the District Officers of the Province, and collected from the lips of a population in a low state of Culture, but settled there in a corner of the world for many centuries, and speaking a Language of their own. The volume does not pretend to be exhaustive of the whole Province, but contains only a gleanings from the subdivisions of Sibságar, Nowgong, and Gauhati. In transliterating the words from the Nágarí Alphabet to the Roman the compiler has been guided by Sir W. Hunter's "Practical Guide to Transliteration." "The Proverbs have been classified according to objects, not subjects, this being thought the best method after consideration."

The Government of Assam deserves our best thanks for this publication, thus encouraging the literary industry of its subordinates in out-of-the-way Regions, and contributing a valuable addition to Knowledge of Language, Folklore, and Religious Conceptions

A Proverb picked up from the mouth of an old woman in an out-of-the-way corner of Great Britain is not to be despised. It is beyond the power of the clever fabricator of conundrums to make a Proverb: Solomon is credited with the honour of collecting Proverbs 1000 B.C.: it is not suggested, that he invented them, for they are not the production of the learned: they existed long before the earliest period of Writing, and were transmitted orally. Wit is said to be the thoughts of many, but the words of one. A Proverb may be described as a condensed parable, or Wisdom boiled down into an essence, and presented to the public in the form of a lozenge, so as to be carried about in every pocket and laid on every tongue. No one can say who was the original inventor: they have floated down on the lips of men like literary waifs, clinging to rural districts and isolated corners, while trodden down in the busy town and frequented market-place. There is

little doubt that the idea of an ancient Proverb is put into a new dress after its import in a distinct environment of customs: the Proverbs of "carrying coals to Newcastle" and "taking the breeks off an Highlander" are merely reminding with a new impression of old metal. Some Proverbs are disgustingly coarse, and, as in all Human affairs, there is a current of evil running parallel to a current of good.

Captain Gundon divides his collection into six classes, with full details of subclasses:

- (1) Relating to Human failings, foibles, and vices.
- (2) Relating to worldly Wisdom and maxims, expediency and cunning, warnings and advice.
- (3) Relating to peculiarities and traits characteristic of certain castes and classes.
- (4) Relating to Social and Moral subjects, Religious customs, and popular superstitions.
- (5) Agriculture and seasons.
- (6) Cattle, animals, and insects.

There is great truth in some Proverbs taken at random, showing, that they are drawn from the common fount of Human Conception, and that in very deed all men are brothers. I have only space for a few:

I. Love of false display.

- (a) There are many rosaries, the beads of which are not told in devotion.
- (b) A turban on his head, and with nothing on the lower parts of the body.

II. Ingratitude.

When in distress a man calls on his god.

III. The mother-in-law.

If the mother-in-law gets a chance, she comes three times a day to her daughter's house.

IV The contrary wife.

If I ask for chutney, she gives me salt: who can stand a wife who is so contrary?

and so on.

The compilation is a very creditable one, and a positive contribution to Knowledge. I wish that other District Officers would follow the example.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1896.

XIV.

THE YIDDISH JARGON USED BY THE HEBREWS OF EASTERN EUROPE.

Letter from the Committee of the London Jews Society to the Translation Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

I laid before the Committee your letter declining to accede to their request to publish an Edition of the Book of Common Prayer, in the Vernacular of the Hebrew sojourners in some of the parishes of London. No reasons are given, and I am therefore directed to lay the case before you once more in detail.

- (1) It will be admitted, that to the Hebrew inquirers, converts, and the families of converts in the second, third, and more distant generations, a form of Prayer is necessary.
- (2) No form of Prayer is more suitable to the circumstances of the Hebrew, dwelling in contact with English members of the Church of England, than the Book of Common Prayer.
- (3) That it is an essential feature of Prayer of any kind and of collective prayer in Churches, that it should be in a form of words understood by those, who are offering Prayer.

No one is more cognizant of the difficulties and dangers, which surround the Translation of the Book of Common Prayer into forms of speech totally alien in their linguistic family, and to be used by people in a different grade of Human Culture, than the Translation Committee of the S.P.C.K., in whose name you write. We are aware of the exceeding pains, which you take to secure accuracy, and that tests are applied to each Translation, under the personal supervision of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. My Committee could now, as in past years, publish its own Translations of the Book of Common Prayer in any form, which seems advisable, but it desires to secure the experience and accurate Knowledge of your Committee, as a guarantee that the version to be used by the Hebrew Christian Churches in London is of a character fit to be placed on the same level of excellence as the versions supplied by you to Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, in many scores of Languages, for the use of the Churches of the Church of England.

The Language used by a community, and a portion of such a community as that of the City of London, is a subject beyond the

control of Sovereign, or Parliament, or Missionary Association. It may be a bad Language from a Scientific point of view, an insufficient form of speech from a philosophical point of view, but *it is a fact*, that thousands understand no other form of words but the one condemned. You might as well complain of the colour of the skin, the character of the hair, or the structure of the body, as of the Language of a people in a low state of Culture and of an obstinate turn of mind.

Such are the Hebrews, who dwell in tens of thousands in the parishes of this great City. They speak neither English, nor German, nor Hebrew. The Hebrew may acquire the Hebrew Language by study, but since the return of the Jews from their exile in Babylon the Hebrew Language has been a dead Language.

I quote no mean Authority, Emanuel Deutsch: "There was one thing wanting in Ezra, when he tried to found a lasting Commonwealth on the Ruins of Zion, what neither Authority, nor Piety, nor School, nor Synagogue, could restore to its original power and glory,

"The Hebrew Language,"

so it became necessary to translate the Sacred Books, in order that the Nation might be able to understand them: for the Jews in Alexandria a Greek Translation was required; for those in Palestine an Aramaic Targum. We have on our shelves a Hebrew version of the Book of Common Prayer, but it is of no more use to the Souls of the Hebrew than the Latin Prayers in a Romish Chapel, as only the sound, *not the sense*, is appreciated by the hearers.

A Gentile race of sojourners or a class of Hebrews, educated and cultured, would soon adopt the great Languages of the land of their adoption, such as the Persian, Arabic, German, English, French, Spanish, etc., but the uncultured Jew clings to the mere husk of the Mosaic Code, and defiles the pure Language, which is spoken around him by the substitution of a patois. Abuse it as much as you will, and you cannot do so more than it deserves, but still we are met with the solemn fact that:

- (1) Inquirers can only be argued with in a form of words, which they understand.
- (2) The Souls of Converts can only be won, if the Truth be brought home to them in words and sentences, which they can appropriate as the channel of living ideas.
- (3) New Christian Churches can only be built up, if the Pastor and his Congregation understand each other, and have in their hands a Bible, which they can read, or follow intelligently the words of the reader, and a Book of Common Prayer, the contents of which they can read, utter, and understand.

The B & F.B.S. has or will supply the Bible: our request to the S.P.C.K. is that they supply the Book of Common Prayer.

By what name is the form of speech called Dialect, or Patois, or Jargon, known? The name is one of which, if properly expressed, no one need be ashamed. Yahúdish, "the dialect of Judah," which has been contracted into Yiddish. To what Linguistic Family does this form of speech belong? The Arian or European, for it is, in fact, a Dialect of the great German Language, with Polish and Hebrew defilements (I use that term linguistically).

If Yahúdish be the *only* vehicle of Prayer that can be used, we must use it notwithstanding that the vehicle is of base metal. It is written in the square Hebrew character, without vowel points. The same Dialect and the same written characters are used for the Newspapers, the private correspondence, and such scanty literature as the Hebrews possess.

It is to be regretted, that the Hebrews do not come out of their strong fortress, and become like their other Gentile fellow-citizens, and the Hebrews in North Africa, who have adopted the cognate Arabic Language.

We have to deal with facts: the circumstances of the Hebrews are exceptional, they have been grossly injured by Europeans in time past; we have a debt to pay them. It is a very slight concession to make to the race, of whom the Lord came in the flesh, and to whom were committed the Oracles of God.

The Committee trust that you may be induced to reconsider your decision, or, at least, state the reason for rejection of this application.

XV.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF BANTÚ LANGUAGES.

THIS noble work is the outcome of the long labours of Father J. Torrend, of the Society of Jesus, a Member of the Romish Mission in the valley of the River Zambézi. It is a great gain to linguistic Science. It is not probable that all, who follow him over the debatable ground which he traverses, will agree with his conclusions, but all will thank him for the clear and modest way, in which he lays the subject before his readers. It may be stated generally, that all the Natives of Africa, South of the Equator, with the exception of the Hottentot-Bushmen enclaves, speak kindred Languages, members of the great Bantú linguistic Family. The importance of this well-ascertained, and universally admitted, fact, must be appreciated by all students of Philology and of

Ethnology. The linguistic characteristics of the Family are striking and unique. During the last twenty years great progress has been made in collecting Vocabularies, Grammatical Notes, Grammars, and Texts, made by Missionaries on the spot for daily use, and therefore beyond all criticism as to their genuineness. Those interested in Africa were waiting for the appearance of some trained Scholar, who would pass all these fragmentary contributions under a Scientific analysis, and do what has been done for the Arian and Semitic linguistic Families by competent Scholars. It is a work of great magnitude and a first attempt. No one would more readily than the talented Author admit, that in five or ten years there will be much to add, and something to correct. He has this advantage, that there is not a Scholar in Europe, who is competent to sit in judgment upon it. He is now returning to the field of his labours, and a blessing will accompany him. We may trust that his life will be spared to publish a second and revised and enlarged edition.

All eyes are on Africa, some to find gold and precious stones; some to make fortunes by the accursed sale of intoxicating liquors; some to open new, perhaps imaginary, outlets of Commerce. The Author of this book belongs to that body of Europeans, whose only object is to bless the Souls and bodies of the poor Native African. The publication of Books, such as this, of linguistic and Scientific value, are only incidents in his great life-work, sparks struck off from the great anvil of Christian Civilization, at which he and so many other unselfish men and women are working. They will have their reward, though not in this world.

Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1893.

XVI.

CREOLE LANGUAGES.

DR SCHUCHARDT, of the University of Gratz, has undertaken a work of considerable interest and labour. It is notorious that in every part of Asia, Africa, and America, from the contact of European Languages with the Native Languages, new forms of speech are coming into existence, which at first sight may be called jargons, but which may possibly be the germs of new Languages. At any rate, English and Hindustani must have gradually come into existence in some such way. Most conspicuous among the class of degraded Language-types is Pidgin-English, which is, however, represented by a literature of its own,

and Creolese, which is represented by a Translation of a portion of the Bible. But along the West Coast of Africa are found Languages composed of English, French, and Portuguese, intermixed with the Coast-Languages, and Dutch has suffered a frightful degradation on the lips of Hottentots of mixed breeds. Professor Schuchardt invites the co-operation of all, who happen to possess any special knowledge of the subject, or who can indicate sources of information. He has already addressed scores of letters to residents in different parts of the world, and it is hoped that he may receive some replies.

To anyone, who has read the Preface to Lepsius' "Nubische Grammatik," in which that great Scholar propounds the magnificent theory, that all the infinite variety of Languages, spoken by the Negro Races North of the Equator, from the Nile to the Atlantic, are the result of the contact of the Hamitic and Bantú Races during long periods of years, it is a question of first-rate interest to trace the effect of the Arian Languages of Europe upon the wholly dissimilar elements of such highly cultivated Languages as Chinese, and the wild flowers of Africa.

Trubner's Record.

XVII.

RIFF LANGUAGE.

THE Riff District lies to the right of voyagers passing Eastward through the Straits of Gibraltar, just as the Spanish coast sweeps away to the left. For some two hundred miles the rugged profile of the Riff hills catches the eye. Close by the area are lines of cliffs with narrow bays, and fertilizing valleys running inwards. it is for this territory that a vernacular Gospel has been prepared.

The Arabic Semitic Language is the form of speech of the Mahometan conquerors, who spread westward from Cairo to Tangier, but it did not extinguish, or even corrupt, the original Hamitic Languages of the tribes, which have occupied North Africa for thousands of years: they are known generally as "Berbers," a residuum of the Latin and Greek word *barbarus*, but they call themselves "Amazirg," or the Free. The Languages spoken by the several tribes belong to the same Family, but have different names. In Morocco it is called Shilha, or Shlu, and the Dialect spoken by the wild tribes in the mountains is called the "Riff." The Bible Society's Agent took up the subject of Translation with laudable interest. It had never been reduced to Writing, and had no literature; therefore it was no easy task: however, with the help of a sharp and intelligent youth, an insight was obtained into the

Language, and the results brought to Book. I saw them at work in Tangier in 1887. Of course this is essentially a "one-man" Translation, as the Language is not known to any other European, but it opens the door to better things. Farther South, in the chains of Mount Atlas, there is another Dialect, which will have to be dealt with. A debased form of Arabic, called the Māghrabī or Western Dialect, is the form of speech of the ruling classes, and the *lingua franca* of the Kingdom; but the Berber is spoken in villages and houses, and into it in its various forms the Bible must be translated. It need hardly be stated that the Korán is never translated. it seems to be the curse of a false Religion, and the false form of a true Religion, that there is an instinctive effort on the part of Priesthoods to shroud their sacred Books from the vulgar eye, by keeping them shrouded in a dead, or not understood, Language. Higher Criticism is, of course, the natural consequence of the contrary policy

Monthly Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, May, 1888.

XVIII.

APPENDIX TO DICTIONARY AND GRAMMAR OF THE KONGO LANGUAGE. By the Rev. W. HOLMAN BENTLEY.

THE following review of this valuable Appendix has been kindly sent by Robert N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, for publication in these pages, than whom no one is better qualified to write upon the subject in question.

Seven years ago Mr. Bentley published his Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language. It was virgin soil, in which he was working. The Book was admirable, and marked an Epoch in our Knowledge of the Languages of West Africa South of the Equator. The compiler had been greatly assisted by his wife, who had exhibited a marked capacity for this kind of work. In the interim the Rev. N. Thacker translated portions of the Scriptures, for Dictionaries and Grammars are only machinery to accomplish this great result. Other Books for Religious instruction and School use have been prepared. A bi-monthly Magazine has been started, with Native contributors as well as readers, and the way prepared for literary correspondence betwixt absent friends. It took, at least, one thousand years to make this intellectual stride in Europe. A few years have been sufficient in the basin of the Kongo, because the instructors were sympathetic, and the object one blessed by God in the conversion of Souls.

Of the two thousand mutually unintelligible forms of speech in use at the close of the nineteenth century, at least one-half are still unwritten; the very idea of conveying sounds by means of symbols to paper is unknown to the speakers of the Language. Many men in each tribe are born orators, but they have no more thought of communicating with future generations by a form of script than the birds and beasts of the field. The arrival of the Missionary is an event unparelled in their Past, and the consequences of which can never be equalled in future years. He comes as a peaceful conqueror, and lifting his enchanter's wand, he opens their eyes to new sights, and their minds to new ideas, as a preliminary to showing to their Souls the way of Salvation.

As was to be expected, the necessity of an appendix, both to Dictionary and Grammar, was soon felt. New ideas have to be represented by newly developed words. There were knotty points of Grammatical construction which had to be solved; the tongues of men and women and of children were let loose in the School, the home, and the Mission-hall, and it is the art of a linguist to catch the words from the very mouths of the speakers. The introduction of loan-words from a European or Asiatic Language is to be deprecated, and we are assured by Moffat, that he was able to make such use of the compounding powers of the Chuána Language in South Africa, that he translated the Bible without having occasion for a loan-word. Both the Kongo and the Chuána, and the far-off Zúlu and Swahili, are members of the same great Bantú family of Languages, which occupies South Africa, South of the Equator, nearly entirely.

Mr Bentley has now published in London an appendix of 1,052 pages, large octavo, to his former great work. There were 10,000 words in the Dictionary of 1887, and 4,000 new words are added in the appendix. In this great work of compilation and Translation for fourteen years, a native named Nlemvo has taken a foremost part, and developed a great aptitude.

The Alphabet used is the Roman, adapted to suit the sounds to symbols intelligently.

The first and sole object of the Missionary is to preach the Gospel and convert Souls; all other considerations are subsidiary, and no true-hearted Missionary places his linguistic works on a level with his Spiritual duties. They are but means to an end; but the outside world in Europe receives with astonishment, and then with gratitude, the wonderful additions to linguistic Knowledge, which find their way through the Home-committees to men, who care very little for Missions, but a great deal for Science. I have received letters from German Scholars, to whom I have forwarded such a book as this appendix, expressing wonder how the Knowledge was attained. The reply is not a new one: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you"

(Matthew, vi, 33). I am not aware of any addition to the Knowledge of the Languages of Africa, which have been made by the Arab slave-dealer, the importer from Europe and North America of liquor and lethal weapons, the scientific explorer, who has left a track of blood, and destroyed villages, across a continent, or the new development of the freebooters known as the Chartered Company. I have had Africa under my eye for twenty years, and seen Knowledge of that country grow. I am not aware that we are indebted for a single contribution to linguistic Knowledge to a merchant, a soldier, or a sailor, or, with rare exception, a civil administrator. For this feature of Civilization we are indebted to the Missionaries, Protestant or Roman Catholic, and to no one are we more deeply indebted than to the talented and devoted compiler of the two volumes now noticed on the Language of the Kongo.

Baptist Mission Monthly Periodical, August 2, 1895.

XIX.

CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF MY LINGUISTIC LIBRARY.

As my life's work is done, I have no further occasion for my Books. I regret that I have not had time to reduce to writing my Notes on the Languages of America; the material is ready, but Time is wanting. I have disposed of all the remainder at different periods, as far as I worked.

Many of these Books were sent to me by Scholars, and Missionaries, from every part of the world. Books were meant to be read, and made accessible to Scholars. I should be glad to see these books made available. I seek no profit, but I require ready money for the prices fixed. I have distributed my own publications gratis to scores of Libraries.

When the Catalogue was prepared, there were books in 178 Languages, but a great many books have been sold, and sixty presented to the India Office, and Royal Geographical and Royal Asiatic Societies.

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES IN WHICH BOOKS ARE WRITTEN.

1. ENGLISH.	5. SPANISH.	9. ROUMAN.
2. FRENCH.	6. PORTUGUESE.	10. SWEDISH.
3. GERMAN.	7. GREEK.	11. FINN.
4. ITALIAN.	8. LATIN.	12. RUSS.

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES PASSED UNDER REVIEW.

(Grand total, 183.)

SEMITIC FAMILY.	ARIAN FAMILY.				NON-ARIAN GROUPS.
	Iranic Branch.	Indic Branch	Teutonic and Keltic Branches.	Graeco-Latin and Slavonic Branches.	
Assyrian Syriac Hebrew Arabic	Persian Yagnóbi Armenian Pastu Baldchi	<i>Old</i> Sanskrit Pah Prakrit <i>Modern</i> Dard Káfi Multáni Kashmiri Gujarati Hindi Urdu Bangálh	English Anglo-Saxon Modern Irish Gaelic Welsh German Dutch Swedish Danish	Greek Latin Romance Roumán Portuguese Italian Spanish French Russ Lett Esht	Tamil Télugu Bádaga Koi Gond Rajmaháli Malto Santal Brahúi Kor Kol Lepcha Tibet Nicobár Garo Lushai Manipúri Singpho Khasa Pegu Shan Siyin Khyeng Bojingsjida Andaman Nancoury Malay Achin Bah Alfour Formósa Galila Malagásy
4	5	11	9	11	33

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES PASSED UNDER REVIEW
(continued).

Extreme Orient Groups	Ural-Altaic Family	African Groups.	Oceanic Groups.	American Groups.	Unclassed Languages.
China Amoy Japan Ainu Corea Tagalog	Accad Manchu Turki Mongol Chuwash Magyar Finn	Egyptian Amháric Kuáma Somáhi Masái Saho Kabail Bantú Suto Ashanti Yáriba Temné Swahili Tunbúka Ngoni Nganga Kafir Lunda Luba Chuána Kimbundu Kongo Hausa Fan Yansi Mbanba Héiero Pokómo Guanch Teke	Fiji Tonga Tabiti Rarotonga Samoa Fútuna Maori Hawaii Motu Nengóne Aneityum Aniwa Flónda Bogátu Api Nguná Tanna Tangoa Duke of York Island Murray Is. Mafor New Guinea Vocabularies Australian Languages Gilbert Is. Marshall Is. Pónape	Kwagutl Nishgah Tukudh Shimshi Eskimo Algonquin Sioux Cree Tenni or Slavi Blackfoot Beaver Iroquois Chipewya Ojibbeway Chéroki Mikmak Munsi Dakota Thompson Kolosch 6 American Languages Muskóki Omáha Maya Quichua Tzotzil Yúcatan Yahgán	Etruscan Basque Albaman Languages of Caucasus Illyrian Lycian Cypriote
6	7	30	27	33	7

THE WORDS 'ELEPHANT' AND 'ALABASTER.'

Would you obligingly open your columns to a discussion as to the origin of the words (1) Ἐλέφας and (2) Ἀλάβαστρος? Other words, such as *pyramid* and *labyrinth*, have been run home, but the "New English Dictionary" of the Clarendon Press does not dispose satisfactorily of the above two words.

I. The Indian and African Elephant are quite distinct, and the names used in Asia for that animal are quite different from the one current in Europe, where the African Elephant was known in early times. Emeritus Professor Francis Newman, in some notes on the Libyan Languages addressed to me, and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 417, vol. xii, new series, 1880, states that in the Tuárik Language the word for elephant is *elu* in the singular, *eluan* in the plural, and has affinity with the verb *ilu*, to be strong: others have found a resemblance for *elephas* to the Semitic word *eleph*, an ox. Polybius uses the words τὰ θήρια, the wild beasts, for elephants.

II. The derivation suggested for *alabaster* in the Oxford Dictionary is quite insufficient: "Said to be from name of a town in Egypt." This is mere *obscurum per obscurius*. The word is a remarkable one: why was the village called by that name? The village now so well known as Tel el Amarna is supposed by some to have been called Alabastros. The "Encyclopaedia Britannica" states that the word was said to be derived from the Arabic, and to be a whitish stone. Now the word occurs in Herodotus, iii, 20, and we have no Inscriptions in the Arabic Language of that date. The word does not occur in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The substance is called 'kes' in old Egyptian; so it is in vain to look for the etymology in that quarter.

Another remark has been made, that the word in Greek means 'a pot.' Such is certainly the case when it is used three times in the New Testament, and in Theocritus, "Idyl," xv, 104. If this be accepted, and the primary meaning be supposed to be a vessel with no handles, the derivation of *a* and λαμβάνω may be provisionally accepted. The word has certainly a very Greek look.

Athenaeum, 1895-1896.

XXI.

PREFACE TO LIST OF THE MUNSHI'S URDU LIBRARY.

THE enclosed list of vernacular Works, which can be purchased at the Native Presses at Lahore, is circulated by the undersigned, in the hope that those, to whom is intrusted the duty of reconstructing the offices in the Districts after the Sepoy-Mutiny, may have the opportunity afforded to them of supplying their native subordinates with instructions in every detail of Official routine, and may avail themselves of it.

A copy of my own works, such as the Tuhseeldar's Manual, the Manual for the Collector's Record Room, the Putwaries Manual, the Manual on Kham Estates, all in the Urdu Language, has been circulated gratuitously to every District.

Lahore, January, 1859.

ROBERT CUST,
Commissioner and Supt. of Lahore.

XXII.

LE RAZZE E LE LINGUE DELL' OCEANIA.

LA generazione dei Klaproth e degli Adelung, classificatori e descrittori di lingue non sembra spenta. Roberto Cust, l' erudito bibliotecario onorario della Società Asiatica di Londra, ne continua, in ogni modo, l' esempio e l' opera. Dopo avere descritto le lingue dell' India, le ariane e le non ariane, raccolse quanti più poté materiali delle lingue africane. Ora egli ci offre un ragguaglio delle lingue principali della Polinesia od Oceania, così poco conosciute, e ci prepara già un nuovo ed ampio lavoro descrittivo delle lingue americane. Egli conosce e parla parecchie lingue europee ed orientali, senza atteggiarsi a linguista; e pure gli studiosi di lingue ebbero più volte a valersi dell' opera di lui, mediatrice e civile.

Io sono lieto di presentar primo a' miei connazionali, come già il manuale sulle lingue e le religioni dell' India e il manuale sulle lingue dell' Africa, anche questo breve ma comprensivo saggio sulle genti e lingue oceaniche del Cust. A che vale l' opera stessa dei lavoratori, se il frutto de' loro studii non si divulga e non si propaga? Il Cust, mio nobile amico, da molti anni serve gli studii

linguistici con amore indefesso, agevolando assai con le sue ricerche pazienti e dispendiose l' opera degli studiosi; in queste poche pagine, lo studioso troverà quanto ogni colto lettore può desiderare di conoscere intorno ai popoli ed agli idiomi dell' Oceania. La *Rivista Contemporanea* desidera riuscire utile; al passatempo de' lettori provvedono in Italia egregiamente altre riviste, mio scopo e desiderio è stato offrire in ogni fascicolo, al lettore italiano, il modo d' istruirsi ampiamente sulle cose letterarie d' Italia, e di mano in mano, su qualche letteratura straniera men nota, su qualche punto dell' odierna coltura meno facile ad esplorarsi. E il saggio di Robert Cust vale quanto una buona lezione dalla quale possiamo tutti imparar qualche cosa di rilevante alla coltura del nostro spirito.

ANGELO DE GUBERNATIS.

Gli antichi geografi credevano che vi fosse un vasto continente al sud dell' oceano Indiano, e lo chiamarono *Antikthôn*. Le esplorazioni nelle Isole dell' Arcipelago Indiano, erano così rare, e si succedevano a così lunghi intervalli, che questa idea continuò fino al 1568 dell' era volgare, quando lo spagnuolo Mendaña, nipote del vicerè del Perù, scuoprì le Isole Salomone, e le chiamò *Terra australis*, convinto di avere scoperto un nuovo continente. Susseguenti scoperte dissiparono tutte quelle nozioni, e una nuova regione è stata aggiunta, nella repartizione del globo, e fu chiamata "*Oceania*"; di questa dunque mi propongo parlar qui.

Quali sono i confini dell' Oceania? per qualche tempo fu detta *Australasia*, essendo un' estensione al Sud dell' Asia, e racchiudendo in sè la grande Isola Continente dell' Australia; ma giacendo sulle acque del Pacifico, il nome di Oceania è più esatto: meno alcune eccezioni che noteremo, essa si estende al Sud dell' Equatore, e al Tropico del Capricorno.

Come terra, l' area, che occupa attualmente, è poco più grande dell' Europa: Colle sue isole, come superficie sulla faccia del globo, sorpassa, compresi i mari intermedi, quella dell' Asia, poichè si estende dall' Australia a ponente fino all' Isola orientale, a levante dalle Isole *Sandwich* al Nord dell' Equatore, fino al Sud della Nuova Zelanda.

La *Malesia* è esclusa da questa regione essendo una parte dell' Asia, ed avendo partecipato dell' incivilimento dell' Asia. L' Oceania invece è rimasta, quasi intieramente, al di fuori di questa influenza asiatica, sia nelle religioni, sia nelle lingue.

L' Oceania a può esser divisa in quattro sotto-regioni.

- I. Polinesia.
- II. Melanesia.
- III. Mikronesia.
- IV. Austraha.

La sotto-regione della Polinesia si estende dalla Isola Orientale fino al gruppo *Tonga* dal 110° longitudine orientale fino alla longitudine 175°, e dalle Isola *Sandwich* al 25° grado Nord dell' Equatore fino alla Nuova Zelanda, al 45° Sud dell' Equatore. I gruppi principali di queste Isole sono. 1° Isola Società o *Georgian*, le *Harwey*, ossia *Cook*, le *Marchesi*, le *Sandwich*, l' *Union*, le *Samoa*, le *Tonga*, e le *Maori*.

Il numero delle Isole è grandissimo, fertile il terreno, magnifica la posizione.

Tasman, nel 1645, accertò la loro esistenza, e Bougainville la confermò nel 1768; ma fu il capitano Cook che ne dette ampie notizie, compiendo il suo celebre viaggio a Tahiti, allo scopo di farvi osservazioni astronomiche; nel suo ultimo viaggio, il Cook scuoprì le Isole *Sandwich* o *Hawai*, e vi perì.

Da quel tempo eses furono ripetutamente visitate. Il governo francese impose il suo dominio alle Isole *Society*, *Paumotu*, e *Marchesi*.

Le Isole *Sandwich* sono sotto il protettorato dell' Inghilterra, e degli Stati Uniti.

Il gruppo delle *Samoa* conserva una precaria indipendenza sotto il protettorato della Inghilterra, della Germania, e degli Stati Uniti. Gli altri gruppi sono attualmente indipendenti, ma, in questi tempi di audaci annessioni, è difficile dire quanto durerà la loro indipendenza, fino ad ora nè l' Austria nè l' Italia, nè la Russia, non sono intervenute in queste annessioni. È certo però, che, in conseguenza della civiltà europea, le popolazioni di quelle regioni sono ora guaste e corrotte, le bevande dannose, e le malattie portate dai marinai, inferoliscono e distruggano quelle popolazioni. Le montagne e le valli deserte rimarranno in breve l' unica preda dell' invasione Europea, poichè si vanno sempre più spopolando.

Gran parte della popolazione si può chiamare cristiana, per la buona influenza esercitata fino dal principio dai Missionari. Gli abitanti delle Isole *Marchesi* e *Paumotu* sono per la maggior parte cattolici Romani; quelli delle Isole *Wallis* e *Horne* o *Futuna*, lo sono tutti.

Nelle altre Isole, la popolazione è protestante, essendo stata così istruita da inviati della società missionaria di Londra, così detta, e dalla Wesleyana; l' impresa era ardua, e forma forse la più bella pagina nella storia della Missioni Protestanti; appena un isolano era convertito, si univa ai missionari nel santo scopo, e così, maestri ed istruttori indigeni convertivano i fratelli idolatri, e gradatamente, ogni Isola si rivolgeva a Cristo, ma in ciascuna si trova però la tomba del martire, il primo cristiano, il quale rimase spesso ucciso, sempre maltrattato e qualche volta anche divorato, insieme alla moglie ed ai figli. L' abnegazione dei nuovi missionari Polinesii non si limitava ad occuparsi solo degli uomini della loro razza; ma essi furono sempre e sono fino ad oggi, sempre pronti a penetrare nella *Melanesia* fra le razze nere della nuova *Caledonia*,

le nuove *Ebridi*, e anche nella Nuova Guinea, rischiando la propria vita; portentosa testimonianza del gran potere della idea religiosa, su quelle primitive e vergini razze.

È accertato che le lingue che si parlano in queste innumerevoli Isole della Polinesia, sono sorelle fra loro, e vengono da una madre comune, infatti sono dette "dialetti" ma pure vi sono più lingue diverse, le une alle altre inintelligibili. Quanto all'asserzione che l'abitatore d' un' isola possa capire, e farsi capire dagli abitanti d' un' altra, non regge alla esperienza dei fatti; la Bibbia è stata tradotta e stampata nelle lingue *Tahiti, Raiotonga, Harvey, Marchesi, Samoa, Nive* ossia Isole selvaggio, *Tonga, Hawau, Maori* della *Nuova Zelanda*.

Un confronto dei loro testi convincerà ognuno della differenza di ogni forma di lingua; ve ne sono pure che diventano dialetti di una delle lingue sovra menzionate. La teoria che la famiglia linguistica della Polinesia si avvicini a quella Malese è stata appoggiata da molti e il celebre Von Humboldt, per le nozioni che si potevano avere nel 1830, lo disse egli pure, ed ognuno s'inchinò a tanta autorità. Ma adesso noi abbiamo migliori mezzi di confronti; una certa somiglianza di parole esiste, ma non eccede il 4 per 100, e sono parole moderne, mentre le lingue sono radicalmente diverse nella costruzione e nei vocaboli.

Del resto è facile convincersene, confrontando accuratamente il Vangelo nelle due lingue.

I caratteri principali delle lingue della Polinesia sono i seguenti:

- (1) L' aggettivo segue il sostantivo
- (2) Il numero è indicato cambiando l'articolo.
- (3) Il pronome possessivo precede il nome.
- (4) Il nominativo segue il verbo.
- (5) Il tempo è indicato da un prefisso.
- (6) Non esiste genere grammaticale.
- (7) Il passivo è formato da un suffisso.
- (8) L' intensità e la durata d' una azione è indicata da un *prefisso*, e dal raddoppiamento
- (9) Il causativo è espresso con un *prefisso*.
- (10) La reciprocità d' un' azione si determina da un prefisso o da un suffisso, o pure dal raddoppiamento.
- (11) Le parole finiscono sempre con una vocale.

La lingua è parlata con correttezza grammaticale; si usa generalmente un linguaggio cerimonioso fra le autorità, ed alle autorità. Molti libri sono venuti alla luce in diverse lingue, buone grammatiche, eccellenti dizionarii, e ciò si deve intieramente all' opera dei Missionari.

A quale razza d' uomini tali lingue appartengono? permettete che prima io vi descriva la loro apparenza. Essi sono del colore del

bronzo; più o meno modificato, il tipo è lo stesso fra loro; alti e belli di persona, urbani, ed ospitali, con una certa conoscenza delle arti, esperti navigatori, abili nel canto, e nel raccontar leggende, ma non hanno la più piccola idea dell' arte di scrivere: in molte isole, licenziosi, cannibali, idolatri, in tutte sacrificano spesso vittime umane, feroci nelle loro contese, uccisori talora della propria prole.

Col cristianesimo molte delle loro cattive abitudini sono cessate; ma essi hanno pure perduto molta della loro energia, e della loro attitudine per la musica.

Molto è stato scritto sull' origine delle popolazioni dell' Oceania. Quattro sono le ipotesi più concrete.

(1) Che un vasto continente occupasse una volta quello spazio, e che le isole non sieno altro che le cime delle più alte montagne

(2) Che la parte a levante della regione sia stata colonizzata dai popoli dell' America del Sud.

(3) Che l' intera regione sia stata colonizzata dall' Asia.

(4) Che la Nuova Zelanda sia la cuna di una razza di Autoctoni (i Maori), la quale si estese sulle isole orientali fino alle isole Sandwich.

In quanto all' origine delle popolazioni *Australiane*, *Melanesie*, e *Mikronesie*, non se ne danno spiegazioni. Il dotto francese che emesse la quarta ipotesi, in questi ultimi anni non aderisce alla credenza di coloro, che ammettono una comune origine alla razza umana.

Infatti nell' Oceania vi sono tre razze distintamente separate; la razza color del bronzo: la razza nera, dai capelli lanosi, nella *Melanesia*, e la razza nera dell' Australia. La teoria del continente sommerso risale ad un tempo troppo remoto per poter sciogliere il problema, ed anche ammettendo l' idea di quel continente, ci sarebbe sempre la difficoltà di spiegare l' origine della razza che lo abitò, e come avvenne che siasi tripartita.

Vi fu chi messe fuori l' idea d' un' origine Ariana alla Polinesia, ed il famoso Bopp fu fra questi, ma i più ritengono che egli si sia ingannato.

Passiamo alla regione della Melanesia. La colonia inglese delle Figi, si trova a levante, ed una catena d' Isole si estende in semicerchio fino alla grande Isola della Nuova Guinea, nella latitudine dal Tropico del Capricorno, e nella longitudine orientale, dal 170° al 138° di Greenwich. Mercè gli accurati lavori di varie società di Missionari, possiamo descrivere geograficamente i gruppi delle isole, ed occuparci delle lingue di quegli abitanti—essi appartengono ad una razza nera; di statura piccola, dai capelli lanosi, fieri, inospitali, non atti a navigare, con poca tendenza alla cultura; Straordinario è il numero delle lingue che si parlano nella Melanesia. Ogni Isola ha la sua propria lingua, e qualche volta anche più d' una; forse con grandi materiali di confronto, e di

studi profondi, qualche affinità di costruzione fra quelle lingue si potrebbe trovare. Molto è già stato fatto; esistono a stampa Grammatiche, Vocabolari, Dizionari ecc. ma generalmente di ciò si sono occupati uomini più atti a far collezioni, e a prendere ricordi e appunti su quelle lingue diverse, che a scrutarne, ed a sistemarne i gruppi; per la Nuova Caledonia, la Nuova Guinea, per l' Arcipelago Bismarck, ci mancano ancora nozioni positive. Le condizioni della regione della Melanesia sono così speciali, che credo utile di specificarne i gruppi.

I. Il gruppo delle Isole Figi si compone delle numerose Isole dell' Arcipelago *Figi*, e delle Isole di *Rotuma*, le lingue di questi due gruppi sono bene distinte e furono entrambe studiate bene; nelle Isole Figi, poi, s' incontrano numerosi dialetti.

II. Le Isole *Loyalty* sono formate delle tre piccole Isole, *Mare* o *Nengone*, *Lifu* ed *Uvea*, le tre lingue sono così diverse che i Missionari, benché appartenenti alla stessa Società, hanno dovuto preparare tre traduzioni della Bibbia; di più in *Uvea* trovasi una colonia di emigrati Polinesii, dell' Isola Wallis, che parlano la loro lingua.

III. Il gruppo della Nuova Caledonia racchiude questa grande Isola, e l' isoletta dei Pini; fino a questo momento non mi è stato possibile avere una nota esatta delle lingue che si parlano nella maggiore di queste Isole; sembra che sieno sette; mancano le Grammatiche; incompleti sono i Vocabolari; ho scritto ad un colto prelado cattolico Romano, residente a *Numea*, pregandolo a volermi dare qualche particolare su questo proposito, e l' attendo ancora.

IV. Ecco ora l' elenco delle sedici lingue nell' importante gruppo delle Isole *Nuove Ebridi*.

- (1) Aneityum.
- (2) Tanna.
- (3) Erromanga.
- (4) Fato, ossia Sandwich.
- (5) Nguna, ossia Montague.
- (6) Mac, ossia Three Hills.
- (7) Tongoa.
- (8-9) Api Tasiko, Lemororo.
- (10) Pama.
- (11) Ambyn.
- (12) Mallicollo.
- (13) Whitsuntide o Pentecoste.
- (14) Espiritu Santo (due dialetti).
- (15) Isola Leper.
- (16) Aurora (Maiwo).

Di molte tra queste lingue abbiamo Grammatiche, Vocabolari, Dizionari ecc.

La necessità di tradurre la Bibbia prova la differenza del linguaggio fra quegli abitanti, i quali, malgrado la loro vicinanza, non hanno fra loro grandi rapporti.

V. Nel gruppo delle isole *Banks* troviamo il nome di nove lingue.

- (1) *Merlaw*, ossia *Star I.*
- (2-3) *Santa Maria, Gog, Lahu.*
- (4) *Fanua Lavi o Great Banks* (undici dialetti).
- (5) *Mota*, ossia *Sugarloaf I.*
- (6-7) *Motiao o Saddle* (due lingue).
- (8) *Roua.*
- (9) *Norbarbar, o Bligh.*

Mota fa una eccezione notevole per la sua lingua franca; essendosi aperti una scuola dai Missionari nell' Isola Sugarloaf, gli scolari, oltre la loro propria lingua, studiano quella, come veicolo d'istruzione comune e de' loro sociali rapporti.

VI. I tre piccoli gruppi, *Torres Island, Santa Cruz, e Swallow Islands*, hanno lingue poco conosciute; la lingua *Lo* nel primo gruppo, due nel seconda, e una nel terzo.

VII. Nell' importante gruppo delle Isole di *Salomone* ve ne sono dieci.

- (1) San Christobal (due dialetti).
- (2) Alawa
- (3) Malanta (quattro dialetti).
- (4) Guadalcanal (tre dialetti).
- (5) Florida.
- (6) Savu.
- (7-8) Isabel, Bugatu, Gao.
- (9) New Georgia.
- (10) Eddystone I.

Di alcune di queste lingue abbiamo una scarsa nozione; di altre, si trovano vocabolari, testi grammatiche.

VIII. Nel gruppo chiamato Arcipelago Bismarck si trovano le Isole *Neu Britain, Duke of Jorh, New Hannover, New Ireland, e Admiralty*; delle prime abbiamo qualche traduzione della Bibbia, delle ultime imperfetti Vocabolari.

IX. Dell' Arcipelago Louisiade possediamo il Vocabolario d' una sola lingua.

X. Il gruppo della Nuova Guinea può dirsi *Terra incognita*; è soltanto da una diecina d' anni esplorato con qualche diligenza.

Circa sessantacinque sono le lingue che vi si parlano ma di sole cinque abbiamo nozioni fondamentali, *Mafur*, nelle Baia di *Geelvink* nel territorio Olandese, *Motu e Dahuni*, al Capo Sud sulla Costa meridionale del territorio britannico e le lingue delle Isole *Murray e Sabar*. Le altre sono conosciute per i vocabolari messi insieme da indotti

viaggiatori, e da appunti presi a caso, su informazioni incerte. Nei territori britannici, tedeschi, e olandesi, notevoli sono i progressi; ed il velo dell' incognito, un poco alla volta si squarcia. Le lingue che si parlano sulle coste verso la Malesia, risentono della influenza malese, e quelle delle coste volte verso la Polinesia, hanno affinità colle lingue Polnesie. Le discussioni, le divergenze d' opinioni, sono infinite su questo soggetto. Le idee del dotto scrittore tedesco dott. Federico Muller, sono combattute dal celebre prof. Kern olandese; le teorie propugnate dal Dott. Codrington, fra tutti gli inglesi forse il più competente nella questione, sono combattute dal prof. Giorgio di Gabelentz, che gode fama Europea come linguista.

Due sono incontestabilmente le razze nella Nuova Guinea, la bruna e la nera, alcuni credono che una terza razza abbia una volta esistito, lasciando ancora qualche traccia. Queste razze si sono incrociate, formandone così un numero infinito. Nulla sappiamo dell' interno dell' Isola, poichè nessuno ha potuto ancora traversala da mare a mare essendo riusciti vani tutti i tentativi di questo genere. E a questo punto si limita quanto sappiamo intorno alle lingue *Melanesie*. E' concesso che le due lingue, malgrado la loro differenza, sono omogenee, ed appartengono alla grande famiglia Oceanica, ch' esse hanno tolto molto ad prestito, ma da lingue affini, non già diverse; che la loro pura essenza non fu perturbata da vere e proprie mescolanze straniere.

Nelle lingue della Melanesia si adoprano più consonanti che in quella della Polinesia, ed esse hanno alcuni suoni, che non si sentono in queste ultime e difficili a trasciversi; molte sillabe sono mute; non v' è differenza fra l' articolo definito e l' articolo indefinito, fuor che nell' isole Figj. I nomi si distinguono in due specie con o senza suffisso pronominale, e il principio di divisione è la connessione più o meno stretta fra il possessore ed il posseduto. Il genere è femminile e maschile. Molti vocaboli rappresentano promiscuamente nomi, aggettivi, e verbi, senza cambiamento; qualche volta un nome è semplicemente indicato da una preposizione. I casi, si distinguono per mezzo di particelle prefisse. L' aggettivo segue il sostantivo, I pronomi sono numerosi. I pronomi personali hanno quattro numeri, singolare, duale, trino, e plurale. Quasi ogni parola può usarsi come verbo, aggiungendovi una particella: in tutte queste lingue, i tempi e modi, e in alcune anche le persone ed i numeri s' indicano per mezzo di prefissi; queste particelle variano secondo le lingue, ed hanno forma causativa, intensiva, frequentativa, e reciproca.

Non conosciamo le loro leggende; le popolazioni sono crudeli, cannibali, vendicative, crudelmente trattate dagli Europei, giustificano i propri atti come rappresaglia.

Ho notato nell' area geografica della Melanesia, molte colonie di Polinesii. Come ciò sarà avvenuto si può appena immaginare per congettura; forse una tempesta li gettò su quelle coste, o qualche

divisione di tribù; ne' due casi, per Uvea nelle Isole Loyalty e per Fútuna nelle Nuove Ebridi, i nomi e la lingua indicano le isole, onde venivano quegli emigranti. Uvea o Wallis I, e Fútuna, o Isola Horne giacciono a ponente delle Isole del Navigatore. Ma nelle Nuove Ebridi l' Isola d' Aniwa, e una parte di Mai, le piccole isole Mel, e Fil, e nel gruppo più settentrionale le isole Duff, Swallow, Tucopin, Cherry, Reynell, e Bellona I, Ontong, Tava, e Leneneowa, sono abitate da gente, che al suo modo di parlare rivela la propria origine. Il sangue Polinesio si mostra talora purissimo; talora, invece la bruna madre Polinesia catturata dai neri selvaggi, ha prodotto una razza mista; talora il color bruno scomparve del tutt e la lingua polinesia si sente parlare da un Melanesio che è perfettamente nero.

La Revista Contemporanea, Florence.

XXIII.

MEMORANDUM UPON THE PREPARATION OF A "CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ" OF EVERY KIND OF PRINTED INFORMATION CONNECTED WITH THE DISTRICTS UNDER THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES.

It is a subject of regret to me to see public Officers, or others, searching for information here and there, which I can recollect to have been available twenty years ago. Again, I find proposals made to go over ground of inquiry or report, which have been traversed before, and the results of which have been printed, but lost sight of. I have found Officers in charge of districts unaware of elaborate accounts of those districts, compiled and published by their predecessors. During the troubles of 1857 Libraries were destroyed, and Books of reference, which were available at that period, are no longer so; and another feature of the time is, that the link of tradition, which used to connect the elder and younger servants of Government together, seems to have been snapped.

During my residence in the Panjáb, I started the idea of publishing a "Catalogue Raisonné" of all Books, Essays, pamphlets, reviews, and reports published, in any way connected with that country. Since my exile from that Province, Mr. T. A. Thornton, Secretary to Government, has undertaken to work out the idea, and I have handed over to him the slender materials, that I had collected. The catalogue of published matter will be grouped by districts and subjects, so that the inquirer will be able to ascertain by a glance, whether the ground has been traversed before, and in what direction new ground can be opened out; for it is the duty of every intelligent mind to make some little contribution to the great heritage of Knowledge, and in India the unexplored field is infinite.

I propose, opportunity and health permitting, to start a publication of the same kind for all the districts under the Government of the North-Western Provinces; but for any chance of success I must depend on the co-operation of the many talented and industrious servants of Government, whose career is before them. A page in a volume must be set apart for every district of the thirty-six districts of the North-Western Provinces, and for every great subject, and it will often happen that the same work will be entered

under several districts and several subjects. The great subjects may be indefinitely added to, but they may be grouped in families :

- A. Administration.
- B. History and Antiquities.
- C. Education and Literature.
- D. Natural History, etc.

As the information comes in, and suggestions are made, the minor details of the classification of the catalogue can be modified, preserving, however, the two subdivisions of districts and subjects, which, for practical reasons, must not be departed from.

The information must be gleaned :

I From memory and general reading When the mind is turned to the subject, each of us could name scores of works, or fugitive writings, which have passed under our observation

II. From a careful examination of the libraries of the Government Secretariat and other offices, all public and private libraries, and printed catalogues of libraries and publishers

III From a careful examination of serial works, such as the different Asiatic Societies' Journals and the *Calcutta Review* (which are mines of information); the selected correspondence of the different Governments; other series of less note, which have long since passed out of circulation; collective works, like *Thomason's Dispatches*, *Settlement Reports*, *Burst's Index* (published at Bombay, in 1852); and many other works of the same kind, in which information is grouped chronologically, and at random

It is not necessary to wait until such a catalogue is perfect, before it is published. when a certain amount of matter is collected and arranged, it can be roughly printed and circulated. This will doubtless bring in more information. Years must elapse before a faithful catalogue is made of the treasures of the Past, and by the necessity of things in this busy age fresh contributions will have to be entered annually, and new and corrected editions will be constantly called for.

Only let us make a beginning; if one or two will come forward to assist, I shall be ready to help and superintend, and can from many sources indicate hundreds of works; and we might each commence upon rough catalogues, and divide the field of work between us, according to the access which we have to sources of information.

Allahabad, May 2, 1867.

XXIV.

GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA. (DR. G. SMITH)

THIS useful and interesting work is one of Mr Murray's Series of Students and Manuals. The vast subject, of which it treats, is forcibly compressed into 500 pages of Text. It is illustrated by seventeen Maps and diagrams, and when it is stated, that for this small work the Index contains 5,200 proper names, thus facilitating immediate reference to any place required, an idea is given of the degree to which the power of compression has been exercised. Mr. Murray's orders were imperative. the compiler could not reduce the subject-matter of inquiry, or omit any portions of the details. The consequence has been, that a method analogous to that of the old Indian writers, who reduced all Knowledge into pithy Sutra, has been adopted, and we are reminded, as we dip into a page, of the truss of hay, compressed into a case of a foot square, and the sirloin of beef boiled down into the compass of a sardine box.

To those who know India, or any part of it, intimately, as Englishmen know their own country, this Book is very delightful, as each line and name bring back with wonderful accuracy the salient features of the place, the natural and artificial objects, which are connected with it. We have read page after page. Forgotten names have recalled forgotten scenes, and old times, and we have failed in spotting an error. It is clear from the internal evidence, that we have the compilation of an Anglo-Indian, experienced, observant, and accurate, in our hands. But, when we consider the Book from the point of view of the student, for whom the Book is ostensibly compiled, a doubt crosses our mind, whether the uninstructed youth, or the non-Anglo-Indian generally, will get over the stumbling-block of the extreme condensation, and the run of uncouth names. Take, for instance, page 133, opened at a venture. We defy any examiner to formulate any question fit to be put out of Section 10, or any competitioneer, however crammed, to give a decent answer. The country of Arakan is as strange to us as it would be to a student, and the idea of having to answer the question, "Describe the Northern Arakan District," seems to be appalling. On the other hand, to a student of another class, who for some purpose was informing himself on British Burmah, the condensed information would be highly valuable.

We regret to find, that the Author has departed from the method of transliterating names laid down by the Government, and illustrated in Hunter's "Gazetteer," by substituting *ee* for *i*, and *oo* for *u*. If he has protested against the official mode, we must as strongly dissent from his protest, and our opinion is based on a very careful consideration of the subject, not only as regards India, but the world at large.

The Compiler has been fortunate enough to secure the results of the Census of 1881, of which the full reports were not published, and the results of the Survey, which enable him to record the area and population of British India, showing that the usual assertion of a population of 250 Millions is quite warranted (1883). He contrasts these gigantic results with the Statistics of other Nations, but he appears to underestimate the Chinese. His two opening chapters treat India as a whole, and treat it well. All ethnical and linguistic details are excluded from the designs of this work. Where a notice has slipped in, as at page 56, it is inexact, as no allowance is made for the Millions of non-Arians in Bangál, who speak neither Bangálí, nor Hindi, nor Urya, but their own Dravidian, or Kolarian, or Tibeto-Burman, Languages.

This Book must have its place on the table, or in the revolving bookcase, by the side of the chair of everyone, who cares for India. It is difficult to read the columns of the daily papers without having occasion to refer to some Book to find out where a place is situated. If an old Anglo-Indian feels this necessity, how much must the want press on the untravelled Statesman, or Publicist, anxious to keep himself posted up with the course of contemporaneous events in India. In spite of the *Pax Romana*, since the Mutinies the sword is never really sheathed in India. Each week we read of some petty fray, some unhappy loss of life, some mistake chronicled in bloodshed. This leads to the suggestion, that the British Public should consider the serious responsibility laid upon their shoulders in having to care for so many hundred Millions of God's poor creatures. If the Roman Empire fell to pieces "*mole sud*," what will be the end of the British Empire? If the Anglo-Indian Empire passes away, Mr. Smith's book will remain to tell truly and succinctly, how marvellously organized that Empire was, and what a strong, and thorough-going Administration had been built up, under which the order of the Viceroy could be conveyed to the most distant village within twenty-four hours. In that vast area there is no one spot, in which the Law would not be vindicated within a reasonable period.

One word for the compiler of this volume. Few men have done longer, better, or more thoughtful work for British India than Mr. George Smith. As an independent journalist, an accurate compiler of statistics, a condenser of voluminous annals, a biographer of distinguished men, a contributor to local Periodicals, he has left his mark, and achieved an enviable reputation. We anticipate much more good work from his able pen, and we hope to be alive to read and review, with as much sympathy and admiration as we offer on this occasion.

Allen's India Mail, 1883.

“ANCIENT INDIA.” (McCRINDLE.)

THERE is no occasion to inform the members of the Geographical Society who Claudius Ptolemy was, and what a mark he left in the history of the Ancient world; we refer any inquirer to Bunbury's “History of Ancient Geography.” Here we have to deal with Mr. McCrindle's Translation of a portion of Ptolemy's great work on Geography from the original Greek, and the Introduction and Commentary, with which he has accompanied it. Mr McCrindle is favourably known to the Indian students as the compiler of three other excellent and useful works: “Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian,” 1877, “The Periplus of the Red Sea,” 1879, and “Ancient India as described by Ktesias,” 1881; and herein lies his great merit, that he clears away a great deal of mystery and inaccuracy of quotation and induction, by placing Translations of these epoch-making Books in a handy form at the command of every reader.

The form in which the work is presented is most satisfactory, and indicates the care with which it has been prepared. A lengthy introduction, followed by a copy of Ptolemy's Map, and a careful index of proper names and an Index of general subjects, render it available as a book of reference.

In the Introduction we are reminded, that Ptolemy flourished in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 150-160, and that he regards his subject from the point of view of an Astronomer. The Science of Geography was to him cosmical. He had carefully studied the works of his illustrious predecessors, from Eratosthenes to Strabo, and Marinus of Tyre, and the progress of Knowledge enabled him to perceive how faulty their method and inductions were. He had a general conception of what was required, and it is wonderful to think, how by force of reasoning, independent of actual Geographical discovery, he had grasped certain Truths; but the mechanical means at his disposal were insufficient, the astronomical observations were few and inaccurate. To many parts of the world travellers had not penetrated, and the accounts given of the regions visited were neither trustworthy nor scientific; and, moreover, the accounts brought home by different travellers were conflicting. Still, he was able to correct the palpable errors of many of his predecessors, and left a work, called “The Outlines of Geography,” which maintained its position as being the paramount authority on the subject from the time of Antoninus to a comparatively modern period, when the dawn of true Science overshadowed it, and it dropped, like his astronomical system, out of practical consideration, and became a curiosity of the past.

Yet it has its value for all time, and from its careful study many doubtful points have been cleared up by the Antiquary and the student of Oriental Literature. We have still a great deal to learn on the subject of the intercourse betwixt the Roman and the Eastern world, and Mr. McCrindle has wisely selected for Translation and comment that portion of the great work which relates to India. The date of the birth of Buddha is a first Epoch; the date of the invasion of Alexander is a second, and fortunately one with regard to which there can be no doubt. The date of the Inscriptions of Asóka is a third, all preceding the Christian era. Ptolemy flourished in the second century after Christ, and the India which he describes was the India whose history we are spelling out, in the long series of Inscriptions which succeeded those of Asóka. Ptolemy's narrative was collected from the lips of the traveller and the merchant, and the side-lights thus let in are of importance in helping to fix dates.

Two features in Ptolemy's method are worthy of note. He produced a Map, such as circumstances permitted him to produce, for which he deserves high commendation, but he proceeded to give a strictly Scientific form to that, which did not rest on any Scientific basis. He assumed the latitudes and longitudes of places in the best way that he could, but he treated them as if these positions had been fixed by actual observations, and he drew up copious tables giving in degree the latitude and longitude of places which fell far short of reality.

In his chapters on India he gives an amazing number of names, which are found nowhere else in classical literature, and which he must somehow have obtained from Indian sources, the nature of which are unknown to us. But these names have become so distorted in the progress of their repetition from mouth to mouth, and transliteration by unsympathetic narrators, that it has been a tedious, and in some cases a hopeless, study to identify them. The main object of Mr. McCrindle has been to show how far that identification has been accomplished. Multifarious Authorities, many of them in foreign Languages, have been consulted, and for this service the compiler deserves our special thanks. His own method is admirable. In the introductory chapter he gives a succinct account of Ptolemy's Geographical System, and this is followed by a Translation of several chapters of his first Book. The text of Book VII is taken in detachments of convenient length, and then followed by a commentary, identifying the places from the point of view of a Geographer, analyzing the names from the point of view of a Philologist, and recording the facts connected with the place from the point of view of a Historian. He faithfully quotes his Authorities (a formality too often neglected by egotistical writers), and thus we are supplied with the opinions of experts in that particular branch of Science: M. Vivien de St. Martin, Colonel Yule,

Professor Lassen, on the whole subject; and on portions of the subject we are referred to such works as Wilson's "*Arana Antiqua*," Cunningham's "*Geography of Ancient India*," and his "*Reports on the Archaeological Survey*," the Introduction to Caldwell's *Dravidian Grammar*, and many other esteemed Authors. We can thus exercise our judgment on the evidence supplied. The book is entitled "*Ancient India*," but the compiler was led on by the fascination of the subject to include the chapters of Ptolemy relating to China and Central Asia, and all the Provinces adjacent to India. The reader is thus presented with an idea of the Geographical Knowledge of Ptolemy of the whole of Eastern Asia beyond the Paropamisus.

We learn another interesting fact, that, though this volume is the fourth, it is not the last of the series of Annotated Translations of the Works of Classical Authors which relate to India, as the volume, containing Strabo's "*Indian Geography*," and the accounts given by Arrian and Curtius of the Macedonian Invasion of India under Alexander the Great, will complete the series. All students who love the subject of India in its multifarious aspects, will thank Mr. McCrindle, and honour him by placing his Books by the side of those of St. Martin and Bunbury, and constantly referring to them.

MISSIONARY LITERATURE.

I AM seated in front of a Bookcase, on which the Reports of all the most important, and a great many of the less important, Missionary Societies in the world are ranged in different shelves according to Nationality and Denomination. In the carton-boxes of my Cabinet are arranged cuttings and Manuscript-extracts, the result of forty years' reading. Many thoughts come over me—the memory of scores of good excellent men, who have gone before; admiration for the work; love for Christ, love for the poor Heathen, love for the Missionary. My notebook is filled with extracts, memoranda, and reflections, jotted down long ago. The subject is not a craze of my old age, but the serious work of my life, since Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta taught me my first lesson in 1843, and I made my first Missionary friend, John Newton of Ludiána, in 1844, who worked on until his summons came.

The Missionary goes out as a very young man: a large majority have never undergone the discipline of a Public School or University—they find themselves face to face with gigantic problems beyond the conception of their stay-at-home friends. Many of them do not recollect, that at least in the dawn of their powers of usefulness the Lord requires an undivided consecration of heart, and talents, and have blindly entangled themselves with earthly ties, and human affections, which distract them from the one absorbing duty of saving Souls. Some, just as, after undergoing a long pupilage, they begin to be useful, owing to the illness of a wife or child, or the prospect of a comfortable parsonage or manse at home, forget their first love, and turn their back on the plough. Some few glorious old men remain, refusing to leave their bodies out of the country, to which they have devoted their earliest, unbroken, and lasting affection. The Metropolitan of Canada closed his memorable speech in St. James's Hall, London, with the words "God helping me, I hope soon to return to my Diocese, and, in the spirit of Ruth, there will I be buried: the Lord do so to me and more also, if aught but Death part thee and me." And so it has happened to him.

The tendencies of all Missionaries is to be narrow-minded, and form superficial opinions, from want of opportunity of all-round study, a wider observation, free discussion, and sharp intellectual rubs with all sorts and conditions of men, men of a turn of mind, and experience, differing from their own. Some Missionaries are very superior men, the giants of their time: the great majority are not so, but they are good Evangelists notwithstanding.

Bringing Indian experience to bear upon circumstances in other countries, I have ever tried to discuss certain matters impartially, and invite downright Criticism. We can no longer treat Missionary operations as above or below candid Criticism, when they are forced upon the public notice in the public papers, in Parliament, on Platforms, and in an abundant literature. Missions, like those of the Moravian Missionary Society, or of the American Societies to their indigenous wild tribes, might be conducted for centuries without public notice; but the Evangelizing warfare all round Africa, all over Oceania, into the heart of India, China, and Japan, by at least two thousand Agents, at a cost exceeding two Millions annually, cannot escape notice. Some of these friends boastfully assert, that they are turning the world upside down: they must take the consequences: people do not like to be turned upside down, and are apt to resist.

When the "Duff" sailed with the first British Missionaries in 1792, to the South Seas, nothing was heard of it for a year, and information came at such uncertain intervals, that the fact of the Mission existing was forgotten but Missions are now a factor, a Power, and a Science: every Steamer is crowded with Male and Female Missionaries. There is a dark side in the narratives of Murders and Deaths, that reach the Public Press, and a darker still, that never gets beyond the Committee-Room, of the Immorality of some of the Agents.

It must needs be, that mistakes are made, but they need not be perpetuated. If some of the objectionable practices of Roman Catholic Missions had been faithfully commented upon by an observant Roman Catholic Community, they would not have been persisted in. I instance as one the systematic purchase of Negro children. Hard words are often spoken against Missions, and whole classes of the Community from deep prejudice hold back from their support. It is in the interest of Missions, their positive advantage, that the phenomena arising should be explained, that the tendencies should be exposed, that the blots should be hit, and the dangers pointed out. The Jesuit Mission of last century in Paraguay would not have persisted in the course, which led to their ruin, if some faithful Priest had cried out in time, and warned them against the dangerous policy of arming their converts, and waging war against a European Power, the Portuguese. Does not History seem to repeat itself? The eternal laws of Toleration, of doing unto others what we wish, that men should do unto us, require appealing to each century. The changes of the Religious convictions of Millions is not to be effected by rosewater. I read, and listen to, proposals made in good faith by benevolent men, which, with what seems to me certainty, would lead on to deplorable consequences. Is every white man to domineer over every dark-skinned in every part of the world, simply because he is a white man, and usurp a secular

jurisdiction in the heart of a great Continent, because he is commissioned by pious men in a distant country to preach the Gospel of Peace?

The last generation has been exceedingly propitious to the extension of Missions: the expansion has been marvellous, but much of it very imprudent. The next generation may see periods of trial and peril by the close of that period the European octopus will have closed over the Continent of Africa, as it has already over Oceania, and America. Many enterprises have been commenced with light heartedness, which it may be difficult to maintain without bloodshed. I took part in my youth in the annexation of vast Provinces in British India, but careful arrangements were previously made: posts occupied, which supported each other, and an overwhelming military force kept in hand by a fixed and settled policy. Missionary Societies, on the contrary, have settled down here and there without fixed policy, without any conception of the necessity of having supports in the rear, they have been like the down of a thistle, blown here and there by the wind: they have roused the antagonism of desperate and bloodthirsty men, and the suspicions of ignorant and reckless Chieftains: in their platform-speeches at home they have allowed themselves full license of speech in abusing European, Asiatic, or African Potentates, quite regardless of the diffusion of information through the Press. They have tried to induce Governments to be drawn into their difficulties. They must not be surprised, if they have a more difficult game to play, than if they had gone into the country, like the humble and peaceful Moravian, or some of the better managed Roman Catholic Missions, where the Missionary has settled down amidst the people, and become an integral part of them, submitting to the authority of the Rulers, by whose permission they had gained an entrance. And this is the true type of a real Missionary, who knows nothing but Christ.

In the biography of some great and good man we read a notice of the first conception, which dawned on his Intellect, of a great idea, with which he afterwards connected himself. In the story of a Missionary's life we read of the first tale about Missions, that fell into his hands. It is because such a form of literature is deliberately shut out of certain homes, that many hearts are not touched, that to many the opportunity of serving God in this way is not presented. A quarter of a century ago there may have been an excuse for this. A certain Bishop, with doubtful good taste, a short time ago, in the room of a great Missionary Society, described the Missionary Literature of his youth as distasteful, even repulsive, and "headaching." Was the fault with the Bishop's head or heart? My years exceed his, and the subject came upon me in my youth, and admitting, as I do, freely, the great defects of style, and tone, and the exaggeration of Missionary Publications, yet through the imperfect Human exterior I detected the inner Grace. Whatever was written about

John Williams, or Carey, or Henry Martyn, or Brainerd, or Schwartz, or Columba of Iona, or Boniface of Exeter, or Xavier, had been written then. And we seemed to move in the midst of men, who are now counted as Ancient Heroes, Duff, and Daniel Wilson, Morrison, John Newton, Livingstone, Krupf, and many others.

My hearty desire is, that the youth of England should be as much instructed in the lives of the great Missionaries of the present century, as of the great Statesmen and Warriors of that period; that in their study of Geography there should be not only the Physical, the Political, the Ethnological, the Linguistic, but also the Evangelistic Branch of that great Science. It would be but an imperfect description of great Regions, if no allusion were made to the good men, under whose guidance these savage inhabitants passed from a state approaching to that of wild animals into the ranks of Civilized man.

My object at present is limited to the literary wants of the Missionaries. The narrowness of their vision in some matters is distressing. By the necessity of the case they belong to one Denomination of Religious thought, they acquire one or two local Languages, and settle down for the term of their lives in the midst of one circumscribed Region, one people, one phase of Human development and weaknesses, one method of work, and one groove of ideas. They fail in universal sympathy, except in a most general way. If in a friendly way they meet men of other denominations, the process of levelling down, and the pressure of the same environment, the similarity of the manner of looking at the same phenomena, prevent all enlightenment. The labour of the Missionary is heavy, his health is uncertain, the time of life, when he leaves Great Britain is very youthful, all previous experience is non-existing; visits to his native country are brief, and a whirl of employment. All these are impediments against his mastering the great principles, which underlie the exercise of his noble calling, the Saving of Souls, the great Philosophy of Missions. In no other way can I explain the density of the vision of Missionaries, their persistency in the same error, their appealing to each other as Authorities for the same fallacy. "Every Missionary is agreed upon this subject," some one said lately upon an Exeter Hall Platform. So much the worse for the subject, for it has never been fairly thrashed out in all its bearings. "We are assembled here, not to discuss, but to denounce," said a fanatical and one-sided Chairman in a meeting of packed enthusiasts, got together by tickets to pass a Resolution, only fit to supply paper to ignite the fires of the Government-office, to which it was presented, in which operation light for the first time would be let into a matter, obscured by prejudice, and distorted by exaggeration.

In new Missions, and new Missionary Societies, over and over

again I notice the same errors of practice, the same exploded methods, the same cant-phrases to conceal Ignorance. Then new forms of Error spring up, notably those, which disfigure the last crop of German Missions, exclusion of other Nationalities than that of the Ruling Power, leaning upon the help of the Civil Government, blending the incompatible duties of Pastor to a Christian Community, and Evangelist to Non-Christian races; attempts to associate Commerce, Emigration, Agriculture, and Manufacture with pure Gospel-teaching, forcing an alien Language of the Conqueror on an Asiatic or African people: all these miserable Errors have been combated, abandoned, and condemned in old Missions; but, like the measles and whooping-cough, reappear in infant-enterprises. We seem working in a blind circle, and the world is never growing wiser.

A century of Missions should have taught us some principles, *and has taught us*, if we have but Grace to accept the teaching, and communicate it to the men in the field: and this is the object of my remarks.

In Missionary Colleges, encouragement and opportunity should be given to the Student to inform himself as to the progress of the Gospel-Warfare all over the world: there should be no sneering at, and shelving, the work of particular Denominations; no blind worshipping of particular Schools, headed by noisy, self-confident, and self-asserting, men. If it be not possible to have a course of Lectures on the Science of Missions in its many-sided aspect, at least, Missionaries on leave should detail in full in isolated Lectures their own Methods, pointing out faithfully the merits and shortcomings, and warning the hearers, that these are only the Methods of particular fields, not, like the Bible, the accepted and revealed Truth in all fields. In their private room Missionary Students should study the lives of illustrious Missionaries, and the Periodical Reports.

The first bit of property of a Missionary should be a substantial blank Notebook of goodly size, entitled:

Notanda, Quaerenda, Legenda, Videnda, Visenda, Vitanda.

And he should go nowhere without his Book. In it personal adventures, and spiritual meditations, should find no place; but an inquiring spirit, wholly dedicated to the task of Gospel-preaching, will find, that each day in his reading, in his conversation, in his thoughts, and prayers, something will come to his observation, his memory, his mind, and his Soul, which deserves noticing; some difficulty will arise, which will require solving; some Book will be suggested, which requires reading; some object or place will be mentioned, which he may desire to see, or visit, if occasion may offer; some Error may be brought home, which must be avoided. If he keep such a Book, and refer to it continually, he will find his

information much increased, and the pages of such a Book should be numbered, and dated, and an index kept up to date. He should be supplied also with a copy of the Outline Dictionary, prepared specially for the use of Missionaries and Explorers, in which he should enter any peculiar words which he may hear, taking care to transliterate on one understood principle. Now, if he meet a friend, who has kept such a Notebook, how grateful and profitable will be the interchange of Knowledge, the solution of difficulties, the opening out of new trains of thought. What more precious legacy could an aged servant of God leave to a young friend than such a record? The narrative of admitted, or obvious, failures is quite as instructive as the vaunted success, because it has the merit of Truth, and is not to be found in the glorified official Report, where everything is tinted rose-colour, and all disagreeable matter omitted. "*Bona verba quæso*," is the motto of the Euphemistic Missionary-Editor. The very doubting adhesion of a wise man becomes the conviction of the less gifted. Men engaged in secular matters have found the advantage of such a silent monitor, as it tends to produce order in the chambers of the Memory, constructs pigeon-holes for the thoughts of a trained and humble Intellect, and supplies the means to strengthen the Judgment, and to point argument by apt illustrations.

Each great Missionary Station, and each cluster of smaller Stations, as well as all Training Colleges, should be supplied with a Library of Missionary literature of the following kinds:

I The current Periodicals of all the great Missionary Societies of Great Britain and America should, by courtesy, be supplied to them direct, and should be read, and an interest aroused and kept alive in other fields than the reader's own particular one. Some of these Periodicals are sadly disfigured by cant conventionalism, stock phrases, platitudes, assertions of God being on their side, abuse of the poor non-Christian world. Why cannot they tell this great story as they would any other story, and cast away the sanctimonious husk, in which they bury the precious Truth. It will not only strengthen the Judgment, and enlarge the Charity, but it will sustain drooping Faith, it will fill the hearts of faithful men with conviction of their great Duty, thanksgiving to God for His unfailing help, and love to their fellow-workmen, and the poor Heathen. Deep calls to Deep, praising the Lord, as the resident in India or China reads with joy the unobtrusive labours of the Moravians at Labrador, or the battle with the cold in North America, and the fierce heats in Africa. awhile with bated breath he reads the story of Hannington on Victoria Nyanza, of Selwyn in Melanesia, of Chalmers in New Guinea, of Bentley and Grenfell on the Kongo, of Johnson on the Nyasa, and the Lone Star Mission of South America. Men and women in India and China live in comfortable

Bungalows, with all the appliances of Civilization; they suffer no privation, but they will with profit read of the peril, the nights of watching, the sufferings, the hungerings, the insults, which are joyfully borne by the Servants of the Cross. All the surroundings of the far-off Missions differ, the Methods, the Languages, the degree of Culture, the degree of temperature; but one golden thread twines through the whole tapestry of various patterns, but woven with the same woof, the suffering of Christ, the Salvation of His creatures, and the Struggle for Holiness. From the Pulpit they will tell their Indian or Chinese converts of other worlds but the same Saviour, of other servants occupied in the same Service, for the same King, linked to them by a tie dearer than that of Nationality, or Language, or Customs, viz, of Faith in One able to save

Another advantage would be, that the unlimited querulousness, and arrogant bearing, of many of the Missionaries in India and China, would be shamed into reason by the thought of what their less favoured brethren are undergoing. It would do a Chinese Missionary a world of good to have three years in Equatorial Africa, or on the Niger, amidst Cannibals, with Human Sacrifices. with lawlessness of the petty chief, with attacks of Marauders, and Slave-dealers: the miserable accommodation, the solitude, the climate, the despondency. He would return back to his decent way of life and comfortable quarters, among people in Asiatic Civilization, a sadder and wiser man. Our friends in their comparatively easy life (and I speak as one, who spent twenty-five years in India, in the interior, among the people in war and peace) forget that here in Great Britain we have Reports from Missionaries in every part of the world, and are able to form comparisons.

II. The next division of the Library should be Missionary Biographies, the silent voice of the dead, which still speaks, calling up the forms of ancient men, a very great Army, who did their duty, and are now entered into their Rest, the Sufferers for the Cross, who have now inherited the Crown. Every Missionary should be thoroughly informed in this class of literature. The names are too many to enumerate, but the selection should be impartial, and varied. Such books have a peculiar fascination, and are full of lessons to those, who come after, and know how to be taught. The figures, which pass before us, are no lay figures. Adoniram Judson, and his three holy wives, are no creatures of the fancy. Carey, Patteson, Allen Gardiner, Saker, and Livingstone were real men, whose hands we have touched, whose words we have listened to, and yet who stand out, and speak to us, with greater power and solemnity, than Roman Heroes, or Mediaeval Saints. How can the young Missionary feed his Soul with high resolve, how can he realize the Poetry, the romantic beauty, the exalted Spirituality, of his calling, unless he reads

such Books as these, and others of the same stamp, and reads with prayer to be like them, in their lives, and in their deaths? It gives a reality to his high office to feel, that he is one of a great Army, part of which has crossed the flood, and that he must tread in the footprints of his predecessors, and of One greater than they, if he wishes to do aught in this world, or attain aught in the next. When Missionaries fall to the dead level of ordinary life, and waste their time in squabbles with each other, or meddling in mundane politics, and Commerce, they cease to have the power of winning Souls. They should hold themselves always, as Soldiers do on the eve of a grand battle, and in humble pride venture on the thought, that perhaps, if they fall nobly, their lives will be written to remain hereafter, and establish the hearts of generations of Missionaries still to be born.

III. In the third class comes Statistics, a dry yet important subject.

IV. Descriptive narrative by outsiders, Statesmen, Travellers, even Hostile Critics. I mention no names, but they are on the point of my pen.

V. The independent Periodicals not under the influence of Editorial Secretaries, or Sub-Committees with veils over their eyes, or distorted glasses

VI. Historical the History of Religious conceptions is written in blood, alike in their birth, spread, decay, and extinction

VII Information as regards the existing non-Christian Religious conceptions of the Past, the Present, and the germs of those coming into existence in such numbers under the influence of Education, Tolerance, contact with other Nations.

VIII. The Philosophy, Science, *Raison d'être* of Missionary efforts, bearing in mind that it is an element of disturbance in the affairs of Mankind, and has to be reckoned with by those to whom the Ruling of Kingdoms is delegated. The Missionary cries out: "Après moi le Deluge." "*Fiat Conversio, ruat Imperium*" But Statesmen have to weigh consequences, and Rulers have to think of the Kingdoms of this World, not of the Kingdom of Heaven.

My great desire is, that a general Library of Missionary efforts of all times, Nationalities, and Denominations should be founded in the Church-House, Westminster, accessible to the Public, under the same conditions as the Law Libraries, Scientific Libraries, are at present

The "Encyclopaedia of Missions," published at New York, 1891 (Funk and Wagnall's), is a splendid commencement, but only a commencement, and under any circumstances a quinquennial supplement of additions will be necessary to keep the information up to date.

The following noble passage is in Dr. Cutts' "Turning Points of General Church History," published by the S.P.C.K., 1887, p. 181 :

“ The Gospel has not only to give an answer to simple Souls, asking nothing more than a practical rule, by which to live here, and to win Heaven hereafter: if it was to dominate the whole realm of Human thought and life, as it claimed to do, then it must deal with the whole range of Science and Philosophy. It must not only refute and reject all that was false, but it must welcome and adopt and gather into itself all the true results of Human thought, which the great races, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Indian, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, had been maturing for centuries, all the true conclusions which Human Reason had painfully wrung out of the facts of the Universe, all the prophetic guesses of the heart and Soul, stretching out to the Unseen and the Future.”

How different is the practice of even the writers of the largest heart of the Church of England! Each Author always adopts the attitude that he is right, and all the rest of the ancient and modern World, who differ from him, are wrong.

Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, etc, were all wicked fools, because domineering Kings, and arrogant Priests, differed from them, put them forcibly down, burned their books, and stamped out their so-called *Aipcais*—choice of opinion. Throughout we find a servile Worship of Orthodoxy, or “My Doxy,” as opposed to the “Doxy” of those, who differ on a deep abstruse subject, incapable of material proof. Errors and Heresy are described in terms of abuse, and the doctrine of a corporate body called “This Church,” or “That Church,” spoken of as absolutely right. Was it so?

It is not worth discussing further, for it is like a fever in our childhood, past and gone; but, if any question of the kind arose now, it could not be disposed of by a Council presided over by a despotic Emperor. Authors of this kind are severe upon Nonconformists, who presume to differ from the E-established Church of England, but they quite agree with the Protestants of a century earlier, who presumed to exercise their right of judgment, and condemn the Church of Rome, and, strange to say, they find fault with the Papal Doctrines of a certain date, and accept, as Revelation, the Papal Doctrines of an earlier, and more ignorant, Epoch. Thus every book is a partizan-book, but, if the authors could write as in the passage quoted above, it need not be so.

It exemplifies the sad story of how Christianity was propagated in Europe, by cruelty, murder, intrigue, injustice, and everything that could stain a good cause. We ought never to allude to Mahometan Intolerance. We cannot expect that in India, China, and Africa, and the neo-Churches all over the World, the Doctrines falsely called “*Semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*,” will be received without question; and there will be no Arm of the Flesh to enforce them. It is, therefore, of paramount importance, that there should be a wide spread of literature, foreign and indigenous

London, 1896.

C. TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

• XXVII.

TABLE OF QUINQUENNIAL PROGRESS OF WORK OF TRANSLATORS, 1891-95.

My friend the Rev J. Gordon Watt, and myself, offer to the dear Society, to which we are devoted, a Quinquennial List of Additional Translations of the Bible since the publication of my book, "Bible-Translations," in 1890, prepared for the pages of the "Encyclopaedia of Missions," New York. It is printed at my expense, as a last contribution to a subject, which has been one of the joys of my life.

In 1900 I trust that Mr Watt may be authorized to prepare, and print at the charges of the Society, a second Quinquennial List, and a third and fourth in 1905 and 1910, and complete a second corrected Edition of the whole work in 1915.

It has been suggested that in 1904, when those of us who survive will celebrate the centenary of the Society, it might be expedient in that year to publish the second corrected Edition, as the best proof to the world of the work done since the Society came into existence.

It is only in some such comprehensive and intelligible Method as this, that the expansion of our worldwide operations can be tested and appreciated. These Lists comprise the work of *all* Bible-Societies at work, and of such Translations, as are published by Missionary Societies or private individuals.

We have got beyond the initial stage and experimental stage of our work. New Languages will no doubt come under our observation as the obscure corners of the world are explored, and old Languages will certainly die out under the relentless and resistless march of great conquering Languages, such as English. It is possible that new Languages, the issue of an alien Father and of a native Mother, may come into existence. In their childhood such forms of speech are called Pidgeon-Languages, Jargons, Patois, mixed Dialects, but, when they attain to manhood, they become powerful vehicles of thought, because they have the vivid life of two races of Mankind in their composition. To such humble source can be traced back the English and Urdu Languages, two of the most flexible and expressive organs of speech, with an unlimited capacity

for acceptance of loan-words and phrases, adaptation to new ideas, and freedom from artificial restraints, that History has recorded.

It must not be forgotten, that a few years of labour of one man, and a slight expenditure of money, may place a Language on our list by the Translation of a single Gospel; but a long series of years, a succession of able Scholars, and a large outlay of money have been spent, or will be required, to place a fully *revised* Translation of the Bible on our shelves. one column of these lists measures the progress of the work on the slow road to completion.

I approach the subjects of (1) Linguistic Classification, (2) Correct Nomenclature, (3) Orthography, (4) Aids to Pronunciation, from the point of view of a Linguist as well as a Bible-Translator. There are not many Linguists, who take an interest in the Bible as a means of conversion of the Soul; and but few of the devoted translators, and the pious members of the Society, have more than an elementary knowledge of the Science of Human speech, which is the special gift of the Creator to the Human race (and the Human race alone out of the multitude of the animal-creation), to enable them to communicate with each other in the method most suitable to their particular intellectual powers, and thus gradually feel their way to the Knowledge of their Creator.

I. CLASSIFICATION. The object of an Alphabetical List is to find the name of the Language, as in a Dictionary: the object of a Geographical List is to indicate the part of the world, in which the Language is spoken: the object of a Linguistic List is to indicate to what Linguistic Family or Group the Language belongs. When I commenced the scrutiny of existing Lists, there were deficiencies, which have disappeared.

II. CORRECT NOMENCLATURE. As regards the great and received names of Languages there could be no choice, such as English, French, Spanish, German, Persian, Turkish, etc.; but in remote Regions as Languages, previously unknown, first appeared in Reports or Translations, great license was used, and the practice of attaching Anglo-Saxon suffixes in English Lists, German suffixes in German Lists, and Russian suffixes in Russian Lists, began to obtain. I ruthlessly cut away in my Lists all English suffixes: their use was most capricious: nobody ever heard of Urdu-ese, Telugu-an. why, then, Efatese, Kanarese, Singhalese, Rarotonga-n, Javanese, etc.? In Africa, among the Bantú Languages, all the prefixes, Ki, Wa, Ba, Ama, Ova, which were merely signs of numbers or classes of words, had to be got rid of. Gradually a correct and scientific nomenclature has been arrived at.

- III. The spelling of Names was still more difficult : however, that is advancing, and should be uniform in all the Lists of the same Report, and in accordance with the usage of each Society.
- IV. The pronunciation of Names can be greatly aided by the use of the stress-accent placed on the vowels, long by nature not by position, such as Pokómo, Swahílí, Aníwa, Kagúru, Giriáma, Malagási.

It is not the object or duty of the Society to circulate dead or liturgical Translations : the conversion of the Soul is the sole object in view. Of the two thousand forms of speech in use at the close of the Nineteenth Century many will not require our attention, as their frail terms of life will have come to an end under the effects of collision with stronger and more civilized vehicles of ideas, either of their own Linguistic Families, or aliens. It would have been better for the North American Indians, that they should have surrendered their native Languages to French and English, than to have preserved their existence in a capsule of a Written Character ingeniously contrived by short-sighted Missionaries to cut them off from all communication with their civilized neighbours. It may be accepted, that for Languages in every part of the world, to which one or other of the great Asiatic forms of Written Character had not reached before the commencement of this century, there is no alternative but the "Roman Alphabet."

I beg to offer a copy of this revised List, accompanied by a blank ruled sheet to receive the names of the additional Languages of the next lustrum, to each of my Colleagues in the Committee, and fifty to the Bible House for distribution among the Secretaries and the Staff, and any other persons desirous of possessing a copy, and to the representatives of the National Society of Scotland, and the American Society, whose co-operation should be sought in the preparation of future Quinquennial Lists.

January 18, 1896.

TABLE OF QUINQUENNIAL PROGRESS OF WORK OF TRANSLATORS, 1891-1895.

Provisional Number.	Language or Dialect	Geographical Position.	Linguistic Position	What Published	Publishing Society
4*	Akunakúna	Old Kalabár, W. Africa	Negro	Luko	Scot. B S.
7*	Altai Kirghiz	Prov. of Tomsk, Siberia	Turki	Matthew	B F B S.
10*	Angámi	Prov. of Assam, British India	Tibeto-Barman	Matt, John, Acts	A B M U.
22*	Bangi	Kongo Basin, W. Africa	Bantu	Mark	B.M.S.
25	Batta				
36*	3 Angkola Chagga	I of Sumatra Mt. Kilimanjaro, E. Equat Africa	Malayan	Mark	Ned. B S.
42	Chuána		Bantu	Matthew	B.F.B.S.
46*	2. Serolong Dobu	Bechnánaland, S. Africa Lousiade Archipelago, Brit New Guinea	Bantu	N T.	S P G.
59*	Fang or Fan	Gabún, W. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Mark Matt, Gen	B F B S. B.F.B.S.
65	French 5. Dominica	W. Indies	Arian	Mark	B.F.B.S.

Provisional Number.	Language or Dialect.	Geographical Position.	Linguistic Position.	Whet Published	Publishing Society
76*	Giriána	Mombása, E. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Matt, Luke, Acts	B.F.B.S.
86*	Hangchau	Prov. of Chekiang, China	China	Matt., John	S.P.C.K.
91	Hndi				
	7 Jaunsári	N.W.P., Brit. India	Indic	Matthew	B.F.B.S.
91*	Hinghua	Prov. of Fuhkien, China	China	4 Gos. and Acts	A.B.S.
100*	Isuhá	Kamerún, W. Equat. Africa	Bantu	4 Gos. and Gen.	B.M.S.
113*	Kashgar	Chinese Turkestan	Turki	Matthew	B.F.B.S.
116*	Keapára or Kerepúnu				
	Khond	Brit. New Guinea	Melanesia	Mark	B.F.B.S.
118*	Kondé	Cent. Brit. India	Dravidian	Mark	B.F.B.S.
120	Korthá	L Nyásu, Cent. Africa	Bantu	Mark, Luke	F.C.S.M.
123*	Kuanyáma	Prov. of Bangál, Brit. India	Indic	Mark, John	F.C.S.M.
124*	Lolo	Ova-Mboland, S. Africa	Bantu	Luke	B.F.B.S.
137*	Madura	Equat. Kongo Basin	Bantu	Part of Luke	B.F.B.S.
139*	Malay	Malay Archipelago	Malayan	4 Gos. and Acts	Ned. B.S.
145	3. Sámbarang	Malaisia	Malayan	N.T.	Ned. B.S.
	Malikólo	New Hebrides	Melanesia		
147	2. Uripiv			Mark	B.F.B.S.
	3. Aulua			Matthew	B.F.B.S.
148*	Malo	New Hebrides	Melanesia	Mark	B.F.B.S.
149*	Mambwé	L. Tanganyika, E. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Mark	B.F.B.S.

Provisional Number	Language or Dialect.	Geographical Position	Linguistic Position	What Published.	Publishing Society.
152	Mandarin				
173*	3. Shantung	Prov. of Shantung, N. China	China	3 Gospels	A.B.S.
175*	Mwamba	L. Nyása, S. Africa	Bantu	Mark	Scot. B.S.
	Ndonga or				
	Ova-Mbo	Ova-Mboland, S. Africa	Bantu	Matthew	B.F.B.S.
179*	Nganga	Zambesi R., E. Africa	Bantu	4 Gos and 3 Ep.	Scot. B.S.
190*	Nyása	L. Nyása, E. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Mark	U.M.
195*	Panaíéti	Louisiade Archipelago, Brit New Guinea			
197	Panjábi		Melanesia	Mark	B.F.B.S.
	5. Urdu or				
	Musalmání				
201*	Pokómo	Panjáb, Brit. India	Indic	4 Gos. and Acts	B.F.B.S.
207*	Rafi	Tana R., Equat. Africa	Bantu	Mark	B.F.B.S.
208*	Rottei	Morocco	Hamitic	Matt, John	B.F.B.S.
210*	Ruk	Malay Archipelago	Malayan	Luke	Ned. B.S.
212*	Sagalla	Mikronesia	Mikronesia	Gen, Ex.	A.B.S.
218*	Shambála	Mombása, E. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Mark	B.F.B.S.
		E. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Parts of Gen. and N.T.	
220*	Sheetswa	Zululand, S. Africa	Bantu	4 Gos and Acts	Berlin M.S.
231*	Sukúma	L. Victoria Nyanza, Cent. Africa	Bantu	Matt. and Luke	A.B.S.
232*	Sus	Morocco	Hamitic	Parts of Luke	B.F.B.S.

Provisional Number.	Language or Dialect	Geographical Position.	Linguistic Position.	What Published	Publishing Society.
236	Swahili				
	2. Mombasa	E. Equat. Africa	Bantu	Luke	B F B S
240*	Taichau	Prov. of Chekiang, China	China	Ps. and N.T.	B.F.B.S.
242*	Tásiko	New Hebrides	Melanesia	Matthew	B F B S.
242**	Tavéta	Mt. Kilimanjaro, E. Africa	Bantu	Luke, John	B F B S.
250*	Tonga	L. Nyása, E. Africa	Bantu	Mark	Scot. B.S.
254*	Umon	Kalabár, W. Equat Africa	Negro	Mark	Scot. B.S.
254**	Uráon	Chota Nagpúr, Cent. India	Dravidian	John	B.F.B.S.
269	Zulú				
	2. Ngoni	L. Nyása, E. Africa	Bantu	Mark	Scot. B.S.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, *Vice-President of the B F B S.*
 J. GORDON WATT, *Assistant-Secretary B F B S.*

BIBLE HOUSE,
 January 18, 1896.

XXVIII.

LETTER TO THE SECRETARIES OF THE DIFFERENT BIBLE-SOCIETIES.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I seize the occasion of representative members of the Scotch and American Bible-Societies being in London to press upon them the expediency of considering with the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society some principles for dividing territorially the great works of "Translation" and "Distribution," so as not to waste power, produce friction, and cause unnecessary expenditure of our joint resources.

The Three Great Societies are the above named. The Bible-Society of Holland, a Protestant Country, should be encouraged to provide for its own people, and the Dutch Colonies, from which other Societies should absolutely and at once withdraw.

Pending the constitution of a German Bible-Society for its Roman Catholic Home work, its Colonies, and Missions, the three Great Societies must do the work for them, but under a solemn protest, that the German Protestant Churches are failing in the discharge of their obvious duty.

The smaller Societies, such as the Trinitarian, and Baptist Bible-Society, need not be alluded to.

The Missionary Societies of all Nations have certain principles of Inter-Mission Comity, which are fairly adhered to: they do not, except in the case of large cities, intrude into areas already occupied, and they unite in sending delegates, when required, to conduct Translations and revisions of the Scriptures.

The position of Bible-Societies is different, and it appears to me expedient, that certain principles of Inter-Society Comity should be agreed upon. I proceed to make suggestions.

A. TRANSLATING WORK AND PRINTING.

- I. There is no manner of good in two or more Societies undertaking this work in common. It is obvious, that the Missionaries of all Denominations and Nations will supply the translators, and it is far better, that the expenditure should be supplied by one Society, and the version belong to that Society, which will of course

LETTER TO SECRETARIES OF BIBLE-SOCIETIES.

- allow its sister-Societies to supply themselves with copies, or even with duplicate plates, under conditions to be laid down by Rule III.
- II. It is a subject of much regret, and of hindrance to the Lord's work, when two distinct versions are made of the same Language in different Dialects and characters. In a very great Language, like Mandarin-Chinese, this may be inevitable, but in the case of the Ashanti and Fanti it is inexcusable. The Bible-Societies should decline to be guided by one Missionary, or one Denomination of Missionaries, and act upon understood principles, after consulting, if necessary, with sister Bible-Societies.
- III. Rules for supply of copies, or plates, must be laid down at certain rates.
- IV. There can exist no *legal* copyright in a version of the Bible; but a *moral* copyright should be recognized by the sister-Societies for a term of forty years, after which date the version must be deemed common property, whether it belonged to a Bible-Society or a Missionary Society. "The Word of God is not bound."
- V. No reprint of such a version, without the leave of the Society, which owns the version, should be made within the term of forty years, and it follows, that within that period any alteration of terms, such as the rendering of the word *Barriama*, should be made only with special permission. The Societies should bear in mind not their own prejudices, or rights, but the wants of the Native Churches. The Holy Spirit is quite powerful enough to protect its own inspired utterances without our poor assistance.

B. DISTRIBUTION.

- I. The maintenance of an expensive agency of two or more Societies in one country to carry on the same work is deeply to be deplored, it is a sheer waste of resources, which might better be employed elsewhere, where there is no agency, or by the subdivision of an agency, which is too large for the territory assigned to it.
- II. The remedy is, that the Managers of each Society should consider their position before God, and their duty towards the non-Christian world, and be ready to sacrifice prejudices or predilections for the furtherance of God's work.

LETTER TO SECRETARIES

III. As a Geographer, Linguist, and Ethnologist, and caring more for the Bible than for any particular Society, I make the following suggestions.

- (1) Will the American Bible-Society take over the whole of America, North and South, with the exception of the British Colonies, and Tierra del Fuego, where there is a small British Mission, working under difficulties?
- (2) Will the American Bible-Society withdraw entirely from Europe, with the exception of Turkey in Europe? If the same Spanish or Portuguese Translations are acceptable on both sides of the Atlantic, they can be freely used, but each Society should act independently within its own Region.
- (3) Will the National Society of Scotland take over Spain and Portugal, and withdraw from the rest of Europe?
- (4) Will the National Society of Scotland undertake to supply the Presbyterian Missions in the New Hebrides and South Africa?
- (5) Will the British and Foreign Bible-Society withdraw, (say) within a term of five years, from every Protestant Kingdom of Europe, and the Protestant portions of mixed Kingdoms, like Germany, leaving it to the Protestant Churches in those countries to supply their own flocks, but maintaining its agencies to supply Roman Catholics, until the German Bible-Society is ready?
- (6) Will the British and Foreign Bible-Society withdraw from Constantinople, and every Province of Turkey, where the Osmanli Turki and the Western Dialect of Armenia are spoken?
- (7) Will the three Societies agree, that one out of their number should withdraw from Japan, and open a fourth agency in Central China? Will they also agree that a fifth agency should be opened in China, by one of the three Societies, and that that Kingdom be divided territorially, and the five agencies be assigned to one or other of the three Societies, with reference to the preponderance of Missionary Societies of their own Nationality in each subdivision.

I remark with regret symptoms of jealousy, rivalry, and misunderstanding, where no such feelings ought to exist: we are all engaged in the same blessed work, and there should be no overlapping of areas: it was an initial Error to open three agencies in the petty kingdom of Japan, with a population of thirty millions, and not more than two Languages. In the province of Bangál in British India there is a population of sixty millions with a great

OF DIFFERENT BIBLE-SOCIETIES.

many Languages, while the wealth and intellectual Culture of Bangal far exceed that of Japan, and yet it is only a portion of the area of a single Auxiliary Society of the British and Foreign Bible-Society. China is inadequately supplied, while Japan is, comparatively speaking, unduly supplied.

The British and Foreign Bible-Society should withdraw from the Dutch Colonies, and throw its strength into the remainder of the Malay Archipelago under British, Spanish, and Portuguese influence, or independent.

These are only suggestions: others may cover the same ground, but be more acceptable. We should try to look ten years ahead. I anticipate great trouble, unless there is an *entente cordiale* between the Bible-Societies. Sooner or later they must come to some form of Territorial Division. The number of agencies must be increased, and the number of Dépôts and colporteurs indefinitely extended. We make the boast of what we have done, but we take no account of what we have left undone. In the Translation-Department vast sums will be required to revise existing Translations of the whole Bible, complete Translations, only partially undertaken and not pressed on with vigour, and make entirely new Translations of Languages, which have not yet been touched. To get at tribes and regions beyond the limits of regularly organized States, or within the limits of jealous Governments, like Russia and China, we must have a superior class of European colporteurs. There are still Millions in the interior of Asia, Africa, and South America, who have never heard of the existence of the Bible. There are Christian populations coming into existence, which will have to be supplied, in every part of the world. This of itself will be a very expensive and laborious task, requiring systematical and continuous attention.

It is clear, that an epoch of trouble may be expected in Africa, and it is possible, that other regions may be shut off from European contact, as Abyssinia and the Egyptian Sudan now are. We must distribute the Bible, while we have the opportunity. We are certain of the unceasing hostility of the French Roman Catholics. Much larger grants are required for the Bible-Women in Oriental countries, where the women live a life of seclusion. All the Societies should take up this blessed work. In the event of the great Continental Powers determining on rigidly excluding from their territories and Colonies every foreign Missionary (and it is very probable that they will do so), it will be on the Bible-Societies alone, that these populations will depend for their Gospel-teaching. This makes it more important that one Society, and one alone, should work in each of the great Continental Kingdoms, as the resident agent will be well known and trusted by the Authorities to keep to his own proper duties, and conform to the Laws of the Empire.

I make these remarks as a private individual, without consulting anyone at all. I have been a great traveller, observer, and organizer, and I see defects, which may escape the observation of those, who have not studied the circumstances of the whole world. It is my heart's desire to see the Bible brought to the door of every Nation and tribe in their own vulgar tongue, as understood by the women and children.

London, 1888.

XXIX.

THE B.F.B.S. AND ITS VILIFIERS.

THE Trinitarian Bible-Society has published an astounding advertisement in *The Christian* newspaper. I am quite independent, and as ready to attack the British and Foreign Bible-Society, if in my opinion it acts wrongly (and I think that it does so sometimes), as I am in justifying it, when it follows the course of Christian Wisdom.

If it be asserted, that at any period there was a Unitarian present in the Committee, that assertion is false. Speaking for myself, I should decline to sit in a Committee of a Religious Society with one, who questioned the Divinity of our Lord, although very ready to meet him in secular matters.

If it be asserted that the reason why, for the first quarter of a century, business was not preceded by prayer, because there were men on the Committee, who could not join in prayer to our common Saviour, that assertion is false. The Members of the Society of Friends were opposed to what appeared to them formal Prayer, but since 1861 it has been the unbroken practice. I myself see the objection to a formal prayer, but I should decline taking part in the business of a Religious Society unsanctified by prayer.

If these assertions are not made, why does the Trinitarian Bible-Society arrogate to itself a title, which is shared by all other Bible-Societies? Why is credit taken in the advertisement for "union in prayer," as a speciality? The Trinitarian Bible-Society has no speciality, either in the belief in the Trinity, or practice of prayer. This Society should rather be called the Triangular Society, as consisting of angular men, and a member of that Society might as well take credit for removing his hat when he entered the Committee Room.

The real point is the circulation of Translations of the venerable Latin Vulgate in five Languages: (1) Portuguese, (2) Spanish (only in South America), (3) French, (4) German, (5) Polish. It

was a wonderful advance, when the Church of Rome allowed Translations in any Vernacular to be made, and be it remembered with gratitude, that the Vulgate was sufficient to convert Luther, Melancthon, Waldo, and Wycliff. That Errors have crept into the Text by lapse of time, is admitted; that the Text was deliberately altered by the Church of Rome for its own purposes, I doubt. Of one thing Christians may be assured, that thousands obtain a saving Knowledge of Scripture from these versions, who would otherwise pass to Eternity ignorant of the Precious promises. There are good men in the Church of Rome, who are of the same angular turn of mind as those Protestants, who declare that these versions are falsified and corrupt. There is no monopoly on either side of narrow-minded prejudice, based upon wilful ignorance, and want of sympathy with the Millions, who are starving for the Bread of Life, and who are ready to accept it, if it came to them in a less perfect form, but still in a form, which contains all the essentials of Repentance, Faith, Pardon, Peace, and by the merits of the Saviour, Salvation, and through the Holy Spirit, Holiness.

It is sad to think, that a small Society of a few hundreds, powerless to do much good, who would not be much missed, if they disappeared, should for the long period of half a century expend its zeal and a portion of the alms of the subscribers in vilifying another Society, also Protestant, which has been blessed with an exceeding blessing on its work in every part of the world, which is the one Society, which represents united Protestantism in presenting to the world the Old and New Testaments in more than three hundred Languages. At all periods of the Church there have been such puny vilifiers of good work done by others. Let us pity them, and go on with our work.

Letter to Record, 1889.

XXX.

THE BAPTISTS AND THEIR BIBLE.

I.

It has been agreed, that the British and Foreign Bible-Society should print the version of the New Testament made by the Baptist Missionaries in the Kongo with the insertion, in brackets, of "Greek, baptize," "Greek, baptism," etc., after the Kongo words for "immerse," etc., wherever they occur. Similar insertions are to be made in future editions of the Baptist version of the New Testament for Orissa in India, a German Lutheran Mission having now broken the Baptist monopoly of that district. As the matter has been transferred from the privacy of the

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Committee-room to the publicity of the Press, I am bound to state that I protested against this new departure, and protest still. Let me illustrate the consequences:

Matthew, iii, 1, will read as follows: "In those days came John the Dipper [Greek, 'Baptist'], preaching in the Wilderness of Judea."

Mark, xi, 30, will thus be rendered: "The dipping [Greek, 'baptism'] of John, was it from Heaven, or of men? Answer me."

Romans, vi, 3, will read thus: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were dipped [Greek, 'baptized'] into Jesus Christ were dipped [Greek, 'baptized'] into His death?"

And so on, whenever allusion is made to the First Sacrament, three or four times on the same page. To me this appears to be wrong and inexpedient, and may form a dangerous precedent. Already in French versions the neutral word "priest" is represented by some as "prêtre," and by others as "sacrificateur." It is possible that a party in England may suggest such a Translation as the following:

Hebrews, in, 1: "Wherefore . . . consider the Apostle and High Sacrificer [Greek, ἀρχιερεύς] of our profession, Christ Jesus."

Up to this time the British and Foreign Bible-Society has never added to or omitted any portion of the Inspired Text as exhibited in the Authorized English version, and it would be wise not to attempt to do so. Alternative readings in the margin of a Philological character are quite legitimate, and have hitherto been sufficient for all purposes. The basin of the River Kongo is exclusively occupied by English and American Baptists. Let them have their version with the words "dipper, dipping, dipped," and nothing else. The Kongo Languages stand by themselves. But the case of the Uriya Language is quite different. The country of Orissa is part of the Bangál and Madras Provinces, and the Language is a member of the great North Indian Language Family, spoken by 200,000,000, with more than twenty versions of the Bible; it would be extremely injudicious to introduce this innovation into one member of this magnificent Family.

But the real trouble lies beyond. In the Province of Burma there were until lately only Baptists, and the versions in Burmese and Karén were made with the "dipper, dipping, and dip" terms; and the American Baptists actually dispute the right of the English Missionaries of the Established Church sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to alter the terms of a version made and printed more than half a century, and have published a lengthened protest. On the other hand, the Bishop of Rangún may well demur placing in his Churches and Schools a version prepared

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upon the above-stated principle in the Dominions of the Queen of England. I should have remained silent had not the advocates of the opposite policy appealed to public opinion.

II.

The Rev. J. Sharp, in his letter of February 7, 1893, does not affix his official title to his name, and I presume, therefore, that he does not write as the mouthpiece of his Committee, but expresses his own private opinion only. He admits that the Baptist Bangálí version of the New Testament has already been revised to contain only Greek neutral terms, "Baptist," etc.: why, then, follow a different principle with regard to the much less important, numerically, Uriya version, and introduce the objectionable solecism, "Dipper [Greek, 'Baptist']," etc.? Mr. Sharp seems to think that by getting the words "Baptist," etc., into the text of Baptist Bibles, eventually those words may survive in the struggle for life, and the objectionable words "Dipper," etc., may disappear; I anticipate a different fate, and the survival of the denominational, not of the neutral, term.

It is, indeed, the fact, that Luther in his famous version introduces the words "taufer, taufen, taufe," which, allowing for the recognized permutation of sounds between the German and English Languages, are essentially the same as "dipper, dip, dipping," but Luther had no denominational bias, or intention to differentiate betwixt immersion and sprinkling. Now we know, that this is the sole intention of our Baptist brethren, who maintain that without immersion there is no real baptism: herein lies the danger.

The word βαπτίζω, as far as I can trace, is only found once in Polybius (iii, 72), and once in Josephus, "Jewish Antiquities" (xv, 33), and certainly only once in the Septuagint (I Kings, v, 14), where it is applied to Naaman's washing in the Jordan. In the Apocryphal Scriptures it occurs more than once; the three words appear to have been specially selected by the Holy Spirit to represent to man the New Sacrament, and it is too late for us in England to repudiate words, which appear both in the Authorized and Revised Versions, or to lend ourselves to repudiating the neutral term in any version made at our expense, or to associate other denominational terms with those neutral, and I am bold to say, inspired words, which have satisfied the aspirations of Millions up to this date.

Mr. Sharp writes, that there is no mention of Burma; but the real struggle is for Burma. The American Baptists, who founded a Mission in the independent Kingdom of Burma, and translated the Scriptures into Burmese and Karén, actually claim a monopoly and copyright of a version of the New Testament made in 1832, and protest against the Bishop of Rangún and the S P G. Missionaries being supplied with an edition with the

THE BAPTISTS AND THEIR BIBLE.

words "baptist, baptize, and baptism." However, the remedy is very simple, as the Foreign Translation Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, of which I have been, on the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a life member for many years, will be ready, upon application, to supply Burma with the New Testament in the Burmese and Karén Languages; and it must be recollected, that there is a whole row of Languages in the interior of Burma which will have to be supplied; so the question is one of exceeding gravity and importance, involving the essential principles of the liberty to the free use of the Scriptures in the whole of that vast Region.

Mr. Sharp lays stress on the importance of one version in each Language. That principle may sound well, but it has never come into practice in a single Language in Europe, and unless there were an Inspired Translation it would not be desirable; no confusion arises from different Translations. Let us only imagine children in the Sunday-School, women of low Culture in the mothers' meetings, uneducated men in their private readings, the father of a family in his family prayers, having to go through the ordeal of "John the Dipper [Greek, 'Baptist']" "The dipping [Greek, 'baptism'] of John" "I thank God, I dipped [Greek, 'baptized'] none." Rendered into an Indian Language, the word "Greek" would be translated "Yunán," which would be a great complication; the words "dipper, dip, dipping," would be translated into Indian terms, and the simple text of the Scriptures would be obscured by editorial devices to meet denominational scruples.

III.

My friend, the Rev. J. Sharp, in his letter of March 1, continues the subject, and conceals the principle involved. I wish to make my final remark and leave the matter.

I have had considerable experience of Bible-Translations and Bible-diffusion in the five portions of the world, and have closely studied the subject. I have arrived at the main principle, which I leave to my readers to accept or amend.

(1) *Bible Translation.* Under no circumstance is any additional word to be inserted in the Text of the Inspired Scriptures, beyond those particles required for the Grammatical purposes of conveying the meaning of one word into another Language. This license will not admit such terrible solecisms as: "John the Dipper [Greek, 'Baptist']" "The dipping [Greek, 'baptism'] of John." "I dipped [Greek, 'baptized'] no one." These words are introduced, not for Grammatical, but for denominational, purposes. Our friends the Baptists believe sincerely, that without dipping there is no baptism. The other Churches do not hold this view, but they all accept the neutral terms

(2) *Bible Diffusion*. I protest. The Gospels of Matthew, one Denomination was first in the Foreign Bible-Society. Testament, all other denominations must. The Gospel of Matthew, or be described as "Demons of Plunder." America February 19, 1812, as a Mission. Board of Missions, who are Independents; June 17, 1812, and during the voyage he changed Baptism, and introduced the words "dipper, dipper and Foreign into his Translations. Is the New Testament to monopoly of the first comer? Have the American copyright exceeding seventy years in the inspired Text of Testament, in a Kingdom once held by an independent monarch and which is now part of the British Empire? I will only allude to the fact, that these American Baptists give no quarter to the versions in India, which were made at the expense of the British Society, and alter them at their own good pleasure.

Three Letters to Record, 1893.

XXXI.

ROME AND THE BIBLE.

THE following interesting information appears in a letter of Monsignor Hirth, the Romish Bishop at Buddhu, Victoria Nyanza, March 3, 1893. I quote it from *Missions Catholiques*, August 25, 1893, p. 399. I note these particulars, as such facts as I now state are sometimes denied or explained away.

"Après bien des hesitations j'ai cru enfin, qu'il nous fallait nous aussi imprimer le Nouveau Testament, que les Protestants repandent par tout. La grande raison, c'est que nous pourrions empêcher nos gens de le lire; tout le monde doit savoir lire pour le baptême, vieux et femmes exceptés. Nous préparons donc une édition avec notes tirées surtout des Saints Pères."

Here we have a new departure. The Translations made by the British and Foreign Bible-Society are up to the level of the highest Philological Knowledge available. No attempt is made to influence renderings of meaning by Theological bias; and to the honour of the Missionaries of the Church of Rome their Translations into Arabic, Tamil, and five or six Languages of Europe, have the same object in view.

The twentieth century will see the consequences of the Bible laid open in corrupt Churches.

Letter to Record, September 7, 1893.

D. SCIENTIFIC CONGRESSES.

XXXV.

ON THE FUTURE PLACE FOR THE MEETING OF THE NINTH ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

THE Royal Asiatic Society has fixed Monday, the 16th of December next, 8½ p.m., for the Delegates to the Eighth International Oriental Congress, held at Stockholm, to make their Report. You will receive cards of invitation to be present, and take part in the discussion, or you are at liberty, if unable to attend in person, to communicate your views in writing to my address.

There were some things, which occurred at that Congress, which all may wish to forget; but the condescending kindness of His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, and the genial hospitality of the Swedish and Norwegian people, should ever be gratefully remembered.

The main object of our meeting next month is to make a clear and distinct expression of opinion as to the place and date of the next Congress, and not to allow the matter to be disposed of by an irresponsible and non-representative body, consisting of three ex-Presidents of preceding Congresses, Professor Dillmann, Professor Kuenen, and Baron Kremer, and one ex-Secretary, Count Landberg. It cannot escape observation, that Russia, Italy, France, and Great Britain are totally unrepresented. The first four Congresses were held in these countries, but it so happens, that the Presidents have died.

If in the eight Congresses, which have been held in the cities of Paris, London, St Petersburg, Florence, Leyden, Berlin, Vienna, and Stockholm, the possibilities of Europe have been exhausted, we must commence again to traverse the same orbit, and offer to France, from which country the idea of a Congress sprang, the opportunity of deciding, whether it is the wish of her distinguished scholars to inaugurate the Ninth Congress. If France distinctly declines, it will rest with the Scholars of Great Britain to consider all, whether they are willing and able to undertake the task.

At any rate, any attempt to locate future Congresses beyond the confines of Christian Europe must be firmly resisted. Such a policy would lead to certain failure. The time may come, when Madrid, Bonn, Munich, or Geneva may be suitable for such a Congress, the invitation must come from the Scholars of those countries.

Regular Letter, Royal Asiatic Society.

XXXVI.

THE ITALIAN GEOGRAPHICAL CONGRESS OF 1892.

THE first National Geographical Congress of Italy was held at Genoa, from September 18 to 25. The Congress held at Venice in 1881 was one of the series of International Congresses, held at Antwerp, Venice, Paris, and Berne, and to be held in London in 1895. It was a great success. The weather was magnificent; the attendance, chiefly Italians, was numerous; Genoa, always superbly beautiful, looked at its best. As is well known, in the preceding week the fourth centenary celebration of the birth of Columbus in this, his native city, took place amidst much pomp and splendour in the presence of their Majesties the King and Queen of Italy. The Geographical Congress commenced after the close of the festivities. There was an Exhibition of Arts of a general kind, and also a Geographical Exhibition, special to the work of the Congress, in a separate building.

H. R. H. the Prince of Naples was the Patron; H. R. H. the Duke of Genoa was the Honorary President, and took a personal share in the proceedings, the ex-President of the Italian Geographical Society, the Duke of Sermonéta, and three other Senators of the Kingdom of Italy, were Honorary Vice-Presidents. The actual President was the Marquess Doria, the President of the Italian Geographical Society. Professor Giuseppe della Védova, the Secretary of the above-named Society, who is so well known to, and highly esteemed by, many English friends, discharged the office of Secretary of the Congress. In the absence of the four delegates appointed by the Council of the Royal Geographical Society to attend the Genoa meeting, the Society was well represented by its Gold Medallist and Honorary Corresponding Member, Professor Guido Cora, and the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, F.R.G.S., Chairman of the Manchester Geographical Society. Miss Maria Cust attended on behalf of her father, Dr. R. N. Cust, whose illness at the last moment prevented him from proceeding to Genoa as delegate.

On Wednesday, September 21, the members of the Congress were taken on board a steamer for a delightful marine excursion to both sides of Genoa, and no business was transacted.

On Thursday, September 22, there were special meetings of the three Sections. In the first Section, the subject of Antarctic

Exploration was considered; and it was determined, that the subject should be studied with a view of something practical to be done, when opportunity offered. In the second Section, Emigration was the only subject, and resolutions were passed suggesting amendments of the existing Law. In the third Section, Geographical Education was the subject of earnest consideration. H R H. the Duke of Genoa entertained the members of the Congress at a reception in the Royal Palace.

On Friday, September 23, the Congress assembled at a general meeting in the grand hall. Presentations were made, and addresses were delivered. The three Sections met in special session. The subject of Cartography came under consideration in the first Section, and a variety of other matters. The subject of the Population of Different Regions, and Emigration, was continued. In the third Section, Geographical Education was discussed. At night there was a reception at the Municipal Palace, jointly to the Geographical Congress and the Historical Congress, both of which were in session. The Syndic, Baron Podestá, took a prominent part in all the proceedings of the Congress.

On Saturday, September 24, there was a general meeting of the Congress. Thanks were returned by the President to the representatives of foreign countries who had been present. Professor Pigorn then made his interesting communication on the Primitive Population of the Valley of the River Po, which was received with remarkable applause. The first Section held two meetings, and the second and third each met once, to wind up their affairs, and practically the Congress came to an end. At night there was a performance at the Carlo Felice Theatre of the opera of "Rigoletto." The members of both Congresses were present, and a reception, with refreshments for the members between the Acts, was held in the Sale del Ridotto. The Congresses were indebted to the hospitality of the Syndic, Baron Podestá, for this entertainment.

On Sunday, the 25th, there was a ceremony in the grand hall of the University, in the presence of H R H. the Duke of Genoa and a very large assembly of the general public, as many of the Congressists had left, in honour of the great Navigator, Christopher Columbus. It had been arranged, that a representative of each country and each learned society should have the opportunity of speaking for five minutes, in the alphabetical order of the country, in their Native Language. Professor della Védova, the Secretary of the Congress and of the Italian Geographical Society, led the way with an interesting description of the difficulties overcome by the iron will of the great navigator. He was followed by eleven speakers, but unfortunately the newspapers of Genoa were unable to report in detail the eleven speeches. Signor de Carvalho, from Brazil, was the first in order; General Muktar Pasha,

the delegate of Egypt, followed, partly in Arabic student, or French; to him followed Professor Levasseur, an active career Geographical Society, in French; then came Professor von the day Germany, in the German Language, he was succeeded service, Steinthal, in English, who expressed his admiration of the suns in of the Congress; and as Dr. George Smith, LL.D., the delegate from Edinburgh, had been compelled to leave Genoa, his place, by request, was taken by Miss Maria Cust, a member of the Congress, whose address, in the English Language, was greeted with the applause of the assembly, and H.R.H. the Duke of Genoa, rising from his seat, shook hands with her before she sat down.

Professor Muller, for Holland, addressed the assembly in Dutch, and concluded his remarks in Italian. He was loudly applauded. To him succeeded Dr. Negruzzi, from Roumania, and General Semenoff, the delegate of Russia, each in his Native Language; Colonel Julio Segura y Sala, the representative of Spain, in full uniform, followed with a magnificent oration in Spanish; Professor Effinger spoke in the French Language as the representative of Switzerland, and finally Signor Polleri closed the remarkable exhibition of sympathetic admiration by a speech in Spanish, as representative of Uruguay, in South America.

The Syndic, Baron Podestá, followed with a speech in French; and then the President of the Italian Geographical Society, the Marquess Doria, presented to the African explorer, Gaetano Casati, the gold medal of the year. H.R.H. the Duke of Genoa shook him by the hand, and congratulated him on the honour. The celebrated African Missionary and Scholar, Abbé Beltrame, then obtained leave to propose a message of good wishes to the Italian colony now settled on the Abyssinian sea-coast, and to its Governor. This was voted by acclamation.

At 3 p.m. the final general meeting took place; the business was chiefly formal. The next Italian Congress was arranged to be held at Rome in 1894; votes of thanks were passed; the Countess Oubaroff, representative of the Geographical Society in St. Petersburg, made a short speech in French to convey a vote of thanks to the President of the Congress. At night there was a banquet in the Sala del Ridotto, at the theatre, presided over by the Syndic of Genoa, who was the host to the two Congresses, Geographical and Historical: there were some excellent speeches. The usual toasts followed, and the next morning the Congressists dispersed.

Report of the Geographical Society.

E. OBITUARY NOTICES.

XXXVII

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, BART

As it is understood, that a Biography of our Late Director and ex-President will be shortly published by a most competent Authority, this notice will be restricted to the relations of the deceased with this Society, and his Linguistic, and Archaeological, labours. We have, indeed, lost the most illustrious of our members, who has left an imperishable memory in our Journal. The Council has decided not to fill up the post of Director, occupied in succession by Colebrooke, Hayman Wilson, and Rawlinson, until someone worthy to rank with these heroes appears.

Sir Henry Rawlinson went out to India round the Cape in 1827, in the same ship with Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay. His first period of employment in Persia was from 1833 to 1839. He was at Cabúl and Candahár, in Afghanistan, during the first Afghan war, in 1841-2. He was at Calcutta in the Autumn of 1843, and proceeded thence to his new appointment of Political Agent at Baghdad, in Turkish Arabia. We published his account of the Inscriptions of Behistún in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1846, before he became a member of the Society.

He was elected a Member of this Society in 1847, and Director in 1862, which office he held by annual re-election, up to the date of his death, for thirty-three years. He was President of the Society from 1878 to May, 1881. He contributed to the Journal eight papers of first-rate importance; but they are but a small portion of his literary achievements, as a year and a half before his death he forwarded to me a copy of a catalogue of his writings prepared by Professor Paul Haupt, and printed in the United States, comprising one hundred and thirty-one separate items; and in his letter to my address dated September 6, 1893, he points out, that two important papers have been omitted from that catalogue. Few have left such a roll of continuous literary activity.

It must be recollected, that he was not a secluded student, or the Professor of a University, or one, who closed an active career in learned labour: from the date of his landing in India to the day of his death, a period of sixty-eight years, he was in active service, as a soldier of the Indian Army, an organizer of new armies in Persia, a fighting member of a successful garrison at Candahâr in Afghanistan, a Political Agent, Consul-General, and Minister Plenipotentiary, in the Empire of Turkey and Kingdom of Persia, a Member of Parliament, a Member of the Council of India, President, Councillor, and Member of Learned Societies, Trustee of the British Museum; in the year 1839, while the writer of this Notice was Captain of Eton College, he had obtained the medal of the Geographical Society; he was a constant writer and speaker almost to his last years. He was Interpreter of his Regiment in Bombay at the age of nineteen, and when he was of the age of eighty-three the writer of this Notice felt honoured in being permitted to listen to his remarks on linguistic subjects, and to look over the pile of Manuscript notebooks, which he had accumulated from year to year; for he had the wisdom to record at once scraps of Knowledge, which he gathered orally, to note the references to passages of printed volumes, when he came upon something worth referring to hereafter, and still more, to record the points, on which he required more light. It is only by keeping such notebooks for "*Notanda, Legenda, Quaerenda*" that in this busy Epoch an all-round Knowledge can be maintained, and our deceased friend was essentially a thoughtful man, one ready to impart from his fulness to others. It must have been a strain to him to keep abreast with the ever-advancing tide of expanding Knowledge of his favourite subjects, and it is not to be wondered at, that an octogenarian man did not succeed in achieving a task, in which a man in his prime, betwixt the age of forty-five and sixty-five, does not always succeed.

In the Meetings between 1860 and 1880 scarcely one took place without the President asking Sir Henry Rawlinson to make a communication on the subject of Cuneiform Research, or, if Sir Henry were himself President, his undertaking to communicate the last discovery. Those were days, when we were contented with the drops of the coming shower; we have the whole subject now at our disposal. It may be confidently asserted, that in the History of the world no greater and more unexpected revelation was made of buried and forgotten literary Knowledge, than that of the Inscriptions of Persia and Mesopotamia, and Sir Henry Rawlinson was the leader of that great movement; he set the ball rolling.

Grotefend had indeed been the advance-guard: he died in 1853. Professor Burnouf died in 1852 at the age of only fifty-one: if he had lived longer, the world would have been wiser. Their

material was restricted to Persepolis, but Burnouf's Knowledge of Asiatic Languages enabled him to leave hints, which have been valuable for those, who came after him: he did not live long enough to see the full glories of the Tablets at Behistún, copied by Sir H. Rawlinson, consisting of Inscriptions in three Languages, Persian, Assyrian, and Median, unfolded. Professor Lassen died in 1876: he had published at Bonn, in Germany, in 1836, his Essay "Die alt-persischen Keil-Inschriften" one month earlier than his friend Burnouf's "Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Cuneiformes" in Paris. They were both Scholars of the highest eminence, and the Memoir by Sir Henry Rawlinson on the great Inscriptions of Behistún was not received by our Society until 1839, but the whole of it had been drawn up by the Soldier-Political in his isolated residence at Kermanshah, on the frontier of Persia, in ignorance of what had been done in the way of Cuneiform interpretation two years previously in Europe. Sir Henry was not a Scholar of the type of the French and German University Scholars: he was a traveller, explorer, decipherer, and by the aid of his own genius an independent interpreter: he told me once, that it was his familiarity with some of the rural Dialects of Persia, that enabled him to grapple with the Old-Persian of the time of Darius.

I find in my Journals of 1843, that on the 26th of September of that year I was invited at Calcutta by Mr. Thomason, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to meet Major Rawlinson on his road to Baghdad to take up his office of Political Agent in Turkish Arabia: I remember his conversation, as he asked me, then studying Sanskrit in the College of Fort William, several intricate questions on Sanskrit Grammar, explaining that he was going to try to interpret some Old-Persian Inscriptions at Behistún. So entirely was he in advance of his Epoch, that neither I, nor any of the company, understood what he was after, and it was not until several years had passed away, and the troubles of the Sikh and Panjáb wars of 1845-6 and 1849 were over, and peace had been restored to my Province, that I understood, what was meant by Major Rawlinson's plan of copying and translating Old-Persian Inscriptions; and the word Cuneiform first became to me an object of interest, which it has never ceased to be for more than forty years. All the romance of these discoveries has become mere History now to the younger generation, but the secret, concealed so many years, was unrolled before the very eyes of the few older survivors of the old generation: the world knows the secret now, which the Greek and Roman never knew.

*Artem, quae latuit Graecos, latuitque Latinos,
Nostorum sollers extulit ingenium.*

Three other honoured Names connect themselves with that of Sir Henry Rawlinson, the bearers of those Names are all dead, and their obituary Notices appear in the Journal of our Society: Edwin Norris, for thirty-five years Assistant-Honorary Secretary and Honorary Librarian of this Society: he carried through the Press the important Memoirs of the absent discoverer and decipherer, and became one of the chief authorities in Cuneiform Philology, he died in 1872, having translated the third, or Median, Tablet of Behistún. Dr. Hincks, an Irish Clergyman, exhibited a wonderful aptitude for decipherment, and materially assisted the progress of the discovery by his contributions to our Journal: he died in 1866. Mr. Henry Talbot, a private gentleman, greatly advanced the study by a series of papers in this Journal: his death occurred in 1877.

It is to a certain extent a misfortune to live too long after having made in early life a great discovery; for Knowledge advances, and leaves the original discoverer far in the rear. At the Meeting of this Society on the 12th of March, our present President, Lord Reay, drew attention to the great loss, which we had suffered: "It was impossible," he said, "to exaggerate the importance, for the history of the development of Oriental ideas and Institutions, of the magnificent work of the decipherment of the Tablet at Behistún, and it was a matter of pride to the Society, that the results of Sir Henry Rawlinson's remarkable discoveries were given to the world through the medium of the Society's Journal."

The President of the Royal Geographical Society, at its Meeting on the previous day, had expressed his regret at the loss of that Society also, mentioning that Sir Henry Rawlinson had received the gold medal fifty-five years before, and had been a Fellow more than fifty years. He had filled the post of President of both Societies: we had no medal to grant him, or we should certainly have given it to him. Sir Frederick Goldsmid has inserted an obituary notice in the April number of the Geographical Journal, detailing the services, which the deceased had rendered to Geography. In Germany, Sir Henry Rawlinson's claims to be regarded as the first decipherer of the Cuneiform have always been allowed without hesitation, notwithstanding the labours of Lassen and others in the same field. My friend Henri Cordier, Professor of Chinese at Paris, and an Honorary Member of our Society, has forwarded to me a printed copy of the tribute paid by him at a Meeting of La Société de Géographie at Paris; and he quotes the opinion of Professor Jules Oppert, of the College of France, extremely laudatory of the services of Sir Henry, of which I quote the concluding lines: "Les jeunes allemands, et anglais, feignent de ne pas le connaître: un anglais me disait même, qu'il n'avait jamais lu une ligne de Sir Henry Rawlinson. Je lui répondis:

“I supposed just so; because if you had read them, your papers would be less imperfect than they are.”

Sir Henry was one of the two colleagues of his brother, the Rev. G. Rawlinson, Canon of Canterbury, in his Edition of the History of Herodotus, published in 1858. The Author in his Preface says, that “Sir Henry exercised a general supervision over the Oriental portion of the work, and lent his aid throughout to all that concerned the Geography, Ethnology, and History, of the Eastern Nations: without this assistance the Author would not have undertaken the work.”

Sir Henry Rawlinson was a Knight of the Prussian Order of Merit; associate member of the Academy at Paris, member of the Academy at Munich; Hon D C L Oxford; Hon LL D Cambridge and Edinburgh; D L. of London, he received the Grand Cross of the Bath about five years, and he was made a Baronet about three years before his death. He well deserved every honour, that he obtained, but his case affords another illustration of the neglect shown by the British Government to literary merits, upon which I commented in the obituary of another great veteran Scholar of the same Epoch, Brian Hodgson. Sir Henry Rawlinson's career in India did not exceed five years as a Regimental Officer: when he left India for Persia in 1832 he never returned to work in that country, although in 1843 he passed through Northern India on his way to take up his new employment in Turkish Arabia: the honours, which he received from the State, were in return for his great political services in Central Asia, and administrative services in Great Britain, had he never unveiled the secret of the Cuneiform Script, he would have received, and deservedly received, the same honours. Brian Hodgson did a work as great for the Languages of India, and the Buddhist Religion, and received nothing from his country, though France was not behindhand in conferring honours on him also; and the Asiatic Society can truly say, that it is not likely ever to have on its lists men, who are as illustrious, nor could it wish to have men more illustrious, than these two departed worthies: their portraits adorn the walls of the rooms of the Society, and remind a younger generation of what Genius and Industry can achieve.

The following is a list of Sir Henry's contributions to our Journal: they are no ordinary papers: some oral remarks are added:

1846	O.S.	Vol. IX	Page v	The discoveries of Major Rawlinson are announced to the Society.
"	"	X	—	Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions at Behistún deciphered and translated, with a memoir on Cuneiform in general the whole volume of 370 pages.
1850	"	XI	—	An appendix to the foregoing, consisting of 192 pages.
"	"	XII	401	On the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, 82 pages
1853	"	XIV	—	Babylonian Cuneiform Inscriptions at Behistún the whole volume 150 pages
1855	"	XV	215	Notes on early history of Babylonia, 40 pages.
"	"	"	398	On the orthography of Royal Names of Assyrian and Babylonian history, 4 pages.
1861	"	XVIII	1	On the Birs Nimrúd Inscription, 34 pages.
"	"	"	150	Comparative Translation of Inscription of Tiglath Pileser with three other Scholars, 70 pages.
1865	N.S.	I	187	Bilingual readings, Cuneiform and Phœnician notes on tablets in the British Museum containing bilingual legends, Assyrian and Phœnician, 60 pages.
1867	"	III	296	Note on Paí Kuli.
1873	"	IX	xlviii	Points out the value of George Smith's recent researches.
1875	"	XI	21	On the prevalence of the Scythic element in Media.
1876	"	XII	70	Note on a newly-discovered clay cylinder of Cyrus the Great.
1877	"	XIII	41	Statement with regard to recent researches of Mr Rassam.
1879	"	XV	371	Identification of the term Sapta Sindhu as meaning the seven head streams of the Oxus.

To this enumeration must be added the reports on the progress of Cuneiform interpretation made at our Meetings as above described. I think that it is creditable to those, who at that time had the control of our Journal, that they spared no expense to carry out Sir Henry's wishes, and, indeed, sometimes volumes of the Journal fell

into arrears from the delay arising in getting the material ready for the Press, or in completing an essay, a portion of which was already in type.

In the year 1873 the Royal Asiatic Society kept its first half-century Jubilee; and in the *Calcutta Review* of that year I described at length the work, which it had accomplished, and I venture to quote the following lines written twenty-two years ago:

"In the year 1844 Sir H. Rawlinson had made copies of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis, and had solved the great "problem, giving new life to the decrees of King Darius after a "slumber of more than 2,000 years. The Asiatic Society lent its "countenance and influence, and opened its purse liberally, to the "support of this great discovery: the Journals of the Society suddenly acquired a new interest, which was increased a hundredfold, "when Nineveh and Babylon disclosed their long-buried treasures, "the literature, language, and history of a period separated from "the present era by twenty-five centuries: it was then (1849) that "the Society became the centre of a great literary movement, and "its publications were subsidized by a National grant; it was "then that the greatest and most eminent men, headed by the "Prince Consort, attended at our Meetings, and tourists abroad "found, that a copy of the Journal, unfolding the wonderful Cuneiform discoveries, was the most acceptable present in the scientific "world at foreign Capitals. In heading this movement the Society "acted as if by inspiration, as there was for a long time a great "wave of incredulity to resist; and Sir Henry Rawlinson has "always gratefully acknowledged the debt, which he owed to his "earliest supporters, and styled himself their *alumnus*."

Another characteristic of our departed friend was that, like M. Waddington of Paris, and Baron Kremer of Vienna, he attracted to the study of Oriental Languages and Archaeology a fashion and popularity: he was at home in the Camp, the Court, the Council Chamber, and the Senate, as well as in the Public Library, the British Museum, and amidst his books and notes in his own study. I have during the last twenty years attended the International Oriental Congresses at the great Capitals of Europe, and have thus made the acquaintance of nearly every Oriental Scholar in Europe. Some of them were learned men indeed, but quaint in appearance, and in mode of utterance as narrow-minded and limited in their range of Knowledge as specialists only can be: it was difficult for an experienced brain-picker to extract anything out of some, who were mere professorial recluses in spectacles; but in conversation Sir Henry Rawlinson, when he found himself amidst kindred spirits, passed readily, and gaily, and instructively, from a discussion on the policy of the Shah of Persia, or the Amir of Afghanistan, or from some Geographical detail regarding the Region of the River Oxus, to the intricacy of the Translation of a Cuneiform

word or sentence, whether Semitic, or Old-Persian, or Akkadian, or the probable date and affinity of a new variety of Alphabetic Script lately discovered in Arabia. This was a great and special gift almost peculiar to himself, which rendered his society so delightful and profitable. In looking round the circle of my daily diminishing contemporaries, or of my senior fellow-labourers, I know of no one like unto him: it is an honour, a profit, and a joy, to have known him: each right-minded student pays a lasting homage to the storehouse, from which, either through the channel of word of mouth, or of printed page, he has derived valuable contributions to his own ever-increasing stock of Knowledge.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1895.

XXXVIII.

DR. TRUMPP.

DR. ERNEST TRUMPP was born on the 13th of March, 1828, at Ibsfeld, near Besigheim, Wurtemberg (Germany). The deceased was the youngest son of a carpenter and builder of that place. The future Professor's father was a simple, devout man, at the same time well versed in the classics. His intention was, that Ernest should become an architect. The boy was possessed of rare talents and a great desire for Knowledge. When he was but four years of age, he followed his elder brother to school, and did not rest until he was able to read and write. As books were the boy's greatest delight, his father altered his mind, and determined to prepare him for the Church, although he knew, of course, that much time had been lost, for Ernest was already thirteen years of age, and had not yet commenced the study of the Latin Language. But the lad set hard to work, and in four years succeeded in acquiring all the requisite Knowledge enabling him to proceed to the University. This he managed to do, by taking private lessons and attending the Grammar School at Heilbronn. Tübingen became his Alma Mater. Besides Divinity and classical Philology, he there studied more especially Oriental Languages. After remaining there four years he accepted a curacy. In the year 1848, political troubles caused him to leave home, and we next hear of him in England, where he taught Latin. But his heart was not in this work, and he therefore gladly accepted a call of the Church Missionary Society to proceed to British India.

After he had been in India a twelvemonth, his health gave way. He therefore left for Jerusalem, and, at the house of

Bishop Samuel Gobat, he made the acquaintance of his first wife, Miss Pauline Linder, of Bâle. He returned with his bride to India, where a year of worry and care awaited him at Karáchi. The Indian Mutiny was hardly at an end, and for months Trumpp's life was in constant danger. About this time a son was born unto him, but he had the misfortune of losing his wife, the mother of his child. Grief and his arduous labours caused him to thoroughly break down, and his medical advisers insisted upon his returning to Europe. When he sailed for the Western Hemisphere with his weak orphan child, the rough sailors advised him to cast the boy into the sea, as he would never live to see Europe. But father and son, nevertheless, safely reached Germany. Little Paul's life was spared; he became the joy of his father, and is at the present moment a teacher in the Grammar School at Nuremberg.

At Stuttgart, where Trumpp worked up the materials collected by him in India, he married a second time, the lady's name being Louisa Pelargus. His new partner in life was not only a good mother to his little boy, but herself became the parent of four children. One of the daughters died very young; the other is married to Captain Junge, of the Imperial German Navy. One of the sons is studying medicine; and the youngest member of the family is at present (April, 1885) staying with his sister, prior to his going up for examination for a cadetship as a midshipman in the German Navy.

From Stuttgart, Trumpp proceeded on his third trip to India, his wife accompanying him on his journey. When in the harbour of Alexandria, the travellers, who were aboard of a rickety boat, were caught in a storm, and nearly lost their lives; however, they succeeded in gaining the shore. Arrived in India, the Trumpps proceeded to the borders of Afghanistan, where the Doctor was called upon to study *Pastú*, the then little-known Language of the people of that country. He was soon able to preach the Gospel in their own Language to the natives several evenings every week. He did good work, but he attempted too much for his strength, and, after eighteen months, once more had to return home. There was much weeping and wailing when he left, as he had become a great favourite with the natives. But Trumpp was destined to find the same love and devotion in his native country.

Trumpp now (1864) accepted the perpetual curacy of Pfullingen (Wurtemberg), which he retained until 1870. He was much beloved by his flock, retaining their affection to the close of his life.

In the year 1870, the British Government, at the suggestion of Mr. R. N. Cust, the Commissioner of Amritsar, requested him to translate the sacred writings of the Sikhs. This great scientific

work, which he considered it incumbent upon him to accept, rendered a fourth journey to India necessary, and thus brought his labours at Pfullingen to a close.

After two years of the most unremitting labour, which was too much for his strength, and which doubtless undermined his health, he returned home, and established himself as a privat docent, or supernumerary professor, at his own University of Tübingen, until, in 1874, he received a call as Professor (in ordinary) of the Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Munich. He remained in this position for ten years, working unceasingly in the most varied department of linguistics. When it became necessary to classify the little-known Brahú Language, Mr. R. N. Cust collected Texts and sent them to Dr. Trumpp for analysis, and a decision was arrived at. When, during the last campaign in Afghanistan, specimens of the unknown Language of the Siyahposh Kafir came to hand, Mr. Cust sent them to Dr. Trumpp; but, alas! the keen intellect and quick eye had lost their power, and the papers came back to London, and the work remains to be done.

Trumpp's eyesight had been failing him for some time past, and, in the early part of 1884, he became totally blind, and in the Autumn of that year he became thoroughly prostrated by a terrible nervous affection, which had been coming on for a long time before. After six months of great suffering, although nursed by tender and loving hands, death must have been a welcome release to himself and his friends; his end was peace. He departed this life on Easter Sunday, 1885.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society.

XXXIX.

SIR JAMES ABBOTT, K.C.B.

WE have to record the death of this distinguished veteran, the last of that company of Soldiers, and Civilians, who built up to its present grandeur the Empire of British India. He was born in 1807, and in a short time would have completed ninety years. He took a conspicuous part in the first Afghan War: there are very few alive now, who, like myself, have held converse with the great men of that period: Nott, Pollock, Richmond, Sale, Havelock, Broadfoot, all of whom crossed the Satlaj on that famous day in 1842, when Lord Ellenborough welcomed the returning troops.

James Abbott, who has just died, had distinguished himself before that date, but he was not there.

James Abbott went to India at the age of sixteen in 1823: he was present at the siege of Bhurtpúr in 1825-6. He went to Herát in 1838, and thence in 1839 he started on a mission to attach the Khan of Khiva to the British cause: he passed through the then mysterious region of Merv, and was the first Englishman, who crossed the Oxus, and reached Khiva. Stoddart and Conolly were at that time prisoners in Bokhára, where they died. Abbott persuaded the Khan to entrust him with a mission to the Emperor of Russia to arrange for mutual restoration of captives. In March, 1840, he made his way to the Caspian Sea, and thence to Orenburg, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, was admitted to an interview with the Emperor, and gained his object.

On returning to India he was employed in Civil posts in Rajputána. when the Sikh War broke out in 1845 he was not with his brothers, and myself, in the great battles on the River Satlaj, but, after peace had been declared, he was employed to demark the frontier of Kashmir and the Hazaruh, and there he was, when the Panjáb War broke out in 1848. there I visited him in 1850, and the name of Abbotabad records the Civil Station, which he founded. He attached the people to him personally: that was the secret in those days of managing Districts in the Panjáb: "the iron hand in the velvet glove": there he remained until 1853, engaged in a work of pacification, with occasional raids across the River Indus into the region of the Black Mountain, the Aornos of Alexander the Great

Thirty years of service had left him still a Major: in 1867 he took leave of India with the rank of Major-General: honours had been dealt out charily to him: in 1873 he was made a C.B., and in 1894 a K.C.B.: we may justly apply to him the words of Metternich in 1814 with regard to Lord Castlereagh, the English Ambassador, who appeared at the Court of Vienna, in the midst of men covered with decorations, in simple costume with not one order: "*moins décoré, plus distingué.*" The Roman Historian Tacitus would have composed some stinging sentences with regard to the man, who had done things worth recording, and written books worth reading, who had achieved great things, while others had carried off the honours: for in looking back through the Annals of British India from 1844 to 1867, amidst the galaxy of great men, Military and Civil, who passed before me over the stage (and with the exception of Sir James Outram, I came into contact with them all), no more knightly form fell under my eye than that of James Abbott, the "*preux chevalier*," who was ready to sacrifice his own life to save that of poor Afghan female slaves; who was not afraid to meet the cruel fate of Stoddart and Conolly, and made in his diary of that

date the following entry after saving human lives: "Whatever now befalls me, death, captivity, or success, I shall bless God, that I have visited Khiva" Such men are required to complete the picture of the group of servants of the State who, since the great frontier-campaign of 1845-6, have made India what it is

I had been drawn to him before I met him in 1850, forty-six years ago, by his writings, for he was a poet, an antiquarian, and a man of letters; not a mere uncultured sabreur, or an unlettered official. He contributed twenty papers to the Journal of our Mother-Society, the Bengal Asiatic Society, on a variety of subjects, such as, the quality of a sword-blade, on fragments of Greek Sculpture in the Panjáb (in which subject he was the earliest in the field); he identified the Black Mountain of Máhaban with the Aornos of the Roman chronicler; and he revived in me an interest in my classic studies, which the duties of Peace and War had partially destroyed. As one of the earliest English officials in the Panjáb, I dwelt on the banks of the River Hýphasis, which we called the Beas, and the Sanskrit authors the Vipása. Recalling the story of Alexander the Great, as learned in the sixth form at Eton, I felt an interest to look for the twelve Altars, and the inscription "Ego, Alexander, huc perveni," the Latin translation of the Greek words, and with the help of James Abbott I subsequently traversed, in 1850, the scene of the Grecian King's greatest battle on the Hydaspes, now called the Jhelum, and I sailed down that River into the great River, the Acesines, now the Chenáb, and thence into the Indus; and I thought of the time when the echo of those dreary wastes rang to the Greek Trumpet, and the great son of Philip of Macedon forced his way into Regions then unknown to the Grecian world, and which remained unknown up to the time, when James Abbott first described them.

Oh! if those recreant Macedonian troops had, more than two thousand years ago, not mutined on the borders of my first Panjáb District, Alexander would have crossed the Hýphasis or Beas, and the Hysúdrus or Satlaj, and worked his way to the banks of the Jamna, and, embarking there, would have sailed down into the Ganges, and would perhaps have come into contact with King Asóka, the inscriber on the Rocks of India of the great Edicts. Many matters still unsolved regarding the History of the Indian Alphabet, and of the Indian Religion, would have been solved; and the subject of this Memoir made the first contribution to the unfinished stories of Arrian and Quintus Curtius, answering questions, to which the Greeks and Romans failed to give any reply.

I subjoin a list of the more notable of his works, but by no means an exhaustive one.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Poetry.

1. "The Thakoorine, a legend of Maundoo." Madden, London, 1841. Second Edition, Kegan Paul, London, 1893
2. "Tales of the Forest" Madden, London, 1853.
3. "Legends and Ballads" Calcutta, 1854.
4. "Prometheus' Daughter." London, 1851.
5. "Allah uddeen." Smith and Elder, 1880.

Prose.

6. Contributions to East India United Service Journal before the year 1830 :
 - A. "The Private Sentinel "
 - B. "Narrative of the Joudpore Countermarch."
 - C. "Narrative of a Journey from Mhow in Malwa to Agra."
 - D. "Journal of Lieut. C. Bannemore."
 - E. "Barrack Sketches."
 7. "Narrative of a Journey from Meerut in North India to Khiva, Moscow, and St. Petersburg during the late Russian Invasion of Khiva, with some account of the Court of Khiva and Kingdom of Kharesm." Two vols. Allen, London. 1843. Second Edition, Smith, Elder, and Co., 1867. Third Edition, W. H. Allen, 1884.
 8. Contributions to a Periodical (name not known):
 - A. "On the Ballads and Legends of the Panjáb," with a Plate of Coins.
 - B. "On the Mirage of India "
 9. Contributions to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta :
 - A. "Some account of the Camps and Battlefield of Alexander the Great and Porus." 1849.
 - B. "On the Sites of Nikaia and Bouképhala."
 - C. "Gradus ad Aornon."
 10. Contribution to the Agri Horticultural Society's Journal, vol. xi, part 2 :
 - "On the Undeveloped Resources of our Indian Empire."
- October, 1896.*

F. VARIA.

XL.

A LOST CHAPTER OF THE "GULISTAN" OF SADI OF SHIRAZ.

One of the ancient students was negligent of his studies, and careless of attending lectures; so, when the examination came on, he was stumped, and went pluck.

"If you will not, when you may;
When you will, you'll find it nay."

Between this empty-headed one and myself there happened to be a friendship. I made an upbraiding of him and said, that "It is base and dishonourable, and sense-not-possessing, thus to "throw away the flowers of the Rose-garden of youth, and to enlist "under the banners of idleness, to light the segar of infatuation, "and clothe yourself in the peacoat of Ignorance. Why not, "exerting manly ardour and fortitude, grasp the bat of determination, and strike the ball of ambition far beyond the long-fag "of expectation." He answered that, "What you have now said "is nothing but the essence of truth, and right, and long-headedness, and the same sentiment has been repeated in the "books of the old sages, whom may Allah bless! But in my "present situation is it welcome, on the part of a friend, a kind-intentioned one, thus to sprinkle salt in an open wound, and "to describe to the despairing sinner the beauties of the Houris "of Paradise, whom he has irretrievably lost? The sweet of such "consolation is not untinctured with the gall of reproach, and can "on no occasion be palatable: as in the advice given to the "student, who, in a fit of ungovernable rage, slew the cat of his "affections "

I inquired that "How the devil did that happen?" He replied that, "They have related that in a certain company there lived "a student of lecture-cutting, and breakfast-giving, disposition: "he had seen many vicissitudes of lecture and chapel, and experienced many changes of term-time and vacation: he had "drank of the sweets of 'Exeats,' and tasted the bitters of " 'Sol-moneos.'

"A cunning fellow, and sharp enough;
"Not born last week, but up to snuff."

" He was constant also in his attendance at Hall, and assiduous in the just and righteous consummation of his meals.

" In the room of this student a cat, named Ootes, had her habitation, a fair-faced and sleek-skinned one, in the constant habit of partial and total ablutions, and of evening-drinking of milk. She was also in the flower of the fruit of the Gulistan of her youth : her breath was like the musk-scented gale of the zephyr of Arabia, and her purring sounded like the voice of the young Spring.

" Her coat, that with the tortoise vies,

" Her smooth white paws, and emerald eyes.

" Now it happened, that on a certain day, when the candle of the day had been snuffed out by the fingers of twilight,

" When the sun's glory was nigh spent,

" Into the whale old Jonah went,

" the student had occasion to attend a solemn feast in the hall of delight : having, then, washed his hands with the soap, that came from Shiraz, and brushed his hair with the brush of ' I 'm somebody,' and having told his cat that ' You do not move from there,' commanded, he took a ticket in the train of dispatch, and went. The cat, when she saw that the eye of her master was removed, and that the room was void of the look of observation, lifted up the head of intelligence, and speaking to herself said :

" ' O Ootes, thou hast long served thy master with the service of fidelity, and look of faithfulness. But he does not now gaze upon thee with the eye of affection, and has withheld from thee many of the sweets of delight. Why not then arise, and taking advantage of the opportunity of chance, stretch out the paw of inquiry into the cupboard of concealment, and with the mouth of desire seize hold of the good things of fancy, and be happy ? ' "

" Having made this determination with the feet of gluttony, she raised herself up, and made a devouring of the cold meat of disobedience. Then having filled the belly of satiety, she sat down in the corner of retirement, curled round her the tail of content, and, with purring of self-applause, slept. When the student returned, and with the eye of surprise made an inspection of what was done, the fire of anger cast a blaze of revenge into the cell of his brain ; and having with the hand of excitement torn the tassel of prudence from the cap of ' keep your temper,' he threw off the gown of discretion, and with the foot of indignation struck the head of the cat, that she died : for it is said in the books of the old prophet :

" Whatever you does, and wherever you goes,

" Vengeance is sure to be pulling your nose.

"A judicious man happened to be by, and he said: 'It is unworthy of a wise man to give rein to the team of indignation.' The student heard this, and drew a cold sigh from his hot heart, and suspended the skirts of his soul upon the liver-piercing thorns of regret: for advice after the act is not unlike the locking of the stable of security after that the horse of desire has been stolen. This, then, is the story of the student and his cat."

Haileybury College, 1841.

XLI.

EXTRACT FROM THE SANSKRIT "HITOPADEŚA."

(A RE-TRANSLATION.)

WHEN the hour of lecture was again arrived, the students said: "O sir! we have heard the history of the brave man: let now, we beseech you, the history of the coward be told also." "Attend, then," said the Professor, "and you shall hear the history of the coward, of which this is the first sloke:

" 'He that fights, and runs away,
Will live to fight another day.' "

The students said: "How was that?" The Professor then related the following tale: "There is in the County of Hertford a place called Haileybury: thither from various climes and countries two-footed ones on account of business go; and among them a certain individual named 'Small-wit,' who was in the constant habits of ablutions, and of reading the Veda, and who had also become the practiser of the severe vow and heavy penance of Tea-totalism, lived. Now, once on a time, when the moon, the leader of the Kumudini flowers, was reclining on the hills of Hoddesdon, one 'Light-foot,' so called, came to 'Small-wit's' house, and having gained his confidence, and having said, 'Let us go to a neighbouring town,' thus they went together; and having entered into the house of a certain man, and having said, 'Bring us wine and biscuits,' they drank too much, until at length they became overpowered. Then returning home, they did many unwise things, and broke many windows, lamps, doors, and meeting with one lantern-holding man, Small-wit said, 'Who are you?' 'I am a beak,' said he, 'named Knock-you-down.' Having thus said, and having tried to seize Small-wit, he was struck on the

"head by Light-foot, and a great fight ensued, when suddenly
 "another beak named 'Have-at-you' having ran up, and having
 "said, 'What's the row?' thus took Small-wit, and having
 "conducted him to a secure place, left him. In the meanwhile,
 "Light foot, in extreme fear at the arrival of the second beak, with
 "great swiftness and trepidation went away, and escaped: there-
 "fore I repeat:

" 'He that fights, and runs away,
 "Will live to fight another day.'"

Harleybury College, 1841.

XLII.

"PUGNA AMWELLENSIS."¹

Ex libris amissis Titi Livii Pativini. Accedunt breves annotationes Gronovii.

A.U.C. xxx, LII.—Duo erant "Celeres,"² nocturni clamoris ludorumque Bacchanalium ante omnes auctores, qui tertiâ fere vigiliâ domum redeuntes, noctem, quod fieri solet, cantibus permulcebant; queis jam domum appropinquantibus ignavi quidam è superiore aedium parte caput humerosque aquâ,³ nec tam purâ, resperserunt. Hôc accensi fenestras lampadesque lapidum⁴ jactu eminus percutiunt; multus subinde ex utrisque clamor,⁵ quaeque in urbe oppugnandâ plerumque accidunt.

Sub hoc tempus duo "Rostra,"⁶ quae in portâ "Ionis"⁷ cujusdam latitabant, iis lampades frangentibus, atque alio tumultuantibus supervenere: hic clavum, ille lanternam⁸ gestabat; ambo

¹ *Amwellensis*] Vado Cervino urbs ob incolarum saevitiam famosa, aliter ignota.—GRONOVIVS.

² *Celeres*] Qui sint, dubitat Gronovius Quosdam esse campi incolas monet Freinshemius, ita dictos, vel quod argentum celerrime effundunt vel quod in quadrigis agendis summam operam ponunt. Eosdem esse ac Equites Romanos negat Crevierus.

³ *Aqua*] In hunc morem laudat Juvenalem Gronovius (*Sat.* III, v. 275). "Nocte patent vigiles, me praetereunte, fenestrae."

⁴ *Lapidum*] Hoc etiam Romano mori comparat Noster "Jamque faces et saxa volant"—VIRG.

⁵ *Clamor*] Qui sint nocturni tumultus Vide JUV., *Sat.*:

"—quibusdam

Somnum rixa facit"—GRON.

⁶ *Rostra*] Sc. "rostrati homines" sicut "vexillarii"—*Angl.* "beaks."

⁷ *Ionis*] Qui sit, dubio est: aliquem aut genere aut virtute insignem, liquet, forsân è stirpe Ionicâ.

⁸ *Lanterna*] Verbum Livianum: alio inveniri posse negat Scaliger

paenulis obvoluti. Quorum adventu alter juvenum tergum modo non dedit, alter se inhibuit. "Age, Amice," inquit, "pugnis pugnam, non pedibus, perficiamus." Exinde, signis collatis, oritur pugna non minus dubia, quam ferox, numero scilicet par, nec tantum viribus impar. Mox tamen juvenibus actum foret, nî alii tumultu exciti, sociorumque infortunas aegrèferentes, atque in pugnam minus inviti, opem attulissent, atque eo rem redigissent, ut tandem Rostra naribus sanguinolentis, oculis migrantibus, dentibusque⁹ excussis, se fugae palam dederint.

Jamque in domicilia victores redibant, quum Portitor,¹⁰ quem unus atque alter Rostrorum huc et illuc cursitans excitârat, cumque illo Patientia eodem tumultu expergefacta, rei intervenirent. Lampadibus fractis, et nocte tenebrasâ Juvenes, qui sint, qualesque, ignari, atque omne ignotum pro horribili fingentes, pugnam denuo instaurant. Alter Portitori stomachum, quâ jacent illa, pede accipit, alter dat Patientiae sanguineum nasum,¹¹ atque e campo pellit. Bino triumpho exultantes dormitum eunt Victores.

Ubi illuxit, speculatores locum explorant. Undique jacent pugnae signa: hic nasorum sanguis, fractaeque lanternae: illic toga academica¹² (quam ubique gestare gaudent Novi homines). Juvenes e lecto tintinnabula invitos, nec tamen capellum scindere¹³ ausos, excitant. Deinde in concilium arcessuntur. Jamque parùm abfuit quum Praefecti jussu in rus se contulerint, aut saltem, solemniter moniti, Miltoni poemata transcripserint, cum Decanus¹⁴——

* * * * *

⁹ *Dentibus*] Iterum Juvenalem laudat Gronovius

"pugnis concisus adorat
Ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde
reverti."

¹⁰ *Portitor*] Mirum est, quantum hic Noster erraverit: Portitorem eundem quòd Lactorem Romanum manifestum est.

¹¹ *Sanguis nasorum*] Sanguinem nasorum nosci posse miratur Gronovius.

¹² *Academica*] Ex hîc unum aut ambos Platonis fuisse discipulos liquet. Quare hi barbari, togam gestare amaverint, Ego, mehercule! miror, vexata tota est constructio.—GRONOVIVS

¹³ *Scindere capellum*] Quid velit, nescio.—GRON.

¹⁴ *Decanus*] Cives quidam ex urbe Amwellensi nobilissimus profecto et praepotens.—GRON.

XLIII.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY ATLAS.

EIGHTH EDITION, 1896.

THIS volume of two hundred and thirty pages of printed matter, and thirty-two coloured Maps, from the Geographical establishment of Messrs. Stanford and Co., has reached its eighth edition. With the object, which the Society which publishes it has in view, the Geographical Society has nothing whatever to do, but a worthy contribution to Geographical Science deserves a brief notice for its own intrinsic merits. It represents "Applied Geography." The art of the cartographer is utilized to bring home the local features of Regions in many parts of the world, and the printed matter specially illustrates each Region from the point of view of the object of the publication. Among the thirty-two Maps is one (the frontispiece) to illustrate the distribution of the Human race under the different Religious conceptions, two Maps illustrate the varieties of Languages spoken in British India and the Continent of Africa. The remaining twenty-nine represent regions in Africa, East, West, and South; in Southern Asia, from Syria on the West to Japan in the extreme Orient, the Islands of New Zealand in Oceania; the Dominion of Canada in North America. An Atlas "pure and simple" resembles a Dictionary of a Language, and presents dull and disconnected reading; but this work resembles rather an Encyclopaedia of a particular branch of Knowledge, illustrated by carefully-drawn Maps, representing certain special facts in different colours; in fact, it presents to the eye and understanding a basis of the Knowledge essential for grasping a particular subject of study. The matter contained in the printed pages is accurate, interesting, and instructive. Admitting that the main features of Geographical Science are (1) physical, (2) political, and (3) ethnological, pure Geography may be deemed to end there. Still, the student of the world and its population is led to inquire (1) what Language the inhabitants speak; (2) what Religious conception they have adopted; (3) to what degree of Culture they have attained; and (4), lastly, what are the more fortunate and more highly gifted races of Europe and North America doing at the present moment for the benefit of the so-called inferior races? Such information is supplied by this Book in a fresh and engaging manner for certain portions of the Globe, and no Englishman, who takes the trouble to read the particular portion of the volume, to which local predilections attract him, can fail to derive instruction and advantage.

Geographical Journal, 1896.

MURRAY'S HANDBOOK TO GREECE.

THE last edition was published in 1872 in one volume. It is an open secret, and we might indeed gather the fact from the light and delicate touches, that on the occasion of this revision Athéne has been represented by one of her own sex, and that a long residence in the capital of Greece has specially fitted for the task a lady equally at home in the Italian, German, and Greek, Languages: the accomplished daughter of an accomplished father. Thoroughly to appreciate the excellence of these volumes, it is necessary to have known Athens thirty years ago, and to have visited it for a second time last year. It is as impossible to read a handbook for travellers continuously from the first to the last page as to read a Cyclopaedia; but an idea of the value of such a Book can be gathered by judicious reference to a score of chapters or sections, and a consideration of the plan, which has been adopted. The compiler has carefully picked up the crumbs, that have fallen from her predecessors in the general work, and from the specialists, who have devoted themselves to one particular portion, from Pausanias, the earliest antiquarian tourist on record, to Leake, Wordsworth, Schliemann, Kaupert, Dorfield, Curtius, and Adler. As usual, the Germans have done the greater part of the work that has been done, and the Greeks have done the least, or, in fact, none at all. Those who have already paid their visit to Greece (and it does not happen to many to repeat the experience) have reason to regret, that they had not the advantage of this handbook as their guide, companion, and friend, although possibly they may have had the privilege, now no longer possible, of coming upon the fair compiler, in the midst of her labours. The advance of Knowledge about Greece, and the general progress of that country, have, during the last decade, been so great that the fourth edition, without any reflection on Sir George Bowen, left much to be desired, and, as far as we can judge, the fifth edition at this moment leaves little to be desired, though in another lustrum the march of events and the excavator's spade will have left this behind also, but not to so great a degree. As was to be expected, Athens, with its environs, occupies nearly one-third of the whole work, and nowhere else has it ever been so fully set before the English reader. It had been the fashion to leave small collections of antiquities scattered in different parts of the city, or even Kingdom, but gravitation of particles is now commencing towards central museums. Schliemann's discoveries at Mykéné are stored in their own museum; many of the smaller dépôts in Athens have been absorbed, or are under the process of absorption; though, alas! we fear that the

magnificent Monuments of Olympia will remain in a local museum, and therefore unseen, except by a very few. So far is Athens still behind the ordinary requirements of Culture, that, until the appearance of this guide-book, there was no catalogue of the contents of any museum available to the student. The obliging and accomplished possessors were ready to conduct strangers over the collections, and to give life to the dead masses, but it is fresh and pleasant to read the details here supplied.

The Government of Greece is exceedingly inert, impecunious, and unsympathetic; what has been done has been generally done at the expense of enthusiastic foreigners. Thus the Venetian tower has disappeared from the Acropolis at the expense of Schlieffmann, who also excavated Mykéné at his own cost, and took nothing.

Olympia has been excavated by means of funds provided by Prussia. The Archaeological Society of Athens is supposed to be excavating at Eleusis, but nothing is known as to its proceedings. There is virgin soil in every quarter, and the islands have lately supplied most interesting contributions, and may prove an almost inexhaustible quarry.

The many vicissitudes, through which the great city has passed are faithfully recorded in the first volume, from the time of Theseus to the time of King George.

The description of the Monuments, which still give to Athens a glory unequalled in the world is most full and fascinating.

Ancient Rome has been crushed and buried by the barbarous utilitarianism of the builders of the mediaeval city; the same fate has befallen Constantinople; Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, Syracuse, and other great cities of antiquity, have been entirely or partially destroyed; but the city of Athens has preserved to the present day its ancient outlines, and well deserves the sympathetic treatment, which it has here received.

Other well-known spots in Greece have been equally favoured. Delos, Dodona, and Delphi, though their fame and importance have long since passed away, are brought back to life in these pages. The latest and best Authorities are quoted in the accounts of Olympia and Mykéné: it would be worth the voyage from Patras to Katakolo by steamer, and the short journey inland, to see the newly-found statue of Hermes, with the child Dionysus on his arm, which was described by Pausanias as the work of Praxiteles, but had disappeared for centuries. Thebes, the solitary temple at Bassae, Corinth, Tanagra, with its figurines, and the mines of Laurium, have each and all a sufficient and agreeable description.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THIS branch of Missionary effort has no Apostolic Sanction. We must not forget this, and blame those, who pass it by. Nor is Education necessarily a help to Evangelization: quite the contrary. the most learned men of all European countries are the most far from God. Paul knew it in his time, for he writes, that not many wise are called, and that God chose the foolish things of this world, that they might put to shame them that are wise. And yet Paul knew what a School was, for at Ephesus he reasoned daily in the School of one Tyrannus, probably a Teacher of Grammar and Rhetoric, and at Athens, when he stood on Mars Hill, his eye must have fallen on the enclosures of the Stoa and the Academia, the greatest Schools of the time

The Apostles went about preaching and teaching, but it goes without saying, that such teaching was Religious, and a strict part of the Gospel-Message. In this generation the Schoolmaster has got abroad, and certain Nationalities, having developed an aptitude for secular learning, bring it unduly forward in the plan of Gospel-Salvation. Perhaps in a lesser degree the same undue stress is placed upon outward personal cleanliness, and in the Gospel according to Mr. Mundella, once a Minister of Public Instruction, cleanliness is quoted, on *inspired* Authority, as next to Godliness. To anyone, who is acquainted with the simple lives, and moderate requirements, of Asiatic or African races, and the very slow process of centuries, through which the English and Scotch people have been brought up to the present level of Education and cleanliness, it must be evident, that the imposition of conditions, not imposed by our Lord, is deeply to be deplored: it stands out in conspicuous contrast to the Monkish history of the Early Christian Saints, who are always recorded to have worn foul clothes, abounded in vermin, and to have been generally totally ignorant of the Wisdom of this world. A halo of sanctity attached to such, as to the filthy hairy Fakir of India, which would not surround the neat home of the rigorously clean and carefully shorn Missionary.

Now the subject must be divided into two branches:

I. (1) Religious, or (2) quasi-religious.

II. (1) Secular, pure and simple, or (2) Secular upon a Christian Method for Christian objects by the agency of Christian men.

With regard to the first Section of the first Branch, there is not a word to be said by way of disparagement. The Method of conveying Religious teaching, and the amount, which the hearers can

receive, must vary from tribe to tribe, and age to age. The teaching of a British Sunday-school would not go far to make a British divine, but that teaching might be over the heads of the African greybeards. I must leave this to the Missionary, with the proviso, that the Bible is the Text-Book.

The phenomena, described in the second, occur, when in a purely secular School one of the teachers, or a stranger, is permitted before or after the School-hours to address the students, leading on from the School-subject just lectured upon, or about to be discussed, and giving it a higher turn, suggestive of the Knowledge of things Divine, the basis on which all Morals rest, the highest objects of Human faculties. Young and ardent minds may thus be influenced, and the door of a new world opened: a fruitful seed may find a lodgment. The Resolution of the Supreme Government of British India, 1888, which will be again referred to lower down, alludes to the existence of this possibility. I quote the words: "Even in "Schools supported by the State something in the way of Religious "instruction can be effected out of School-hours in accordance with "established principles."

I now pass to the second Branch, "Secular instruction pure and simple." To my mind no Missionary Society should undertake such a duty, under any possible circumstances. The money, which is collected to send the Missionary out, and maintain him, was collected for the purpose of converting a Soul, not sharpening an Intellect; to make wise unto Salvation through Faith, which is in Christ Jesus. The so-called Missionary, who can only teach Mathematics, Logic, and Science, generally has mistaken his profession; but he might be of great use to the Missionary cause, by being employed in the State-Education Department, and thus indirectly preparing for conversion.

But the second Section of the second Branch involves other conditions, and must again be subdivided upon Geographical and Ethnical considerations. Where the Missionary has to act upon the African under a Native Chief, or in Oceania, or in such parts of Asia, where no proper and sufficient provision is made for the Education of the Natives, it is clear, that Schools of a secular-Religious character are one of the most important agencies, and must not be neglected. But he must take care that Religious instruction is the beginning and end, and that it is openly announced, that the conversion of Souls is the sole object. It is sad to think, that in some cases Missionary Schools have not been opened with prayer, out of pretended respect to the consciences of the Heathen and Mahometan, that Heathen and Mahometan Teachers are employed, that in a long course of years no conversions can be credited to the School, and that the only result of the instruction is to raise the students above the level of their surroundings, their parents, their relations, their means of livelihood,

or to have placed a good cheap Education within reach of a very undeserving class

I have remarked this last feature particularly in the Female Schools in the Turkish Dominions. I do not particularize The Educational establishments within that Kingdom are magnificent, and reflect great credit upon the Missionary Associations, and I was assured, that conversion, and conversion only, was the object intended; but I fear, that the result is not always so. Any allusion to the arrangements made for the Education of *converts*, or for training of *Pastors*, *Teachers*, and *Catechists*, is omitted, as I have to deal with Missionary, and not with Pastoral, work.

Where the Missionary operations lie within the limits of great European Kingdoms, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, or Portugal, the case is different. Every European Power has in these last days recognized the duty of the State to attend to the subject of Education, as much as of Police, and each State takes a different view of the methods to be employed; but it is a Sovereign-right, and cannot be assailed by any International Law. Austria and Russia will allow no interference whatever. France does not actually forbid, but enforces such Laws, that it amounts to the same thing. All instruction must be conducted in the French Language, and by French certificated Teachers. There is sufficient semblance of Justice in these rules to prevent any remonstrance: the Missionary has to close his Schools. Turkey is attempting to introduce some such principle, and there is a general uneasiness in Missionary circles. The Schools are suddenly closed, then explanation is offered, and they are reopened. Certain Regulations have been propounded: the foreign Missionary has no alternative, but to obey. No international principle is involved: if the Government of Turkey chose to make Turkish, or Arabic, the sole vehicle of instruction, and to exclude foreign Teachers, it would be entirely within its Sovereign-rights, as asserted by Austria and Russia. The Missionary must temporize, yield a little, conciliate the Authorities, conform as far as possible to the Regulations: if it comes at last to the impossibility of conducting Schools on a Religious basis, they must be closed, and converted subjects of the Sultan encouraged to open private establishments. One thing is clear, that no policy can be more suicidal than to worry the Government of the Sultan, and weaken its power: it would only accelerate the catastrophe of the breaking down of the tottering Empire, which would mean the annexation of Turkey in Asia by Russia, of Turkey in Europe by Austria, of Syria and Palestine by France, and the absolute closing for ever of all Protestant Schools. I remark with great anxiety and regret, the occasional petulant and unwise conduct of American and British Missionaries, who do not seem to realize the sword, which is hanging by a thread over their heads, and no diplomatic interference would help them in a matter of internal

administration, which the Turk proposes to conduct on the same principles as his dear brethren the Russian, Austrian, and Frenchman. Missionaries forget, that, although they carry *personal* rights with them into a friendly country, those personal rights do not protect them in a breach of the domestic Laws of the country.

During the present year a remarkable instance has occurred in the United States of North America of the arbitrary use of the Sovereign-right to regulate Education within National limits. It is notorious, that within those limits there are about 250,000 indigenous American Indians, speaking about one hundred different languages; and the Missionary Societies of the United States have made noble efforts to convert these Heathen: the Bible has been translated, and the vernaculars made the vehicle of Instruction. Suddenly, from the State-Department of this free Republic has been issued an order, resembling a Russian Ukase, ordering English to be made the sole vehicle of instruction, both in State-supported and private Schools. The Missionaries have, as was to be expected, remonstrated. I only quote the case to illustrate my position as to the Sovereign-right of the State.

In the Colonies of Great Britain it is different. As they have a constitutional Government, it rests with each to regulate its own Educational system, and there is little doubt that it will be on liberal principles. The Government of British India has the hardest, and most perilous duty to discharge, and, strange to say, has received an amount of obloquy and detraction from Missionaries, which does them no credit. If British India were to pass into the hands of Russia or France, or Independent Native States, it would serve the Missionaries right. The great problem before the Government of India was, to bear in mind, that they were the guardians of the great people, committed to their charge, that Toleration to Religious convictions was the chief Jewel of Empire, and the appropriation of taxes levied from Mahometans and Idolaters, for the purpose of converting them to another form of Religion, would be an intolerable wrong, which would be resented by the British People, if the Pope of Rome, or the Caliph of the Mahometans, attempted that policy in the British Islands.

It is the practice of writers in the cause of Missions to speak unkindly of the great and impartial Government of India, under whose aegis a greater amount of Missionary work is being prosecuted in peace and comfort, than the world ever saw before in any one country. It is forgotten, that remarks, levelled against an impersonal Government, really attack a succession of good and Religious public servants, who, while in India they were not ashamed of being Christians, yet never forgot the principle, which underlies all true Religion, "of doing unto others what they would that men should do unto them," and who never swerved from the dictates of tolerance, equity, and respect for the consciences of the

great people, over whose destinies they were called to preside. I do not like to see demands made, which the people, if they had an independent constitutional form of government, would never grant. Paul and the other Apostles were content to be left alone. I am sorry to differ in this matter from men, whom I love and esteem, but I must render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, as well as unto God the things that are God's.

The Educational system of British India is entirely based on the Educational Charter of 1854, drafted by the late Viscount Halifax, who was then President of the Board of Control. I have carefully gone over these famous one hundred paragraphs. If there be any one leading characteristic of that Charter, it is the desire not to awaken a Religious difficulty. Thus :

Para. 28. The examination at the University will not include any subject connected with Religious belief, and the affiliated Institutions will be under the management of persons of every variety of Religious persuasion.

Para. 32. We shall refuse to sanction any teaching (connected with Hindu and Mahometan tenets), as directly opposed to the principle of Religious neutrality, to which we have always adhered.

Para. 34. (The Senate) will include Natives of India of all Religious persuasions.

Para. 53. The system of grants in aid will be based on an entire abstinence from interference with the Religious instruction conveyed in the school.

Para. 56. No notice whatsoever to be taken by the Inspector of the Religious doctrines, which may be taught in the School.

Para. 57. It may be advisable distinctly to assert in them the principle of perfect Religious neutrality, on which the grants will be awarded.

Para. 84. The Institutions are founded for the benefit of the whole population of India, and, in order to effect this object, it was, and is, indispensable, that the Education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular.

Para. 100. The measures which we have now adopted will involve a much larger expenditure from the *taxation* of the people of India.

These words were written in 1854, before the great Sepoy Mutiny. In 1859, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India reviewed the whole subject, with reference to the allegation, that this Educational measure had been among the causes, which led to the Mutiny. I quote from his dispatch :

Para. 34. The system of grants in aid is based on an entire abstinence from interference with the Religious instruction conveyed in the Schools assisted.

Para. 35. Every endeavour appears to have been used to carry into practice the principles of perfect Religious neutrality, on which the system was declared to be based.

Para. 42 The Home-Authorities determined, that computation (for marks in certain Religious Books) should not be allowed, and thus removed all possible ground of misapprehension.

Para. 56. The Author of the Dispatch of 1854 regarded the system, as carrying out in the most effectual manner the principle of perfect Religious neutrality, and as solving in the best practicable way various difficult questions, connected with Education, arising out of the peculiar position of the British Government in India. The principle of perfect neutrality in matters of Religion, on which the system has been brought into operation in India, has been laid down, and promulgated with unmistakable distinctness in published rules.

Para. 51. It has been alleged, that notwithstanding these precautions, jealousy has been excited by the assistance indirectly extended through the medium of grants in aid to Missionary teaching.

Para. 59. From the earliest period, at which the British Government in India directed its attention to the subject of Education, all its measures, in consistency with the policy, which regulated its proceedings in other departments of the State, have been based on the principle of perfect Religious neutrality in other words, on an abstinence from all interference with the Religious feelings and practices of the Natives, and on the exclusion of Religious teaching from the Government Schools.

Para. 60. The Proclamation of Her Majesty, on assuming the direct control of the Government of India, plainly declared, that no interference with the Religion of the people, or with their habits, and usages, was to take place.

Para. 61. The free resort of all classes to Government Schools, when unusual alarm had been excited in the minds of the Natives, is a sufficient proof of the confidence, which is felt in the promises of Government, that no interference with Religious belief will be allowed in their Schools, and this confidence Her Majesty's Government would be very reluctant to disturb by any change of system, which might give occasion to misapprehension. They are unable, therefore, to sanction any modification of the rule of strict Religious neutrality, which has been hitherto enforced in the Government Schools, and it accordingly remains, that the course of study in all Government Institutions be, as heretofore, confined to secular subjects.

Para. 66. It seems important, therefore, to learn, whether any of the measures taken by the Government of India in recent years to promote the Education of the Natives of India have been such as to afford just ground of suspicion, or alarm: whether, notwithstanding the absence of any just grounds of alarm, there has, in fact, existed a misunderstanding of the intentions of Government with regard to their measures, which excited apprehensions, however unfounded, and whether any alterations of existing arrangements can be devised, by which the risk of misapprehension may be lessened, and the minds of the people may be set at rest.

These words were written by the late Earl Derby, a member of the Conservative Ministry: the Charter itself was written by Viscount Halifax, a member of the Liberal Ministry. Both parties of the State were at one on this policy. Both Dispatches were

published, and presented to the Houses of Parliament. No change whatever in the general policy has taken place since that date.

Some dissatisfied persons proposed to move Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to withdraw from the work of higher Education in India, avowedly on the ground "that Education without Religion is not complete Education." An effort would then be made to supply the place of abolished Colleges by establishments, in which the principles of the Evangelical Alliance would be enforced, as in a Missionary place of Education, and to which the natives of India, Hindu or Mahometan, would be obliged to resort, or be deprived of the benefit of Education, which, owing to the efforts of the State during the last quarter of a century, has become a necessity to them: and to carry out this policy a still greater assignment of funds raised by taxation would be asked for, as grants in aid. Such is the nature of the proposition, however much it may be qualified by such expressions as "gradually," or "a greater or less extent." The temper of the House of Commons must have greatly changed, if such a proposition had been listened to for a moment.

I have arrived at a clear conviction, that the Government of a great subject-country, held by force of arms, ought never to relinquish its grasp on the control of the Education of a people, any more than it would on the police, the taxation, and the judicial system. Our political tenure of India is a most frail one. The population is composed of very distinct and hostile elements. The possibility of creating an Educational Board, composed of representatives of all Religions, seems very doubtful, and no Statesman would undertake the responsibility of placing the Educational resources of the State, supplied by taxation, at the disposal of Religious denominations, however excellent might be the character of the individuals. With what favour would Protestants regard the Educational institutions of a Russian Province, entrusted to a Greek Missionary body, or those of a Portuguese Province entrusted to the Jesuits? A demand is made, which the British Parliament steadily refuses to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. In both cases the unconcealed motive for meddling with Education is to inculcate Religious views, with the alleged ulterior object, in both cases conscientiously believed in, of advancing the cause of Morality.

Let me consider the point which is urged, that the Government is pledged to give way: let me quote the words of the Charter.

Para. 61. We look forward to a time, when any general system of Education entirely provided by Government, may be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants in aid, and when many of the existing Government Institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of and aided by the State but it is far from our wish to check the spread of Education, in the slightest degree, by

the abandonment of a single School to probable decay, and we therefore entirely confide in your discretion, while keeping this object in view, to act with caution.

The whole of the Dispatch must be taken together. If there were found to exist in any city, or district, an Educational power, which had gradually grown up to full maturity, and was able to take over charge of the Education of the people, in the same manner, and under the same conditions of neutrality, by means of an impartial Board of Managers, the Government might be willing to withdraw · but does such an agency exist in any part of India? would it meet the wishes of the Missionaries to work their Schools with a conscience-clause? Would they wish to come under the far less gentle, and less sympathetic, control of a Board of Managers elected by a majority of Hindu and Mahometans? No other construction can be placed upon this clause, and in the later Dispatch, para. 46, we only find: "It being hoped, that private Schools aided by Government would eventually take the place universally of the several classes of Government Institutions."

It cannot be imagined, that the deliberate closing of a Government Institution with the avowed object of encouraging Missionary Propagandism, was contemplated.

And supposing that the Government were from financial reasons to abandon the discharge of their duty (and I can imagine no other reason), I fail to see, that any Missionary body, or aggregate of Missionary bodies, is in a position at the present moment in any part of India to maintain the higher Education of the people with the degree of permanence, which is necessary. The constituents of many Missionary Societies would not subscribe to maintain the machinery of secular Education on a great scale. A large and highly paid staff, with pensions and privileges, is required, and this would cause a strain upon Missionary resources, and neglect of the proper duty of direct Evangelization.

But another ground is alleged for the change, and a plea put in for the Education of the Masses. Now we have certain information, that the Government is not indifferent to the Education of the Masses.

The Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State, writes, May, 1871, to the Viceroy:

Para 5. I should be understood, as approving generally of the main principle, which runs through your dispatch, that the Government expenditure should, as far as possible, be reduced with reference to the Education of those, who are well able to pay for themselves, and should be mainly directed to the provision of an elementary Education for the Masses of the people.

Para 9. If once we can instil into the real upper classes of India, that one of the main duties of Society is to provide for the sound

primary instruction of the humbler classes, we shall lay the real foundation for that general system of Education, which it is the desire of your Excellency's Government to establish

Again, on June 4, 1873, he writes to the Viceroy :

Para. 5. The very difficult problem for solution in India, is the method of diffusing Education among the Masses without injuring the success, which has hitherto attended collegiate instruction. and, as the State funds available for Education are necessarily limited, it is not to be wondered at, that any apprehended transfer from one branch to another should give rise to considerable controversy and meet opposition

Para. 9 In conclusion, I must express my concurrence with your Excellency, in considering that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál has not departed from the broad line of Educational policy, which has been laid down by Her Majesty's Government during a long series of years, and in cordially approving the steps His Honour has taken to give a more practical tone to Education in Bangál. The advance, which has been made in the encouragement of the primary instruction of the people, is also a subject for congratulation

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál writes to the Director of Public Instruction, 1872 :

It is not the policy of the Government to discourage English or High Education, but it is its policy not to devote an entirely disproportionate amount of the funds at the disposal of the Local Government to the Education of a very limited number of persons, to the comparative exclusion of the much greater number, who have equal claims on the State.

The British Indian Association of Calcutta thus memorialized the Viceroy, June, 1872 :

Para 27. Your memorialists beg to observe, that the whole discussion turns not upon the question, whether or not the Government approve of Higher Education in the abstract, but upon the extent, to which they are prepared to assist it. It is a complete fallacy to suppose, that the Higher Education can subsist, even in Lower Bangál, much less in other parts of India, without necessary aid from Government. It is enormously expensive, and the prospects of success in life, held out thereby to students, are exceedingly small.

The People's Association, Dacca, thus memorialized the Viceroy, September, 1872 .

Your memorialists are not aware of the fact, that reduction in grant of the Higher Education is said to be owing to a corresponding increase in that for Mass Education ; but they beg humbly to state, that

a judicious management of the funds would enable Government to devote large sums to the Education of the Masses without starving High Education.

The Rajshahye Association thus memorialized the Viceroy, December, 1872 :

Para 2 Some time before the Government of India passed a resolution to the effect, that in time to come the Government would gradually withdraw State aid from High Education in order to apply the amount to the promotion of Mass Education.

The recent acts of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bangál have inspired your petitioners with serious fear and concern. His Honour at once cut off the collegiate classes of some Colleges, and reduced the establishment of others. His Honour's policy in reducing the State grant for High Education, like that of the Government resolution referred to at the outset, is understood to be with a view to promote Mass Education.

Your Excellency's petitioners submit, that of all the reasons, for which the people of the country blessed the British Government, there is none, in which they have been more unanimous and more earnest than for the Education given by the means of Colleges and Schools.

I have quoted these memorials to show, that an endeavour had been made, and was being made, to reduce the sums spent on Higher Education, and increase the amount spent on Mass Education, and to point out, that there is an observant Native public, who would not allow such a step to be taken as handing over the Higher Education to Missionary control, without the most strenuous and passionate resistance, possibly endangering the peace of the Empire.

In 1873, the Viceroy in Council reviewed the whole subject of Education, remarking as follows : " If His Excellency is to understand any of the memorialists to be of opinion, that the need for " the extension and improvement of primary Education among the " masses of the people in Bangál is not urgent, and does not require " the application to that purpose of all savings, that may properly " be made in the cost of Higher Education, His Excellency must " express his dissent from that opinion, and his cordial concurrence " with the declaration made by the Lieutenant-Governor, that it " is the policy of the Supreme, and of the Bangál, Government, to " promote and foster all sound Education ; but it is the wish of both " Governments, that out of the public money available for Educational purposes, a larger share than heretofore should be given " to the support of elementary Education in the villages of Bangál."

Quotations could be multiplied to show, that there was a desire to do as much as circumstances would permit, and the Educational Budget could provide. It is, moreover, not probable, that additional grants in aid would be given to any Missionary Higher Education

Institutions in the Presidency towns, where the people can afford to pay for the Education of their own children. In the extreme supposition, therefore, of the Government closing their Presidency Colleges, the Missionary Educational Board would have to conduct their Institutions on commercial or benevolent principles, unrecognized and unassisted by the State. Are they prepared to do so?

The Government of India is not unused to detraction, and to the attacks of persons, who misunderstand the high principles of administration, which it has resolutely maintained. In a work published in Russia, M. Terentief brings a charge against the British Rulers, that they have alienated the people by their attempts to make them Christians. This is the erroneous statement of a hostile critic. But a few good and excellent Missionaries, who enjoy the protection of the branches of the great Paternal tree, and who, if the tree were cut down, would be swept out of India, by the French, Russian, or Native Power, which followed, have allowed themselves a license, which neither the principles of charity, nor their knowledge of the subject, would warrant, in denouncing the policy and practice of the Government of India. It is with regret, that I see inconsistent complaints made by pious and good men, that the Government in culpable indifference allows its rural population to live on in ignorant darkness, and too much light to be let in upon the minds of the youth of our cities. It is difficult to decide what such Missionaries want. In dealing with the rural population, they deplore their intense ignorance, apathy, and inability to grasp the Divine Truth. In dealing with the old party, who cling to the faith of their ancestors, complaint is made of their bigotry, the undue influence of their Priests, and the debasing character of their moral code, dogma, and ritual; but, strange to say, when a succession of youths are turned out from the State-Colleges, imbued with Occidental Civilization, free from the ignorance of the rural class, and treating as dirt the Priests, the Veda, and the Korán, and with minds ready like soft clay to receive new impressions, complaint is made, that somehow or other this "Young-India" has lost the moral control of the old Religions, and has not adopted that of the new. Regret seems to be felt for the extinction of the Hindu Religion, and attacks are made upon the Government for their godless system of Education. The great, strong, and wise Government looks on with pity rather than with scorn. greater in the high principles of administration, which it has adopted, than in the vastness of its dominions, and the numberless varieties of its subjects, stronger in the integrity, independence, and outspokenness of its public servants, than in its serried battalions: and wiser, less in what it has done, than what through steady self-restraint it abstained from doing, remembering, that it is the only European Government in Asiatic countries, into whose treasures the hoards of its subjects, though alien in race, are

poured without fear of their being misappropriated, and to whose schools parents, strangers in creed, send their children without fear of their tender consciences being tampered with. Confidence is of slow growth, and the existence of the British Empire depends upon the conviction of its Religious neutrality.

Nor need it be a matter of surprise, that in the Nineteenth century Religious beliefs are undermined in India. It was well known, that such must be the result of Education and a free Press. The same phenomenon is evident, in Free Italy, and Free France, and to a certain extent in Free England and Free America. History tells us, that the Roman Empire went through a fearful period of intellectual doubt, and yet by God's grace Europe settled down into Christianity. At any rate it is an evil, which no Government can check or cure. The stone has been set rolling, and will go on rolling, for even if the British were driven from India, the British Culture would remain, and, after all, the number of students in the State-Colleges is but a drop in the ocean of the Millions of India.

Missionaries should consider well, whether the grants in aid are worth the heavy price, which they have to pay for them in the secularization of their Schools, the crushing out of Religious teaching by the cast-iron requirements of the Government Inspector and University Tests, the destruction of the spirituality and fervour of the Missionary by the purely scholastic duties imposed upon him; the small percentage of converts, which such Schools have during a long period of years turned out, the evil of employing non-Christian Teachers, and the impossibility of finding a sufficient supply of Christian Teachers; the discontinuance in some Schools of public prayer and relaxation of thorough Christian teaching, out of deference to the supposed feeling of the students; and, lastly, the economical question, whether the Schools repay their nett cost, after deducting the grants in aid and the School fees, from an evangelizing point of view

Let something be done directly to influence the intelligent and educated youth in the State-Colleges. We have special Missions to the Jews, and the Mahometans; why not also to the enfranchised and enlightened Indian, who has learned to despise the Religion of his forefathers, and has to be taught the better way? Let a beginning be made with the small, yet intelligent, company of Indian Law-students in this city. Amiable, gentle, and sociable, they might be impressed with the friendliness of Christian people during their temporary exile from their country, instead of being left quite to themselves. They frequent the meetings of learned societies, and are able to address audiences in the English Language; and I have heard a Mahometan of Bangál with singular simplicity speak up for the purity of his Religion, and, with startling paradox, for the happiness of Mahometan women. A Society called the London Moslem Mission has been formed to look after the Arab and Turkish

visitors to this city, but the natives of India are unnoticed, and yet some of them might, if brought under proper Christian influence, be powerful auxiliaries to the cause of Christian Missions on their return to India. The Oxford University Mission to Calcutta has attempted, but on extremely Ritualistic lines, to make an impression on the classes educated in the State-Colleges in that city.

The existing policy of Religious neutrality is sometimes attributed to the strong prejudices of men of the old school, who distrust the Natives, whom they despise, and the Missionaries, whom they dislike. Such is not the case. I, and those who think with me, have a very sincere attachment to the Natives, and a feeling of gratitude and respect to the Missionaries for their unselfish labours, which everywhere I loudly proclaim. and yet no person can oppose more earnestly than I do, any attempt to place the Education of the people of India in the hands of Missionaries uncontrolled by the State

I have heard Missionaries say: "Only place under my influence "the younger generations, and free them for a season from the "baneful influence of their homes, their Priests, their bad family "customs, and associations, and I could do much."

The State system of Education has done this work: it has swept the Augean stables: the mischief of centuries is undone. the link of tradition is snapped: the great giant Pagan is killed: the Missionary can meet such trained Intellects on a common platform of argument. It will scarcely be urged, that the curriculum of study, which is analogous to that of an English University, necessarily leads more to infidelity at Calcutta than at Oxford. The eternal Truths of Christianity are based upon Reason, as well as Faith. In dealing with a Brahmin or Mahometan, the Missionary has to combat prejudices, social sanctions, fears, and perhaps honest belief. It surely cannot be desired, that the *standard of right* or *objects of reverence* of a Hindu and Mahometan population should be maintained. It is for the world's advantage, that they should be weakened and die away. Education is the advance-guard and pioneer of true Religion.

I am not one of those, who can find no substratum of good in the two great Religions of India. I believe that, since God in His infinite Wisdom has permitted them to exist, there must be some deep laid Human element in the systems, which has given them such a strange vitality, that they have outlived Kingdoms and dynasties, but I never saw in the practice of either any guarantee of personal Morality, any encouragement to purity or holiness. The most abandoned females take part of their gains to their place of Worship, and they are received and form part of the establishment of some of the temples. The Thug and Murderer have their special duties. The Religious Leaders themselves, following the example of their gods, if Hindu, and of their Prophet, if Mahometan, allow

themselves a license in their private lives of the most exceptionable kind. The strong arm of the British Government has stamped out abominable crimes; Native religious reformers have from time to time sprung up, like the Jewish Prophets, denouncing the absence of the Moral element; and some Christian Missionaries have included in their sweeping censure the whole Nation, and unjustly so; for those, who know the rural population intimately, can say a word for their simple patriarchal lives, the strength of their family affections, and their freedom from gross Moral blemishes; anyhow, it is strange to find Missionaries shedding a tear for the loss of such Moral sanctions.

Why should discontent and disloyalty arise from the spread of Education? We heard such arguments, when Education was first encouraged in Great Britain forty years ago. We know how in France, and in Great Britain, poor gentlemen with large families of educated sons are at their wits' end to find a decent existence. Does it make them disloyal? Even, if their Education were of the most highly Religious kind, they would equally feel the want of employment and means of sustenance. Those who rule India, know that Knowledge is Power, and that by educating their subjects, they are arming them, as it were, for future attempts to obtain Political Freedom; but they have counted the cost, and preferred to do their Duty, whatever may be the consequences.

I am free to say that it is my wish, and the scope of my endeavour, that every Native of India should be in the way to become Christian, and I should be glad to see them brought straightforwardly under Missionary influence. On the door of the Mission-School should be written: "All who enter here, sooner or later must become Christians." But it is another thing to go about the matter indirectly, to twist the obvious intent of a great Charter; to express a sort of regret for the extinction of a false Religion, to fear for the morals of youths, because they have been educated in all the learning of the British people; and to impute disloyalty to a few hundred youths, who have preferred Occidental to Oriental training, and have availed themselves of the opportunity of obtaining Knowledge.

I must reply to another kind of argument, brought from another point of the compass, that the State has, in effect, departed from the lines of Religious Impartiality, because it permits Morality and Science to be taught in its Schools, which must undermine all, that is immoral and false in the Native Religions of India. I could understand the drift of this argument from the mouth of a Brahmin, or a Mullá, but not of a Missionary. It may be boldly stated, that all Religious Dogma, or Ritual, which is not grounded on Morality, and which is inconsistent with the highest development of the Human Intellect, is baseless, injurious to the well-being of Society, and may, without compunction, be left to the slow and

certain discipline of Enlightenment, and Moral Progress, for the best interest of the Human race will be advanced by their extinction. But herein is the great strength of the Christian, and he, at least, need not protest against such supposed breach of impartiality, for his Religion unites to the highest type of Morality to which the ancient world attained, characteristics, motives, and sanctions, to which Pagan moralists never could attain, and no sincere Christian fears the brightest light, or the most scorching glare, which Science, Oriental or Occidental, can let in upon the Truths of his Religion.

The God-fearing and thoughtful Christian Statesman has to consider by doing what, or by refraining from doing what, he can prolong the existence of the wonderful Empire of Great Britain in India, give free play to British Culture, opportunity for the spread of the Christian Religion, and planting the seeds of constitutional Government. We believe that our Religion is the best, and the most adapted for any conceivable type of race, country, and Civilization: we know that it spread over Europe in defiance of Rulers, senates, and philosophers: we believe that it will do the same in Asia and Africa, through the influence of example, argument, and Culture. To Great Britain among Nations has fallen the high privilege of being the champion of this new Crusade, but we have also an example to set to foreign countries and future generations, of an administration of subject Nations, conducted on the most exalted principles of Justice and Religious impartiality; and we should consider what our own feelings would be, if by any chance of Fortune our own country were to fall under the control of a Mahometan Power, and our children had to remain uneducated, or to attend Schools of Mahometan Propagandists.

The oft-repeated cuckoo-cry, "Why should the Bible be excluded from Secular Schools?" scarcely requires a reply, from those, who love the study of that blessed Book. What could be more humiliating than to degrade that Book to be the class-book of children learning to read, or to furnish the lesson to be translated as a task by non-Christian Boys under a non-Christian Teacher? We may imagine the inaccurate, the false, and the blasphemous interpretations put upon difficult passages, the awfully familiar way, in which the Divine name would be handled; the sceptical tone, in which the Miracles would be alluded to. What profit could come of such teaching?

It is with surprise, that I read in the pages of the *Missionary Herald* of the American Board for July, 1888 (placed in my hands while I am correcting this Essay), such expressions as the following: "It is bad enough that the Gospel is ignored in Government Institutions in India." "While we profoundly regret on Missionary grounds the course so largely adopted in the Colleges and Universities of India."

What does this mean? Can the citizens of a free Republic

wish that we should levy taxes without representation from a heathen people, and then by legislation without the concurrence of popular assemblies try and convert by the means of State-Education the children from their ancestral Faith?

I have carefully perused the Recommendations of the Commission on Education in India held in 1883, and the Resolution passed upon it under the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. That it has brought the practice of the Educational Department into conformity with the principles of the great Charter of 1854, has encouraged the system of grants in aid, and insisted on a much larger extension of Education to the Masses, I rejoice, but I fail to see what possible advantage Missionary Associations desired to obtain, or have obtained, from this inquiry. On the contrary, I anticipate a very contrary effect, as it was obvious to the Hindu and Mahometan, that Proselytism was the object, which induced a certain section of the Missionary bodies to take up the matter. They had little worldly interest in India, and it is not obvious, why they should press an extension of the Education of the masses, unless they wished to obtain facilities for doing so themselves, or why they wished the State-Colleges to be closed, unless they wished to supply their places with Propagandist Institutions. If a Council, consisting of Jesuit Priests, had pressed a measure of this kind upon Lord Ripon, the Protestant jealousy would have been roused. The Roman Catholic Bishops of British India knew the policy of the British Government too well to be at all alarmed at the possibility of their departing from a policy of sympathetic tolerance.

The proportion of numbers of the non-Christian to the Christian population in British India is overwhelming. What chance would a small Hindu or Mahometan Colony in London have against the School-Board in London? It is with the greatest difficulty, that elective Guardians of the Poor can be brought to treat the religious requirements of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in London with ordinary justice. I imagine that the Missionary will find in the School-Boards, consisting of a great majority of Hindu, Mahometan, Brahmoist, and Atheist, much bitterer antagonists than he has found in the State-Inspector of Schools: he will find King Stork has succeeded to King Log. Already in some of the great towns we hear of symptoms, that Young India will not submit to any insidious way of converting its children. The Lord's battle must be waged openly, and directly, not in the form of a somewhat cheaper secular Education. The Gospel must not be sandwiched betwixt Moral Philosophy and Mathematics.

The Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin, has this very year, 1888, published a Resolution on Discipline and Moral Training in State-Schools and Colleges. Ordinarily Morals rest upon the Sanction of Religion. In educated India that fulcrum is wanting. In

Aided Schools there is entire freedom of Religious instruction, and it is anticipated, that the number of such Institutions will be indefinitely increased, whether Christian, Mahometan, Hindu, or severely Secular and Atheistical. In State-supported Schools Religion is positively forbidden. The Education-Commission recommended, that an attempt should be made to compile a Moral Textbook, based on the fundamental principles of Natural Religion, which underlies all Dogma; and the Secretary of State has ordered, that this shall be practically enforced, notwithstanding the acknowledged difficulties, and danger of offending the feelings of the different sections of the population. Coupled with this is the duty of maintaining proper School-discipline, or, as the Viceroy's Resolution puts it, a system of teaching, having a direct bearing upon personal conduct.

As no doubt Western Civilization is sapping the framework of Indian Society, endeavour must be made to lay the foundation of reconstruction: the old order of things must be replaced by a newer and a better. Western Education is not wholly destructive, for it brings with it in the long run Western principles of discipline and self-constraint. The intellectual part of the Educational process has made good progress: it remains to produce that moral element, which forms the most prominent factor of the European theory of Education.

Such sentiments as the above I collect from the Resolution of the Viceroy. Scores of men in Europe, and North America, are totally devoid of the Religious element, though educated in Schools, and Colleges, and yet they discharge the functions of good citizens. The duty of the State as Educator goes no further. The moral sentiments of such men have not the sanction of Religious convictions, and yet such moral sentiments unmistakably exist. The moral conscience of Young India during the transition Period must rest upon the intellectual and moral training of the State Educational Institutions, supplemented by such portions of the Aided Institutions, as are managed upon Christian principles. If they do good, the Aided Institutions, managed by the Hindu, Mahometan, the Agnostic and Theosophist, will do infinite mischief. What moral sentiments can be inculcated in such Schools, though they may exist independent of all Schools from the contact and social environment of fellow-men? The more Protestant or Roman Catholic Aided Schools that are started, the greater will be the number of the Rival non-Christian Establishments.

I cannot recommend the Protestant Missionary Societies to enter upon such hazardous enterprises on the chance of a convert here and there: their funds would be more profitably spent in direct Methods of Gospel-teaching. If, as time goes on, it be deemed a necessity to counteract the annually increasing power of educated Anti-Christendom, let a separate Christian Education Society be

established in London on a Catholic basis of all the Protestant Churches. Such action would be continuous, and intelligible: if it be possible to stem the stream of Educated Atheism, by such means success might be obtained. Considering the phenomena presented by Great Britain and France, it seems doubtful.

A craze, or fantastical notion, is never so thoroughly exposed as by the statements of the extreme party of those who hold the opinion. I commend to notice the following extract from the *Times* Correspondent at Calcutta, in May of, this year, 1888: "At the last criminal Sessions, after a long trial, a Bangál youth of good position was found guilty of murdering his father, a well-known doctor practising in Calcutta. Parricide is a crime almost unknown among the Hindu, and this trial has therefore created a feeling of profound horror, especially among the more conservative sections of the Hindu. These men have been complaining bitterly for some time of the demoralizing influences of the present system of Education. While the ethical sanctions of the Hindu Religion are being loosened or destroyed by a purely secular and scientific Education, no precepts, either Religious or Moral, are permitted to take their place. The urgency of social Reform in this and other respects is becoming day by day a question of paramount interest to that portion of the Hindu Community, which views with dread the growing immorality of the younger generation, and this case has had the effect of focussing native opinion on the subject."

This reminds me of the poet Pope's satirical line:

"What filled the Butchers' shops with large blue flies"

The punishment of a parricide in ancient Rome was to be sown up in a sack with an ape and a viper, and thrown into the Tiber. The crime is so abnormal, so contrary to Human Nature, that I fear that no kind of Education would provide against it. Archdeacon Johnson, the Negro Archdeacon of the Upper Niger, told me, that a man knocked his mother on the head, because she was troublesome, and could not understand that he had done wrong. On the other hand, the terrible stories of the Houses of Pelops and Atreus, testify that the early Greeks, Pagan as they were, had a right conception of the crime. A few years ago I heard a Sermon in the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral attributing the immorality of a portion of the female population of London to the Board-Schools; and I imagine, that the allegation of the connection of the crime of Parricide with the system of secular instruction in British India is possibly as real, or probably as grossly false, as the Sermon!

Notes on Missionary Subjects, 1888.

XLVI.

EDUCATION AND MISSION SCHOOLS.

If anyone proposed to start an undenominational Society for the Education of the people of India, I should highly approve of it.

If any Missionary, or Association of Missionaries, of a high type of learning and talent were to be sent out to sit down in the neighbourhood of the State-Colleges, and devote themselves to making acquaintance with the students, giving Lectures, holding Meetings, using the Press as a lever, I should highly approve of it.

But a pure Missionary Society is formed to convert the non-Christian world, high and low, rich and poor, ignorant and educated, and we have no Apostolical authority for starting high-class Colleges, and putting Gospel-teaching like the meat betwixt the bread of classics and mathematics in a sandwich.

It is necessary to do so in a country, Mahometan or Pagan, where there are no other Institutions paid by the State, or the people: but in India we have just the class of State-Institutions, which the people require from a worldly point of view. We should supplement Religious teaching in the manner suggested above by me: this is the safest, surest, and most economical method.

To employ Heathen teachers is a neglect of our duty.

I know that I am kicking against the pricks in making these suggestions: I am not prepared to advise that the existing Institutions be closed, but I would purge out the non-Christian Teachers, and send out special Evangelists to work outside the College among the students.

I would also memorialize the Secretary of State for India that no European Teacher be sent to India from England without a caution, that it is his duty in a State-College to abstain, directly or indirectly, from teaching Religion, from spreading atheistic, or agnostic, doctrines; and the class-books used in all Colleges, supported by the State, should be carefully examined.

Religious neutrality is good, but it should be all-round neutrality.

Opinions forwarded to the Presbyterian Churches in Edinburgh in reply to their letter, 1889.

PART II.

ASIA, INDIA, AFRICA.

A. ASIA.

I

THE PARTITION OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

(AN ACADEMIC STUDY.)

THE end is at hand: the Power, that took Constantinople in the fifteenth, and frightened Vienna in the seventeenth, century, has come to its last gasp. "The Great Assassin," as Mr. Gladstone truly calls him, is on his deathbed: the vultures are about to swallow up his possessions, and the very name of "the unspeakable Turk" will no longer be on the lips of men. The events of the last half-century will be remembered only as a bad dream. It is not because the Religion of the ruling Power is Mahometan, for we know in India, that Mahometans make good Rulers, and good subjects; and a strong, wise Sultan might have ruled the beautiful Regions, and noble races, under his dominions with credit to himself, and happiness to his subjects, as he had, owing to the jealousy of each other, which his neighbours felt, no fear of foreign invasion: he had only to go with the age, repress crime, organize a reasonable system of taxation, and then let the people alone with free Religion, free Trade, free Press, free right of assembly, and locomotion. Never had any Empire such a magnificent physical and Geographical development, and such opportunities.

As a thoughtful traveller I have twice visited Constantinople, and different parts of the Empire, and at long intervals. It is of no use inquiring at this late hour, why all the attempts to heal the sick man, which commenced in 1853, in the time of the great grandfather of the present Emperor of Russia, have failed. The Empire is dropping into pieces, and not, like a wild beast, falling asleep quietly, but in outbursts of sanguinary massacre. The sentence must be passed:

"Deposition and Partition."

The Sultan, who himself was brought forward to replace a predecessor, who was removed on account of misgovernment, and who came into power on the strength of promises, which he never fulfilled, must now retire, with the ladies of his Harem, to that beautiful palace on the Bay of Naples lately occupied by the Ex-Khedive of Egypt; and for the sake of the unhappy people, the

Empire must be divided among seven European Powers, as any hope of the component parts standing alone as independent Nations, if set free, is visionary.

The population of the three Regions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, amounts to about forty-two Millions, which seems ridiculously small, when brought into comparison with the (almost) three hundred Millions of British India. The detail is as follows :

Europe . . .	Ten Millions and a half.
Asia . . .	Twenty-four Millions.
Africa . . .	Eight Millions.

This includes the population of tributary Provinces, such as East Roumelia, Bulgaria, Egypt. In an Empire, where a census has never been taken, no accuracy can be obtained. The population is divided into two great sections, Christian and Mahometan; but both are equally oppressed, and the difference of Religion is a factor, that renders more easy a just and impartial Rule, under which all are equal.

There seems to be a concurrence of opinion, that something must be done : it is not a matter of party politics, and the European Provinces of the Empire occupy the smallest portion of our attention : the Asiatic Provinces present the real difficulty. All agree as to the removal of the present Sultan, but differ as to the next step : some have the strength of their convictions, that the Empire must be divided up ; others suggest the establishment of a European Committee to introduce a scheme of thorough Reform, but this does not seem a practical policy, and we must fall back on Partition. I quote one opinion : " Whether they like it or not, " the condition of the Turkish Empire, the political condition, the " financial condition, the moral condition, of the Turkish Empire, " is such, that it must soon invite, in terms and in a manner, which " cannot be withstood, the anxious consideration and settlement of " the Powers. I venture to say that, though we long suffered the " Sick Man, he is sicker now than ever. His methods are exposed, " his Government is discredited, his massacres have got rid of some " of the best tax-paying subjects, and it transcends the ability even " of a Sultan or a Kurd to extract the taxes from an Armenian " corpse. A great darkness is falling over them. The writing " is upon the wall, and even if the Powers neglect these serious " intimations, which are only too visible in the state of Turkey, of " its condition of decay, they cannot long postpone that action, " however much they may wish they could "

I write from experience, that there is no more difficulty in ruling Mahometans than any other people. The Queen of Great Britain, and Empress of India, has many more Mahometan subjects than the Sultan of Turkey, as they exceed sixty Millions, and give no

trouble at all. It is the fault of the Ruler, not of the People, when Rebellion takes place: the Armenian difficulty is but a symptom of the mortal disease in the body politic of the Empire. The Roman and Greek Empires disappeared somewhat in the same way: they had outlived their day, and they were swept out of existence amidst scorn and indignation.

"Fiat Justitia, ruat Imperium."

The people were not made for a miserable man to rule them; the man was made to rule the people, and, if unfit, he had the alternative of the knife of the assassin, or abdication. The Sultan has had a very long rope allowed to him: the time has now come to draw it into a tight noose, and get rid of him.

Let me describe the Empire: I have traversed great parts of it, with an eye to the administration of subject-Provinces, familiarity with the annexations of Kingdoms, a deep-rooted sympathy for Asiatic and African populations, a profound contempt for Oriental Potentates, and a hearty desire to punish by one or other kind of "suspension" their extortionate, corrupt, and cruel Officials. I have held discussions with Pashas, European Consuls, Merchants, and Missionaries, on the one subject of "the Future of the Turkish Empire." It may be laid down unhesitatingly, that the hardest and most unsympathetic European Rule is better than the very best Asiatic Rule, and I know what it is in Russian Provinces of the Caucasus, the Algerian Provinces of France, and the British Dominions in South Africa: the shoe pinches there, and there is room for improvement, but wholesale massacres are not practised. The Empire consists of.

- I. ASIATIC . . A. Asia Minor.
 B. Syria, inclusive of Palestine.
 C. Mesopotamia.
 D. Cyprus, and the Asiatic Islands of the
 Archipelago.
 E. Arabia.
- II. AFRICAN . . A. Egypt.
 B. Tripolitána.
- III. EUROPEAN . A. Crete.
 B. Roumelia
 C. Bulgaria.
 D. European Islands of the Archipelago.

The system of administration is abominable: there is not one good feature. As far back as 1851, fresh from the annexation and administration of Provinces in the Panjáb, I made a deliberate study on the spot of the Turkish system of administration of

conquered Provinces. I was most receptive of new ideas, and knew the blots of our system in India. I wrote the results of my inquiry in 1854. It was difficult to say which system was worse than the other, the Police and Judicial, or the Revenue and Financial systems. There was enough everywhere to justify a Rebellion, if it were not only too probable, that the power would not be transferred from one set of Imperial scoundrels to another set of Patriotic scoundrels. The people had fallen very low in the scale of Culture, Religion, and feelings of self-respect: they were treated as slaves, and had become so: but a change has come over them, and the more manly races are setting the example of lawful insurrection, and justifiable resistance. If the people of British India were treated in this way, I should rejoice, if the great Rajpút warrior races, and the peaceful agriculturists, rose up and slew their oppressors, and retired into fortified villages, as the British found the agricultural population of North India at the beginning of this century at the close of the Mahometan Rule. Now there is not a walled town, or petty fortress, from the Indus to the Jamna, because there is no occasion for them, all uncultivated land is occupied, and the population is increasing at the rate of three Millions per annum.

Let me proceed to suggest a partition of this unhappy moribund Empire.

I. To the Kingdom of Greece should be assigned the Island of Crete, and all the European Islands of the Archipelago, but on the condition, that it does not alienate any portion without the consent of the Great Powers, and that it governs constitutionally. The Kingdom of Greece is the most likely to manage the affairs of these troublesome Islands satisfactorily by a wise and impartial system. The Mahometans of Crete are by race Cretans. any aliens might be ordered to return to their own country. Religious Toleration goes without saying.

II. Tripolitána might be handed over to Italy with great advantage to the inhabitants of that Province, and it is understood, that Italy desires it: it is not likely to be a profitable colony. France might possibly murmur, but to those, who have visited Algeria and Tunisia with an eye to Administration, as I have, it is clear, that France has as much on her hands, as she is equal to for a very long period, and is not strong in the art of ruling subject-Provinces.

III. To Great Britain would naturally fall Egypt and the Island of Cyprus. She is already in possession of both. I have elsewhere tried to point out, that Egypt is a dangerous Province to hold, with every flank indefensible, and exposed to different enemies, in addition to the awful prospect of the occupation of the Egyptian Sudan, and the Basin of the Nile as far as Albert Nyanza. The time may come, when we may bitterly regret our occupation of Egypt. I cannot see how India is affected by the occupation or

abandonment. Our position at Aden makes us actually master of the Straits of Bab-el-Mundeb : if the Suez Canal fell into hostile hands, and, if the passage of the Canal were sealed up, we should have no difficulty in continuing our commerce by the Cape of Good Hope route ; but the Commerce of the Mediterranean countries with the East would be absolutely destroyed, and the fleets of French and Italian steamers would lie idle. However, in the event of the disruption of the Turkish Empire we have no alternative but to occupy Egypt and Cyprus, or to look on, while hostile Powers did so.

IV. To France would naturally fall Syria, with which she is already so much connected, and Mesopotamia : the occupation of the former would be easy, and inexpensive : of the latter, she by her position in Syria is the best able to obtain and maintain possession of the Basins of the Euphrates and Tigris. New commercial life will be given to the Persian Gulf, and the introduction of a firm Government, and Railways, would work wonders. It is doubtful, whether France would gain much by this extension of her Empire.

V. To Germany possession of the Turkish Provinces in Arabia would be offered. At present it is, as it were, no man's land, and it will take time to occupy it fully, but it is infinitely better worth having than the flat, unproductive Regions in Africa, which Germany in her desire to be a "*Kolonial-Macht*" has laid her hands on. The situation of Germany is such, that it is not possible to provide her with any other portion of the partitioned Empire, and she must have something.

VI. To Austria will fall the whole of the so-called Turkey in Europe, with the exception of such portions like Albania, which it may be convenient to cede to Greece ; and the Provinces, which now hold a certain amount of dependence on the Sultan, such as Bulgaria and Western Roumelia, must be declared absolutely independent. The city of Constantinople must be entrusted by the great Powers to Austria : it will soon cease to be of any importance at all. The Imperial Court, and the cluster of Ambassadors, will disappear : all Turks, not natives of European Turkey, and all Armenians, should be compelled, within a certain space of time, to pack up, and cross over into Asia. St. Sophia should be restored to the Greek Church, but all the Mosques, erected by Mahometans, should be protected, as in British India. If the Mahometan Ecclesiastics, such as the Shaikh-al-Islam, are content to occupy the same position, as the Heads of the Greek and other Christian Churches, and keep themselves to the Religious affairs of their own co-religionists, they may be allowed to remain : otherwise they also must take themselves into Asia.

VII. The whole of Asia Minor up to the confines of Syria and Mesopotamia, and all the Asiatic Islands of the Archipelago, must pass into the hands of Russia, which Empire understands the

management of Mahometan subjects by enforcing Religious Tolerance and Civil Obedience. It is true that Russia, with her fleet and docks in the great Bay of Smyrna, will become one of the great Mediterranean Powers, and it is right that it should be so. France, Italy, and Great Britain, are quite able to hold their own, and the Mediterranean Sea has ceased to be the centre of gravity of the world, as it was in past centuries before the United States of North America came into existence, and the British Colonies grew to their present grandeur.

The Suez Canal, and the Straits of the Dardanelles, must be declared to be neutral, under the protection of the Great Powers, open to all vessels whether of Peace or War. The fortresses of the Dardanelles must be destroyed, and the Black Sea converted into a "*Mare Liberum*," so that the Commerce of the Danube and the other great Rivers, which flow into the Black Sea, be not impeded.

As to the claim of the Sultan of Turkey to be the successor of the Caliphs, and vice-Regent of God, it is mere moonshine, and stands on the same platform of ideas with the claim of the Bishop of Rome to Universal Sovereignty over Christians. In British India, with its sixty Millions of Mahometans, his very name is unknown.

The great thing to be dreaded, and avoided by mutual concession, is a European War; and it really appears, that this bone of contention can only be removed peaceably in some such way as above described. It may possibly be that Asia Minor may prove a "*damnosa hereditas*" to Russia, as Egypt and the Basin of the Nile most surely will prove to Great Britain, and Mesopotamia to France. Still, some Power must undertake these distasteful duties: to get rid of this hateful Mahometan effete Power out of Europe, and Western Asia, and North Africa, is in itself a Christian Duty, as there is not one word to be said in favour of maintaining this abominable system, and, left to itself, it would fall to pieces in the midst of a sea of blood of its unfortunate subjects, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Druse.

October, 1896.

II.

PROTEST AGAINST THE UNNECESSARY UPROOTING OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION IN ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA.

THERE is a tendency on the part of the Anglo-Saxon to depreciate the social customs of other Nations, more especially of those, who are on a different level of Culture, such as the people of Asia and North Africa. I purposely exclude from my argument all races admittedly in a state of barbarism, and my remarks have no reference to the attempts of Missionary Associations to convert the Souls of non-Christian races

Those who survey the whole world from the point of view of an Ethnologist and Sociologist, cannot but be aware, that it is not only in the colour of the skin, white, yellow, brown, red, and black, and the character of the hair, that one race differs by a Law of Nature from another, but there is a great cleavage in social customs, such as the fashion of dress, the forms of speech and writing, the unwritten Laws of politeness, the character of food eaten, and the mode of eating it, the manner of disposing of the dead, the popular prejudices, and many other Human details.

There is, however, a general approximation and closer contact of the Nations of the round world in progress: no one wishes to retard it. There is a general softening of manners and removal of prejudices.

There are races and races. It may be possible, that some are not so pleasant to consort with as could be wished, but it must be emphatically stated, that as regards the majority of our fellow-subjects in British India, it is possible to form acquaintances and friendships, based on a mutual respect, and to associate with them on the same terms as with one's own countrymen, notwithstanding that they differ from us in Religion, Language, dress, social customs, prejudices, names, mode of address, etc.

My protest is against the attempt to uproot the ancient Oriental civilization of races, which come under the influence of European Powers, and to destroy their ancestral customs and manners of social life in all matters, which are not contrary to the principles of Moral Law.

It has been sternly laid down in judicial decisions in British

India, that nothing can be theologically right which is morally wrong. If Jephthah had carried out his rash vow at Lahôr, I should have hung Jephthah.

I read a paper lately to a Young Men's Christian Association in London, "On the attitude, which a Missionary should occupy to a non-Christian people, as regards their Religion, their customs, and their prejudices." I enforced the duty to do Christian things in a Christian way. I wish to carry this principle further, and to apply it to all visitors, sojourners, and Officials, of European origin and Culture, who are connected with those coloured races of Asia and North Africa, which are not barbarian. Other speakers will treat on this occasion with the barbarian races.

Are we sure that the social customs of Europe and the United States of North America, are in themselves abstractly the best? At any rate, they differ very much from each other. It would not be difficult to distinguish a native of India, who had been "Portuguesed," from one who had been "Anglicized" in his externals, both would be objects of derision. Why do we meet the title "Mr." placed before the name of a respectable Hindu or Mahometan of ancient lineage? Why are the female members of his family called "ladies"? Why in a French Colony are all the residents compelled to learn French, and in British India is the study of English indirectly forced upon the educated youth of the country, notwithstanding that they have magnificent vernaculars, older than, and as polished as, English, the outcome of a Language, dead and disused except by Scholars, which is equal to, or superior to, Greek and Latin? How pitiful does an Indian appear in European garments, whose bearing is graceful and dignified in those of his own country? I might pass under review other features of social life, but my opinion is decided, that the best policy is to leave them alone in all things lawful, and allow the features of their life to develop according to their own standards, and not to attempt to convert a high-class Indian gentleman into a Briton of the middle classes.

An educated Native of India, when he receives his oral instructions as an Official in a Court, renders the rough, and often ungrammatical, sentences of the European judge or magistrate, into an accurate, faithful, and strictly legal form of words, to make up the record of the case; if called upon to write a letter on public or private affairs in any of the Languages of India, he will do it with extreme elegance, and suitability to the rank of the party writing and the party written to: there is a recognized style of correspondence which is followed. Now ask the Native clerk trained in the English Schools to write an English letter, and he will produce a strange bombastic, Johnsonian document, painful to read, and causing the training, which could lead to such a production, to be despised. Scores of such letters are handed about

as the specimens of the new culture of the Anglicized Indian, to be laughed at.

Another party wishes to reform the Marriage Laws, or the Dietary, of a Nation of nearly three hundred Millions, because they do not conform to the custom of the English middle classes. In the East, Marriage takes place at an extremely early age, and the boys and girls, as we should describe them, are parents. If this practice were destructive of life, we should not have a population increasing at the rate of three Millions per annum. Those who have lived among the people of India in their hundreds of market-towns and thousands of villages, can testify to the absence of outwardly visible signs of suffering, which are obvious to the traveller in North Africa from Egypt to Morocco. There are no Divorce Courts in India, except for the convenience of the Europeans.

Why not leave the subject of Matrimony to gradual modification under the influence of Education, both male and female, Civilization of an indigenous character, and individual freedom?

So as regards the articles of consumption by way of food and drink; what possible advantage can come from an association composed of male and female residents in a different country, attempting to control a vast Oriental population, crying out, "You must not eat, or smoke, opium; you must not drink alcohol, etc."? This advice is more painfully ridiculous, as the people of India know, that the English are the most drunken race in the world, while the majority of themselves, from habit, poverty, and Religion, are total abstainers.

Polygamy and polyandry are distasteful subjects, and yet the former recalls the names of King David and King Solomon. The practice of polygamy, though legal both to Hindu and Mahometan, is dying out. The Government of India tolerates no customs contrary to Morality, such as the burning of widows, the slaughter of female children, the burying alive of lepers, the exporting of persons to be slaves; any form of injury to life, whether under Religious sanction or purely secular, is sternly repressed. There are no eunuchs recorded in the last census; the class has ceased to exist, as the process of making them so is punishable by criminal Law.

My references are chiefly to India, because thence I can produce facts, as an eye-witness, and possessing considerable experience. The principles of the Indian Government are essentially conservative in the best sense, and sympathetic, going to the extreme limit of Religious Tolerance, such as the world has never witnessed before; so as regards the legal consequences of Marriage and inheritance, the old Laws of the country are maintained. No attempt is made to introduce Roman Law or English Law, unless on subjects not provided for by Indian Law; but the asperity of patriarchal Law is checked: no wife is made over to her husband against her will; the status of the female is elevated to equality with the male

The social Culture of each Nation or tribe grows and develops by its own Laws; and just as the Language of each Nation defies the ukases of Sovereigns or the Acts of Parliament, so Culture forms itself on its own pattern, borrowing at its own discretion from its neighbours. Any attempt to uproot an ancient Culture is futile, as well as foolish.

It may be corrupted, as the Civilization of Equatorial West Africa is being corrupted, by contact with Europeans, and the import of liquors, gunpowder, and lethal weapons; it may be improved gradually and insensibly, by the silent influence of male and female Education in their own Language, and the repression of violence and disorder by stern impartial Laws, as is the case in British India. The Culture, which will be developed there in the Twentieth century, will be an interesting study to the anthropologist—the general softening of the manners of a people already ready to be gracious in their manners; a sense of the absence of lawlessness, and the presence of personal liberty; a realm of Law, no license allowed to intolerant teachers of new Religious conceptions, but an opportunity of studying new principles, peacefully brought before the intelligence, and home to the heart, of the people; no license to ridiculous fadmongers; free and easy contact with distant Provinces, no permission to foreigners to insult by word, printed matter, or pictures, the ancient customs and Religious convictions of a great Nation.

An amount of forbearance to customs, which to European eyes seem ridiculous, is required, and should be enforced on foreigners, who introduce themselves into any country, the natives of which never invited them. If foreigners were to introduce themselves into England, and Arab Mahometans were to get possession of a plot of ground close to Westminster Abbey, erect a conspicuous mosque with minarets, and call to prayer in loud tones, I doubt whether the populace of London would bear it. They would at first treat it contemptuously as a nuisance, and the police would deal with it in the category of dustmen, fruitsellers, and milkman's cries, or a street-band of nigger-singers and music; but there would be a limit to patience.

But what can be said of Englishmen, who presumably enter China on a Christian Mission, erecting on a sacred hill in Fu Chau a lofty building, which overhung the place of Chinese Worship? The Chinese have a custom called "Fung Shu," which considers the falling of the shadow of another building on a sacred place as desecration. If the Chinese from time to time rise up against the "Foreign Devils" and take their revenge in an atrocious manner, this is the real cause: that they do not want the presence of overbearing and unsympathizing foreigners in their midst.

In British India Europeans are compelled by equal Laws to conduct themselves with restraint, and to their honour it may be

said that they do so. Thirty years ago, however, an American erected a chapel on the edge of a Sacred Tank in Northern India for the convenience of addressing the Hindu devotees while bathing. It was a gross outrage. Let us imagine a body of Mormons, or Theosophists, erecting a preaching-shop just outside the doors of Westminster Abbey. I took Lord Canning, the Viceroy, down to see it, and by his orders had it razed to the ground.

Now it is possible, though not probable, that a compound Indo-European Language may come into existence by the same process, that produced the great Urdu *lingua franca* or "camp" Language of the Turki and Persian invaders of India. Yet care is taken by the Government of British India, that administration and Education in all its departments are carried out in the vernacular of each Province; they are noble forms of speech and as numerous as the Languages of Europe, one, at least, is spoken by eighty Millions. No encouragement is given to change of the Native dress of the Officials; they are expected to uncover their feet, and cover their heads in the presence of their superiors. This marks a great principle.

The conclusion I have come to after fifty years of experience, wide reading, and careful consideration, is summed up in the few words. "Leave the people of Oriental countries alone." Maintain a firm, impartial criminal and civil Court of Justice, with no prejudice against, or favour for, the black, white, red, or yellow, skin; free locomotion, free right of assembly, free Religion, free trade, free Press (subject to the same limitation as in England), opposition to old women's fads, and the gushy suggestions of impertinent intruders into the domestic habits of a Nation settled in the same Region many more centuries, and a population very much more numerous, than our own. Customs and the salient features of Civilization will gradually modify. Respect for Human life, and respect for rights of property and the liberty of the person, create a social environment totally unknown before; we do not want the great races of India, and China, and the extreme Orient, or the barbarian races of Africa, south of the Equator, to be trimmed to the model, intellectual and social, of the middle classes of England. They are free from some of the vices of British Civilization, and possess some virtues, which we fail to attain; although they have compensating vices of their own, the result of ignorance, oppression, and isolation from contact with other Nations. Leave them alone to tread their own path, and develop their own social idiosyncrasies under a realm of impartial and absolute Law.

Meeting of British Association at Ipswich, 1895.

III.

LATE EVENTS IN CHINA.

IN your issue of the 22nd you published a letter from the Editor of the C M.S. *Intelligencer*. I do not yield to him in the least on the subject of personal devotion to the cause of Christian Missions; but my regret is, that zeal in the cause sometimes crushes all sympathy with the feelings of those who, unhappily for them, are not convinced by the arguments of the Missionary, who sometimes, not always, and in some fields, not everywhere, forget that they are emissaries of Gospel-Peace, and act as overbearing Britons, resting on the Arm of the Flesh.

The Church Missionary Society had been in possession of landed property on the hill in Fu Chau for some period in undisturbed peace, and might have been so still. The Missionaries knew of the prejudice of the Chinese on the subject of the shadow of a building falling on edifices devoted to their Religious Worship, as established for centuries, called Fung Shu. A tender Christian consideration for such national prejudices on their own sacred hill might have held back a judicious agent of a foreign Society from erecting a lofty building on a spot, which would arouse popular indignation. "Do unto others what you will that men should do unto you," is a Christian maxim. How would the people of London tolerate a Mahometan Mosque, with the loud call to prayers, under the shadow of Westminster Abbey? The result was, that the whole Mission had to move away from the spot.

It was scarcely worthy of the Editor to attribute to the British Consul discreditable motives: if they were true, why were they not denounced at the time? At any rate, the opinions of Sir Rutherford Alcock, late Minister in China, were distinct, that he regarded the action of the British Missionaries as an outrage on the Religious feelings of a friendly Nation: I myself consulted him on the subject at the time.

At the Meeting of the British Association at Ipswich I stated this clearly. In British India the Missionary is regarded as the friend of the people, whether converted or unconverted. It is not so in China.

A copy of the letter of the Editor has been forwarded to the Foreign Office.

Letter to Record, November, 1895.

PALMYRA AND ZENOBIA. By Dr. W. WRIGHT.

THIS, no doubt, is a beautiful Book : the illustrations are above all praise ; the style is simple and unpretentious. The Author describes what he saw with his own eyes, and touched with his own hands : he was a sojourner for a period of years in the region of Syria ; not a mere carpet-bagger, or a Long-Vacation-tourist. He was well acquainted with the Arabic Language, as a medium of conversation with the lowest classes : he was full of sympathy with and love for the people, to whom he had gone forth as a Christian Missionary of the Presbyterian Church. He was not one, who treated non-Christians as the children of Satan, as is the fashion nowadays among Missionaries ; nor are his pages defaced by that sensational pseudo-religious twaddle, and Scripture-misquotations, which discredit modern Publications from Missionary circles, though sometimes we could wish that epithets were omitted. This is a great merit : the writer is evidently a good and intelligent man, with his eyes open. His former publication on the " Empire of the Hittites," which is a very meritorious work, as modest as it is sound, assures the reader, that the writer has studied the best contemporaneous Authorities, and is not a novice out on his first archaeological tour, but a solid contributor to Knowledge, the result of personal investigations on the spot. But in assessing the value of his assertions of fact, or inductions of opinion, on subjects Philological, Palaeographical, Historical, especially Old Testament History, we must recollect, that his latest information dates back to 1874, and in the intervening twenty-one years the young giant of Higher Criticism has arrived at maturity, and that certain crucial points in Philology and Palaeography have, by the result of excavations in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and the study of manuscripts on papyrus, stone, and baked clay, been profoundly modified.

What we do object to is the author's constant use of the word " World " as synonymous with the Roman Empire at its zenith. Those of us, who have resided in, and are familiar with, nearer and further India, China, the extreme Orient, with a population then, as now, of more than half the total of the population of the globe, resent the restriction of this term to the comparatively small territorial Empire of Rome. The Indians and Chinese had never heard of the name of Rome, and in their Millions, inhabiting great cities, and putting up grand Inscriptions all over a vast Empire, would treat with scorn the claim of a Western Empire to be called " the World." In the modern writer it indicates an absence of

a due proportionate estimate of the outcome of the powers of the Human race before the great Anno Domini. In the last quarter of a century we have learned that the Orient of that period does not yield to the Occident of that period in any department of Human study, genius, and endeavour.

The subject of the Book for little more than one-half is Palmyra and Zenobia, and so the Book is entitled; but the other half is occupied by a tour in Bashan, as far south as Bosrah, and the headings of the pages are still Palmyra and Zenobia, which is an error in the editing. The tour in Bashan supplies subjects of passing interest, but requires a much fuller detailed narrative, and it is not possible to get up much interest in the mythical Og, King of Bashan, whom the writer very properly places in the same category (p. 292) "with Jack the Giant-Killer and the Giant Despair." Dr. Wright did not take the trouble to look for his "wondrous bedstead," which no doubt was a name assigned to some feature in the mountain ranges or some ancient stone structure, of which we have the analogue of King Arthur's Round Table at Caerleon in South Wales, and King Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh.

Palmyra stands in a different category: there is no parallel in the history of Human folly to this forest of useless columns in the midst of a desert: the writer admits that they are not of marble, nor even white in colour (p. 171), that the city had a sudden rise and no element of enduring stability (p. 169): there was a glamour of Civilization without any reality. The writer unnecessarily dilates on the names of Solomon and Tadmor, on Zenobia one thousand years later and Palmyra, describing them as the "most wondrous Oriental king and queen." We know better now. In a Durbar in British India, Solomon, with his petty Kingdom, not bigger than two ordinary Indian civil districts, would only take place as a petty Raja, the son of a freebooting shepherd, who had founded a little Kingdom; Zenobia, or Zeinab, would have sat by the side of the Begum of Bhopál, or the Rani of Lahore, the intriguing widow of an adventurer, who contrived to play off Rome against Persia.

The writer allows himself to use some of the Missionary Report-tags, against which we must protest, such as "the blight of Islam, whose genius is destruction" (p. 316); "they built temples to their gods, which were no gods" (p. 315). A calm and unbiassed study of History tells us, that the prosperity of a country, the magnificence of cities, and the degree of Wisdom of the people, do not in any way depend upon the dominant Religious convictions of the country for the time being. What were Rome and Greece under the prevalence of pagan Religious convictions, and what are they now?

Pall Mall Gazette, 1895.

PETROLEUM WELLS AT BAKÚ.

ONE of the wonders of modern times is the overflowing abundance of petroleum near Bakú, in the Trans-Caucasian Provinces of South Russia. It is probably destined to drive the oil imported from Philadelphia, United States, out of the market. It is conveyed by Steamer up the Volga to supply North Russia, or by railway across Trans-Caucasia to Batum on the Black Sea: the railway is furnished with hundreds of oil-tanks to supply the commerce of Turkey and the Mediterranean. It is contemplated to construct a pipe of the length of 500 miles, by which a continuous stream of this valuable liquid may be kept in motion from the Caspian to the Black Sea. So impetuous is the discharge that, when a well is opened, for the first four or five days the liquid is thrown up into the air to the height of forty feet, and a photographic view of this phenomena is presented to our readers. The quality of the oil has been tested by scientific men, and found to be equal to, if not to exceed, the quality of any other Petroleum wells; but in quantity it appears to exceed the united stock of the world, for the wells are found on both sides of the Caspian Sea, and on both sides of the range of the Caucasus.

The existence of the naphtha flames has been known from time immemorial, and could not escape observation, as at night a light is given out by the fire escaping from the soil, which in case of a high wind develops itself into flames. Moreover, some of the jets discharge themselves into the sea, and one of the sights of the place is to go out in a boat, and set the sea on fire, which fact is certified by all late travellers. The origin of the Fire-Worship of the ancient Fire-worshippers is to be traced back to this spot: one temple still stands as a Monument of the old-world Religion: the Religion of the Parsi in Bombay apparently has no connection with it. The Inscriptions are in Indian written characters: there used to be Indian Priests, but they have sold their interests to the Petroleum speculators, and disappeared, since the Deity of Fire, so long worshipped, has been turned to a Commercial use by being drawn up from the bowels of the earth, filled into tanks, discharged into iron pipes, and refined into kerosene for foreign shipment.

"Ex luce lucellum."

There is supposed to be some connection between the Naphtha-worship at Bakú, with the Naphtha-worship at Jwala Múkhi in the

Kangra District of the Jhalandhar Doab in the Panjáb. I have myself visited this spot, and watched the Worship of the flame as it appears from beneath the rocks

Another amazing result of the abundance of Petroleum is that a new city has sprung up, and that the Caspian Sea is covered with Steamers, not at the expense of the State, but for purely Commercial purposes. But a fleet constructed for Commerce can always be utilized for Military purposes when occasion offers. The Russian Government is able with the supply of oil Steamers to transport in one night ten thousand men to Michaelovsk in the Trans-Caspian Province, and within a fortnight they would be at Herat in Afghanistan, before even the tidings of their departure had reached England

I purchased the Photographs from which the engravings in the *Graphic*, 1883, are taken, at Bakú, which I visited in September, 1883

The Graphic. 1883.

VI.

FIRE-TEMPLES AT BAKÚ ON THE CASPIAN SEA, AND AT JWALA MUKHI IN NORTH INDIA.

It is by my special request, that my friend Colonel Charles Stewart, of the Indian Army, has written this paper to illustrate the Photographs of Inscriptions, which were taken at his expense, at Bakú. His visit preceded mine, and he saw the Priest still in possession of the building, and he was a native of India. When I visited Bakú, and drove up to the Petroleum-Fields, I found that the Priest had sold his interests to the Petroleum Company, and was gone; I thought of the last oracle of Delphi.

The cost of engraving these Photographs by the Platinotype process has been supplied by Colonel Stewart and myself, in order that the Society should not be put to expense. No attempt has been made to translate the Inscriptions, or to express opinion as to the circumstances, under which this survival of the Ancient Fire-Worship of Central Asia has maintained itself. Our object has been to record the Inscriptions and notify the facts: it may lead others to write more fully on the subject. Unless some steps are taken to interest the Russian Government in these Inscriptions, the building will probably be pulled down, the materials used for Petroleum stores, and the Inscriptions disappear. One incidental advantage of

publishing this paper will be, that the attention of Russian Scholars will be called to the subject

Dr T. H Thornton, M.R.A S , has called my attention to the following facts .

“ In the Lahore Museum there is a Sculpture from a Buddhist “ Monastery in the Yusufzai country. The Sculpture represents a “ number of young men pouring water from jars upon a Fire-Worship “ Altar, while some ancient devotees are standing round looking very “ disconsolate. According to General Junningham, in a printed note “ on this Sculpture, it is intended to symbolize the destruction of “ Fire-Worship in the Yusufzai country, by the introduction of the “ comparatively new Religion of Buddha ” Dr. Thornton had a Photo of this Sculpture, but he presented it to the University of Leyden. A copy of General Cunningham’s printed Note will no doubt be found in his Archaeological Survey-Reports.

In October, 1846, more than fifty years ago, in the course of my Winter-tour in camp round my District of Hoshyarpūr of the Jhalandhar Doab in the Panjāb, I crossed over into the District of Kangra for the purpose of visiting the far-famed and unique Fire-Temple of Jwala Mūkhi. My journal of that year supplies me with the following facts .

I crossed the River Beas, and rested during the heat of the day in a village, and arrived at the sacred spot at dusk It was on the occasion of the Annual Festival, and great crowds were assembled : bells were ringing, and cymbals clanging on all sides. The town is beautifully situated at the foot of a lofty range of hills, and on an eminence was conspicuous the Temple, which had rendered the place famous.

In the middle of the night I visited the Sacred Fire : the whole town seemed to be a succession of steps leading to the gates of the Temple. I took off my shoes at the entry, and, passing through the crowds, who were seated with burning lamps before them, I entered the brazen gates into the *sanctum sanctorum*, and was conducted by the Priests to the very spot, where the Naphtha-flames were bursting from the ground There was no possibility of deception there, as an ordinary Natural Phenomenon had been transformed by the ignorant population into a Deity. The devout worshippers pressed forward to burn ghee, and wax tapers, in the beautiful flames : flowers were thrown in, and offerings of money laid on the Temple-floor. It must have been hot work for the attendant Priests to stand for hours near those powerful flames, which had no escape by orifices in the roof, for over our heads was a canopy of gold presented by the late Maharāja Ranjit Singh : the building of the Temple was solid and substantial. I returned to my tent much gratified. The next day I received numerous visits from all classes, as in those days the presence of the white Ruler

was a new phenomenon. I went again to visit the sacred flame : in the morning goats were sacrificed by devotees : I was vexed, that I had not been informed, as I should liked to have witnessed this survival of the Ritual of Early Mankind.

I climbed the heights behind, and looked down on the motley group below me the devotee pilgrims had come a long distance, and were showering cowries upon the golden canopy, on which troops of monkeys were quietly basking. Crowds passed from spot to spot : the whole hive was in motion, and I watched them with interest. A pilgrim from Lower Bengal, a Calcutta Babú, had travelled many thousand miles to see this Temple, and worship : he was a man of education, and coming forward to salute me with respectful bow, addressed me in English, and we entered into conversation. He asked me whether I had ever witnessed a more sure and sufficient manifestation of the great Power, which created and ruled the world, the 'Paraméshvára,' or, as he described it, 'the God Almighty,' than those living flames, coming up night and day from the centre of the earth ? I disappointed him by telling him, that I did not think more of it, than I did of the fountains of water, which sprang up from their secret depths, and the flames which came into existence from the rubbing of sticks of wood together ; in fact, that it was a beautiful and rare phenomenon of Nature, but nothing more, and quite unworthy of Worship by educated men, who spoke English.

We had only conquered the Native Government of this Province, and annexed it, in the Spring of this very year, 1846, and as a reward for my services in the field at the age of twenty-five, I had been placed in charge of this district, newly conquered, under the supervision of my great master, John Lawrence : our art of Government was to live amidst the people, without guards, and so gentle and peaceful was the population of these beautiful Regions, that I was permitted to enter their homes, and their sacred places of Worship. Religious Toleration is the great Jewel of Empire : in our Annexation-Proclamations we had told them, that every man was at liberty to serve the great Creator in the way, which seemed best to him : they believed it, and at the end of half a century we feel, that the policy was a wise one.

Note to an Article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society on the subject by Colonel Stewart, Consul-General at Odessa.

VII.

GARDEN-TOMB AT JERUSALEM.

At Easter the thoughts of Christians turn naturally to the spot where the Saviour of Mankind was crucified, and the rock-hewn temple, where His body was deposited for the space of one day and two nights. There has been lately in the columns of the *Times* a considerable number of letters written by travellers, who desire to shake the old faith in the localities, which since the time of the Emperor Constantine have been recognized by the Christian Church, and to recommend other spots as more suitable. The following remarks apply only to the Tomb

There is a uniform and unbroken tradition of more than fifteen centuries in favour of the old site under the well-known Dome of the Sepulchre-Church. No doubt the site of Golgotha was at that time outside the wall of the city, for "Jesus suffered without the gate," but who can presume to say after the lapse of so many centuries, and the total destruction of the city more than once, exactly where the walls ran on that side? The Christian Community at the time of Constantine knew very well, that Golgotha was without the walls, and that the grave was near to that place. We must give them credit for a much better knowledge of the topography than we possess: and they placed a much higher value on the importance of finding the very spot than Protestants are taught to do. They were very much in earnest, and that this spot was selected by Constantine, and his mother Helena, is an incidental proof, that that spot was known to have been outside the walls of the city, and, if this point be admitted, all basis of future argument really seems to disappear.

The present Jerusalem comprises an area once included by three walls: ancient Jerusalem had only two walls. They are described by Josephus. The first wall included the city of David, and Solomon, the second was surrounded by a suburb of gardens and orchards, and a few years afterwards Herod Agrippa included this suburb within a third wall.

The recently suggested site of the Tomb is authenticated by nothing except sentimental fancy. The speculative owner of this garden wants a large price for his site, and there is always a plenty of sentimental enthusiasts to take up a craze of this kind. No sooner will this new site have been purchased than a still newer,

and more suitable, one will be found. All cities have not the good fortune of Athens and Rome to have physical features, and architectural remains, that cannot be mistaken. A talented architect of the last generation, James Fergusson, tried to persuade people, that the pre-umed site of the Temple of Solomon was on the wrong side of the valley of Hinnom, and should be transferred to Hakal-Dama, the Field of Blood. The money wasted in the purchase of this otherwise valueless garden, if contributed to the Palestine Exploration Fund, might lead to the solution of topographical problems in Jerusalem of real importance, or to the disinterment of the Two Tables of Stone attributed to Moses, which, if they ever existed, must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Temple. It is noteworthy that Major Conder, who has been attached to the Palestine Exploration Fund for many years, and who may be credited with a better knowledge of the subject than the casual amateur enthusiasts, peremptorily rejects the claims of this Tomb, and yet he asserts the claim of another Tomb about two hundred yards distant. So, in fact, there may be in future rival objects of interest: (1) The Tomb known as that found in the time of Constantine. (2) The Tomb recommended by Major Conder. (3) The new Gordon Tomb, generally known as "General Gordon."

It is not unusual to sneer at mediæval monks, who were led by feelings of mistaken piety to give a locality for every spot mentioned in the Scriptures. Is it desirable, that in the Nineteenth century we should go back to such old-world weaknesses, only justified by the circumstances of the period, and the superstition of the believers of that Epoch?

Another controversy is raised as to the Skull-Hill, or presumed site of the Crucifixion. Here Major Conder is a strong advocate for a new departure. I have twice visited Jerusalem at an interval of thirty years. At the time of my first visit, in 1852, nothing was heard of the Skull-Hill or Gordon-Tomb. During the second visit, in 1885, I heard a great deal on both sides, and visited the localities, and my opinion is, that there is no proof whatever, and that for a real Christian it is well that proof is not forthcoming. The Church of Rome may place a value on the House of Loretto, transferred from Nazareth to Italy in a miraculous manner, and in the chamber in which, according to the Bull of the Pope, the Virgin Mary was born at Jerusalem, but the true Christian is content with the striking features of Mountains and Valleys, which are unchangeable: our Lord in His earthly pilgrimage looked on these.

Stamford Mercury, Easter Day, 1893.

B. INDIA.

VIII.

THE FAMILY IN INDIA.

AGAIN the day has come round: how well all the events of that day last year come back to me! It was at daybreak that the messenger stood at my door: "Your child is dying: hasten, hasten," was all that the telegraphic wire conveyed within ten minutes I was flying along, spite of heat and dust, from Lahór to the distant hills. The sun rose in its splendour, the splendour of July; still in my ear rang the sound, "your child is dying": the sun set, and night came on; still the same echo. At midnight I was stopped by a messenger, and then read, for the first time, what was the ailment, and that the little one still lived. Press on, press on: I may still kiss the little face again; I may still touch the waxen fingers, though, perhaps, I may never hear the voice again.

At daybreak I was at the foot of the hills, and mounted my horse. Later news reached me. "She still lives," was the guarded message. Ride on, ride on, through the sweet undulating valley: the hours glide by. horses are changed; and see, from afar, the white house, which contains the dear ones, is glistening on the opposite hill. I stop and slake my thirst at the stream; but mind not the blistered hands or the feeling of exhaustion of an overstrained frame. Another note is met: "she is not dead"; I shall not be met by a sad procession winding down the hillside; I shall still see her again. Up the hillside of sweet Dharamsála; nothing is known by casual passers-by. I dare not put the direct question; I pause to ask faintly, and with drooping head, "what news?" at a friend's house, and pressing on, I thank God from my heart, that I am in time; that my little one, my first-born, still hangs between life and death, but still lives. I hasten into the room, and look at the poor, moaning, senseless, sightless form: is this my gay little one? God's will be done!

Often have I pondered over what happened at that time. In the agony of the moment I had prayed, not for the child's life, but for guidance and resignation. "If the child's life be spared, she shall leave this sad country, and return to her native land": thus thought I; and some few days afterwards my wife entered my room sadly, and announced in despair the opinion of the doctor. "What will become of us?" My child's life had indeed been spared, but I had lost my wife and children; the rooftree of my home had been pulled down.

Ah! the Indian home, with the children pattering about the house, followed by their sable attendants! The room has been darkened all the long Summer day; the little ones have slept, played, slept again; wakened up, ate, and played again; the long, wearisome, languid day, so dark, that only one ray of light comes in from an upper window, so silent, that only the splash of water at the window, or the moaning of the punkah, reaches the ear. But hark! the sounds of evening are coming on; the birds begin to be busy; there is a sound of a-going in the trees; the sinking sun scatters a glory over the landscape; the servants begin to move, and windows and doors to open; round come the ponies and little carriage; the children are dying to be out of their prison, their voices are heard everywhere, and at length away they go, surrounded by their attendants. As night falls they return, and the silent house is again alive with sounds, but for a season only, for soon the little ones are hushed in their slumbers, and lie like snowdrops folded in their beds. How much is going on all day, when they are there! What occasion for thought, for anxiety, for joy! What a deep, death-like silence falls on all, when they are gone!

Gather together the playthings, now no longer wanted; the little bed, the saddle of the pony, the high chair, are grouped together as useless lumber, yet priceless in the eyes of the father. Hang up on the wall the little straw hat and the little shoes, that his eyes may fall on them as he wakes in the morning. *Those days and those children can never return*; they may live, and grow up, and be the comfort and joy of his old age, but, as the children of his Indian home, they are gone for ever.

Others have known greater sorrows; they have seen the little one struck down by disease, never to rise up again; the blow has been repeated, and the little cot put tearfully out of sight, as recalling blessings too great to endure; or haply the sorrow has come suddenly, when the father is absent; the dying child prattles of him, and calls for him; but he comes too late. The mother meets him with tearful eye, and empty arms, and can only point to the grave, where moulders his heart's darling. There is an oppressive silence in the house, for the parents have launched all their happiness in one frail bark, and the wreck is total: the thread of their hearts was tied up in that tiny form. No more will little feet rush down the passage to meet the father returning from his office; no more will he see at his window the Madonna-like forms of his wife and child; fingers pointing to him as he approaches; no more will waxen arms, and gleeful smiles, be ready to welcome him. Still, his lesson has been learned, the heavenly ministers have not been sent to him in vain. With all its trouble, with all its sorrow, he would not change his lot, nor unlive that life, for the effects are humbling and humanizing, he ceases to

be defiant, and haughtily walk in the air; he becomes less selfish, and more considerate for others, for the hand of the strong man girt with power to rule a vast Province, by a stroke of his pen sending offenders to death, has trembled to open the letters, which bring him news of his child. In the midst of the cares of a Province of how much importance to him is that one little life!

Other scenes of sorrow have been known to him or others. During the march, far from the haunts of Christian men, pain and anguish come like a thief in the night on the mother, and in the deep jungle a child is born to gladden the hearts of the parents. Beneath the broad pipal-tree the little one sees the light; round it echoes the deep murmur of the forest. But with the butterflies at eve its little breath passes away, and the young parents are again childless, perplexed in the eddies of the newness of their grief, and newness of their joy, a tumult of strange feelings, for they scarcely know, what they have gained, or what they have lost. The father digs a grave for the unbaptized infant; verily the Angels of Heaven are such as this child: no name marks the tomb; in the parents' mouth it is known by no living combination of letters and syllables, but the wild ranger of the forest has spared the grave of the child, and future travellers may wonder at the meaning of that little mound. But where is that mother now? Far away in distant lands across the Ocean; her rich auburn hair has long since turned to grey, her sweet soft countenance bears the mark of time and care. Many another babe of her own has since then gladdened her heart, and been pressed to her bosom, and her children's children cluster round her, but she can never forget that day, *that child*, and that spot, and as sometimes she sits musing, and tears start from her eyes, which look vacantly out of this world, her husband knows, that her memory is wandering back to the unforgotten grave of her nameless first-born.

On some death comes more slowly. In the morn the child is on its pony, amidst its attendants: fresh and bright as the flowers, happy and thoughtless as the insects on the wing. At noon it sickens, will not touch its food; its little prattle fails; its little limbs grow hot and languid, its little head hangs down like a daisy drooping on its stem; sleep comes not to its relief; day and night seem the same; the gentle moaning, the refusing to be comforted, the languid eye, the praying to be left alone to waste away and die, this is all that meets the eye and ear of the anxious parents. One only solace is found in the gentle motion of being carried about. Thus the night hours pass sadly and slowly to the father, as he carries his little one in his arms, and paces up and down the room by the side of the pale and worn-out mother; or watches the hour, or feels the skin of the child, on the chance of its being safe to administer those remedies on which life depends. How the thoughts turn upwards to the Heavenly Father, and

inward to the secret recesses of the heart in these sad solitary hours! Such trials come not unadvisedly; God grant that they come not in vain! What deep lessons of utter helplessness, of self-denial, of repentance, are to be learned by the sick bed of a suffering child! At length the tiny flame burns out. With the first beam of the morning the little taper, which had fluttered all night, is extinguished. There are no partings, no farewell-looks, no regrets on the part of the dying one; the little one knew not what was in life, and knows not what is in death. As in the arms of its earthly parents it moaned itself to sleep, so now it yields itself trustingly to death; it breathes its last little sigh, and is gone. Then breaks on the mother the sad conviction, that her darling, never before out of her sight, must be taken away; that it must leave her and never come back; that it must be laid in the cold earth, and worms must consume those little chubby cheeks. Ah me! it is hard to bear! and so suddenly: in a few hours the little box is at the door (for it is no more); it is placed in the same carriage, in which the child has so often scrambled, and played on the knee of its mother; the carriage comes back empty. The little burden is carried by four friends, and dropped gently into its last resting-place; the earth is closed over it. Poor little darling, its place is now among the Angels! Cares and trouble has it escaped; God loved it, and took it away, ere sin and sorrow could blight the opening blossom. So small a portion even in Human interests did it occupy, that its departure is not noticed, its name among men is not known, its existence is soon forgotten. Forgotten? yes, save in one home and two hearts. How strange the house seems on their return! windows all thrown open, traces of the last week's disturbance swept away. Is only that one little frame gone forth, and is so much changed! How large a portion of time, of thought, of hope, of fear, of sorrow, has gone forth also, leaving a dull void behind! Roll up those scattered memorials: the little pillow, which that head will never press again; the little sheets, the tiny garments, on which such loving care has been so fruitlessly expended. Put away out of sight all that recalls the mortal, think of the new Immortality. Parents, your poor protection is not wanted, your child is amidst the Angels; you have added one spirit to the Cherub-Choir. Your child might have grown up to be good, and pure, and lovable, under the care of earthly parents, but it is better, and purer, and more lovable in the Courts of your Heavenly Father. Or haply you yourselves have been saved from bitterer sorrow.

To some death does not come, but separation. The child is not sick unto death, and, restored to the country of its fathers, to the cooler air of some sweet valley, will bloom again; will grow up to strength and health, will pass through childhood and youth, may perhaps be the blessing and light of your old age, and close

your eyes; or may perhaps never see you again, and know nothing of you, your love and your trials, or perhaps by misconduct bring your grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. Oh, let but the child live, even if the parents be forgotten! The love of parents is the great heirloom handed down from generation to generation in loving their offspring they do but discharge the great debt of nature. Let but the child grow up, and in due time the great fount of parental love will be unsealed, and forth upon the heads of children yet to be born will outpour the treasures of unknown, unrequited, unremembered love, handed down from parents sleeping their quiet sleep with their vial of affections only by death exhausted, and their unselfish duty brought to a close in the grave!

What mournful dream comes back to me! I seem to see over again the sad preparations being made; the sad procession going forth; the last walk with the children; the unconscious prattle of the little ones; the parting with the native servants, the fierce conflict of feelings; the pressure of innumerable cares; the heavy dead weight of despair. Farewell, home of my children! Then follow anxious days and nights of rolling wheels, of early arrivals, hastened departures, strange faces, dust, and fatigue; all gladly borne, and more also, if but the suffering child can but reach the port of embarkation, and be launched on the salt waves, whence new health is fondly anticipated.

At length the port is reached and in safety. Back to my memory comes the tall ship riding so proudly; the narrow cabin, into which all my world was to be compressed, where I was to leave them. Nothing seemed too good, every want must be supplied, the last unavailing sacrifice of love must be made. Ah! the last day, the last night, that the darlings were seen slumbering in their cots, the last morning, that they rose from them, no more to slumber on Indian couches! What passed seems a dream, from which I only awoke days afterwards. I remember the mechanical discharge of my duties; the arrival by night at the ship's side; the children slumbering in their berths; the deep silence in the vessel; the solemn thought, that this tyrant would be set in motion in the morning, and carry all that I love, all my life, away. Then the morning stir, the arrival of passengers; the children wake up, but know not what misery is impending upon their parents. Then comes the solemn hour of parting: "God bless you, O my children; farewell, my beloved" Part, and once more return; look in and then part again; rush down the side of the vessel, and hang on the sides of the vessel like an angel excluded from Paradise. There in a small square window is framed the picture of my wife and children; "God bless you, darlings": "Papa must not go," were the last words. Then the noble vessel puts itself into motion, and walks exultingly away, as if unconscious of care, affection, and sorrow.

From the sides I see a pocket-handkerchief waving : now it grows scarcely visible : it is gone ; I am alone with my God, who will have mercy on me I have done my little all, and I have made the great sacrifice of all that my heart prized most

Lahór, 1861-2.

I read again the lines penned by me thirty-five years ago, half a long life I am an old man now It seems, as if another hand had written, another mind had dictated, them. In reading the Holy Scriptures the eye passes from tales of joy to tales of sorrow, and the next page tells of joy again. A few pages on there is a blank and death. Such is the type of Human life. Within the space of one year that sweet wife returned to her old home at Lahór, only to fill a grave in the cemetery, from which her child had been spared Within a few more years the healthy baby-boy, who had been present at, but in his infancy knew nought of, the sad parting, was called away from his lessons and cricket to fill another early grave far from that of his mother, and I have had to live on many long years, and still to find sunshine and shade in this world without them. Their figures, as I last saw them together from the window of that vessel, seem to have retreated into an immeasurable distance, and yet still to be looking at me, the child-wife and her baby-boy, filling the memory of my past life with ineffable sadness ; and I often think of that winding road down the slopes of the sweet hill of Dharamsála up which I rode in June, 1860, expecting at every corner to meet a sad procession winding down to convey the little coffin of my first-born to the cemetery, where a few years later Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, was deposited to sleep his last sleep. That child was spared to be a happy wife and mother : her mother and brother were called away.

“ The Lord giveth : the Lord taketh away.”
Blessed be His Holy name !

“ Daily there surges upwards to the Throne
“ The burning waves of passionate appeal :
“ Ye bring your bleeding hearts, your brains that reel,
“ And gasp your prayers in eager feverish tone :
“ The kind Controller looks with pitying eyes
“ On the wild upturned faces, and denies.”

London, December, 1896.

IX.

DEATH IN INDIA.

IN the course of the present year death deprived me of a very dear and valued friend: though dead, his memory still liveth.

I had known him only a few months. Chance had thrown us together, but friendships, such as link heart to heart, are of short growth. With some we may live, we may know them for years, yet the treasure-house of the affections has never been unlocked, there has been no sympathetic bond: such was not the case with us: from the first day, that we clasped each other's hand, we were friends.

He had faults: who has not? I am not describing the achievements of a hero, but of one, who a few weeks ago moved among us. He had numbered but twenty-one Summers; he was still in all the glory of youth, but some portion of maturer wisdom had found its way to his heart. In the days of his youth he remembered his Creator, and honour be to those, who had trained up the child in the right way. Honour to those kind and judicious friends, who had guided his steps, and taught him where to place his affections. Verily in his not untimely end they have reaped their reward.

It seems to me still like a dream; I have scarcely realized his loss. His voice still sounds in my ears, I see his cheerful face at the board; I hear with pleasure, not free from doubt, his enthusiastic plans for the future, his schemes of benevolence, sketched out to embrace a long life. How many a subject did we run over of classic lore or local interest! How often did we cheat the night of its rest in discussions not unprofitable, inasmuch as they tended back always to one subject, which to him was the paramount thought! A prophetic intelligence appears to have possessed him, for at one time he was speculating on the future occupation of the blessed, at another repeating thoughtfully the address of Hadrian to his Soul. Any instance of sudden death would draw from him serious remark. I knew that he was devout in the reading of the Scriptures, and have seen him kneeling in secret prayer.

All these things now come back upon me. Many, wise after the event, pretend to have expected his early death, and to have detected signs of decay. I saw them not. I beheld only the youth in his opening prime, the young and strong, who cherished noble longings for the battle of life: no wrinkle of care, no line of sorrow, had marked that smooth cheek; no languor of Oriental summers, no long nights of feverish watching, had dimmed that sparkling eye. I saw in him generosity, perhaps exceeding the

bounds of prudence, the gay hope fed by flattering fancy, the ambition for distinction, the bright anticipations for the future; burning zeal, high principles, and strong determination; the heart that could plan the good enterprise, the hand that could execute the benevolent action. Years had chilled these feelings in my breast: zeal, ambition, and bright anticipations were all gone, but mindful of an ancient flame, I acknowledged in another the traces of what once had been.

And all this is gone: all struck low in a few brief days. Alas! how often in the first years of Indian life are the brightest hopes dashed! How many a noble boy falls an untimely victim!

It was in the sickly months that he began to ail; at first there were slight complaints, and unsuccessful remedies. Then the shadows began to close round him, his nervous temperament aided the approach of the disease, his cheerful laugh ceased, and he no longer went abroad, but was confined to his couch. I will not say, that he feared death, but, unused to illness, he anticipated it from the first. He read the Bible as usual, which was always beside him, not seizing it then, as drowning landsmen seize a rope or spar with unpractised hand, but clasping, as his consolation in sickness, the Book which had been the charm of the days of his health. His friends talked to him, and strove to cheer him, and tried to shake off the melancholy which had preoccupied him. We spoke of the topics, which once used to please him; the sermons of the Sabbath, which he had been unable to hear, were detailed to him, and discussed as in happier days. The body was weaker, still the intellect was bright. At length his ears grew dull from the effect of medicine; all interchange of mental thoughts then ceased, and the friend became even as a stranger.

Did I think he was dying? Did it pass through my mind that his days were numbered? Oh! had I done so, how would I have redoubled my attention to win one smile of thanks! But my eyes were darkened; the lamp of hope burned brightly, and I knew not what was impending. The fever rose and sank, but the patient sank always; like the glimmer of the expiring taper, the divine principle of life flashed upwards. All that devoted attention, all that medical skill, can do to arrest death was done. He spoke little, he heard nothing. Interest for things of this world seemed to die in him. The Bible was no longer opened, though always at hand; even those messengers of hope, those winged ambassadors of love, that month by month cheer the exile's heart, remained unopened and uncared for by his side.

What thoughts passed through his busy brain during those long and, to him, noiseless days? On what did he ponder in anxious thought during those lonely nights? As the lengthening shadows of the evening fell, as the light of the setting sun, pouring in in a golden shower, played upon the walls of his sick chamber, as the

cooing of the doves, the busy murmur of the insect tribe, told of the coming of the evening, did he rejoice that the day was gone? Or after the tedious watches of a sleepless night, did he welcome back the dim twilight of the Indian morn? Did he then in thought wander back to the hills of Cheviot and the valley of the Esk, never again to be revisited? Did in his dreaming awakenings bright eyes beam kindly, and loved forms appear, to soothe that throbbing heart? Did soft hands in fancy smooth his pillow and touch that aching brow? Or did his piety triumph o'er his earthly affections, and did he long to be at rest? Did he know that he was going? Had he aught that he strove in vain to say? any tender message of love to leave to those behind? any thoughtful warning to convey to those in whose welfare he felt interested? any banished friendship to implore, any evil action to crave pardon for, any hasty word to atone?

I knew not. O Saviour! be with us in these hours; inspire us with good resolutions; strengthen our convictions in health, and give us grace to cling to them in the dying hour, and, when that last sleep seals our eyes, be Thou nigh! Thus thought I, as doubt was followed by anxiety, as anxiety was scarcely combated by faint hope, as at length that yielded to despair.

Is he then to die, to go we know not whither, and lie in corruption? Are such good hopes to be prematurely cut off? Is there no rotten tree, that may take the place of this green branch? He died, and in peace. We had watched him softly and slowly breathing through the night, while hope and fear contended with each other; for, when sleeping, we had almost fancied him dead, and when he died, to us he seemed still in slumber. Yes! it came at last; the troubled dream was awakened from; brighter worlds began to open round him. As the morning came upon us dull, wet, and dreary, his quiet eyes closed; it was but the struggle of a moment. Like the last puff of a taper, the spark of heavenly flame escaped from its clay tenement; another morn than ours had dawned upon him.

To him the wondrous secret had now been unravelled, which none on earth had ever known. But what were the last ideal reflections on his brain ere it relapsed to clay? Did he sigh for some fond breast, on which his parting soul would have relied? As the world receded, did he cast long-lingering looks behind? Did his trembling spirit turn with timid love to old familiar things, bidding the earth farewell in fear and in mourning? And, as his eyes closed, did his deafened ears recover their power, to hear sweet voices welcoming him to rest?

I stood alone by his cold stiffening clay. Decay's finger had not yet swept the familiar lines; alone, yet not alone, for the memory of the friend was still embodied with me, though fast fading into the ideal. I had not yet disconnected myself from the dream of his

existence How I blamed my hasty temper, as many harsh words rose up in judgment against me ! How I recalled his gentle and subdued line of argument, his chastened train of thoughts ! How many subjects would I have referred to his judgment, for in the last moments he had been invested with a new dignity, and I felt that I was in the presence of a superior, for he now knew all, concerning which we had so much doubted. Alone, yet not alone ; for those dark, passionless forms, which we in our insular pride so much despise, those beings with whom we have so little save mortality in common, who worship not the gods which we worship, who know not the consolation to which we look at the last, they stood abashed and weeping, as the master, to whom they had so lately bowed down, lay lifeless before them. Think not, that their tears were insincere, but rather that they flowed from the common fount of humanity, distinction of race and creed in this hour having vanished.

Alone, yet not alone ; as the bright light of the sun played in at the now open windows, as I heard the birds cawing in the trees, the patter of the goats on the gravel, the lowing of the kine in the enclosure, the voices and busy hum of men in the highway ; as I looked on the boats floating down the river, the white houses shining among the dewy trees on the opposite bank, the many-coloured groups of bathers standing in the stream ; as the voice of the ploughman, calling to his oxen and his fellows, while he turned up the new autumnal furrow, came floating cheerily over to me, softened musically by the distance, everything so full of gladness and vitality ; I thought of life, its duties and its pains, all those absorbing interests which enchain and subdue us. But I turned back, and my eye fell on the white stiffened form : there was no more restless rolling on the couch, no parched lips craving for water, no waving fan to cool the heated atmosphere, no more noiseless treadings or subdued voices in the chamber, no friends with anxiety-stricken countenances, no spirit struggling with eternity. I felt then that I was in the presence of a greater monarch than the World, that I stood face to face with the last enemy to be triumphed over, Death.

But there is no time for mourning in India. Necessity of climate will not brook delay. Short interval of sorrow and seclusion to accustom us to the face of the dead, ere we see it no longer ! At the earliest dawn of the morrow he is laid in his last abode. The same goodly company, in the same garb, with the same feelings of fellowship that would have welcomed him at his glad espousals, follow him to the grave. *There* are those who have seen death in many a form, that have looked it steadily in the face in the day of battle, that have assisted in many such a ceremony both in peace and in war. They look on with cold solemn face, if not hardened heart. What do they care for death ? *There* are the flaxen-haired, light-

hearted lads just hurried from their native hills over the waves of the ocean, to fill, perhaps, after a few short days an early grave. Thoughtless and careless, with good dispositions, and memory of parental warning still waging unequal fight against temptation and example, what do they know of death? *There* are the few pensive and sincere friends, who in simple affection mourn their lost companion, and, talking lowly to each other, shed tears for the bright youth that has been snatched away.

No bells sound in mournful dirge, and the shadow of no Gothic tower falls on the consecrated ground. We enter no church. We kneel in no house set apart to pray, but the corpse is met by the minister of God at the gate of the cemetery, choked with tasteless and unwieldy memorials of the forgotten dead. As the solemn exordium sounds, the heads of all are uncovered; perhaps by God's grace some heart may be touched, and the motley crowd follow in, and gather under the canopy of heaven round the narrow bed of their companion.

The last time that I heard these words was many years ago, many hundred leagues hence, where the flower of British India stood panting and exhausted on the banks of the Satlaj. It was in the dead of night, while the guns, which the enemy were sullenly firing, still rang in our ears, amidst the rattling of musketry, that the body of one of the bravest of his accomplished service,¹ George Broadfoot, was laid in the dust. Nor in his glory was he left alone; for in the fight in which he fell many had fallen, some to share the narrow chamber of his grave, some to sleep beside him. Below us were those that fell at Múdkí and Firozshahr, and standing among us were some, who a few days afterwards fell bravely at Sobraon; and months afterwards, when those poor bones had been turned to dust, when their spirit had appeared trembling before the judgment-seat to receive their last and great award, when their places in the council and the field were filled by others, England rang with their praises: History still boasts of their achievements.

How different was the scene now acting! No laurels were entwined round this youthful brow; he had added no new lustre to the great and honoured name of Malcolm; no wisdom in council, and no great excellence among men, will remain to be told of him. He had not met death in the field, when, the blood warmed by excitement, the spirit roused by patriotism, the brave man scorns danger, and with rash, oh! too fearless daring, rushes an unrepenting sinner into the presence of the Almighty. He had met death in the silent chamber, where there is nothing grand to mortal eye, for in a fever there is no romance; yet let us trust that in the Book of Life will his name be recorded.

¹ Edward Lake and I recovered his body from the trenches of Firozshahr, and he was buried at Firozpur, in the presence of Lord Hardinge, that night

As I stood on the grave of one, who had preceded my friend but a few months, perhaps a little week, I looked round upon the crowd: all were there, the friends of his youth and the companions of his joy, to render the last tribute to his memory; there also were his dark heathen attendants, led by some feeling of sympathy, but unconscious of a country beyond the grave, there were the thoughtless faces of the passers-by arrested to see the show, some, too, in their heart rejoicing that there was a Power, which could lay low and avenge their invincible oppressors. The solemn silence of the scene was ever and anon interrupted by the rattle of the wheels of some tardy arriver, but the mockery of woe blackening all the way, the sable mutes, the feathered hearse, the pomp and circumstance of grief, are unknown in a clime, where death is always busy, and grief but short-lived. Yes, all were there. They would have accounted it as a shame to be absent, and, as the earth dropped from many a hand on the coffin, as the measured woids of the minister fell upon their hearing, as, the rites completed, they departed, some to their business, some to their pleasures, I wondered who would be the next borne through the portal, for it is but a few weeks since he, whom we have now left here, wandered with me among these tombs, talking thoughtfully and wonderingly about the dead. With cheerfulness of heart let us leave him to sleep there, as one not without hope, whose warfare is accomplished; but for myself and those who stood around me, forgetting already the cause of their being there, there was room for doubtfulness and gloom? Will you miss your friend, who was so lately among you, the sharer of your joy and your pleasures? Will the memory of his blameless life live with you? Will the thoughts of his sudden death be a warning to you? Will you think of him in your homes and in your gatherings? Will you regret his absence at the festive board? Will you sorrowfully mark his vacant place at the church? Surely he has left some footsteps on the sands of time for your heeding; and do ye return to your vices and follies without one better impression, without one deeply-set warning? Hereafter, when fever lays you low, when your turn arrives, you will regret the opportunity lost and example thrown away. What more do you expect? Do you not hear? As the distant sound of the last wheel, bearing away its light-thoughted master to his occupations and his pleasures, fell on my ears, I felt that none would hear, even if one should rise from the dead! But a few days ago he was the friend of many; it will soon be forgotten that he even existed.

But my task was not yet done; not mine to give vent to secret grief in my chamber, or to drown it in the cares of the world. He that had died was a stranger without kin in the land, and the Law stepped in to guard the interests of the inheritance. Before twenty hours had elapsed, I found myself mechanically assisting in what

to me seemed sacrilege, though still a duty, in searching his desk and most secret depositories for some memorial of his wishes. There were books and tokens of love and affection from absent friends to be set aside, there were his papers and letters to be sealed up. Round us lay strewed the tokens of his innocent pleasures, his more laborious hours, and his thoughtful devotions. Poor boy! his bats and his notebooks; his journal recording his simple life; his Bible marked with references, to which his eye will never again turn; his watch, which had run down, and was still, even as the lifetide of its master; one had to him marked the flight of time, the other had shown him, not in vain, how those hours were to be spent; of both now was the use gone from him, for to him the great Book of Life was closed, and time had ceased to exist. There also was the letter written, but not despatched, to some dear friend, full of hope and glee, how can we now send this lying messenger? There were his clothes and his favourite books; on the table lay papers with unfinished sentences, the ink dry in his pen. Round us flitted the shadow of the departed; his home seemed a temple robbed of its divinity.

I turned sickened away, but the last act was to be played ere the curtain fell on the scene. All came to have a share in the spoil. I heard the half-suppressed joke, the giddy laugh, as his favourite horse was sold at the outcry; the dogs, which had been fondly caressed by him and fed from his hands, passed away to strangers. I dare not call to them, poor hounds! for they knew my voice too well.

The whole item of little humanity, represented by that one name, has now resolved itself into an idea, sooner even than the form has returned to its original dust! It will soon be forgotten what year, what month he died, soon, very soon, before even the sad news reaches a sequestered village, a distant nook of Caledonia, where an aged bosom will swell with that agony which parents only know, and kind womanly hearts will mourn the cherished boy, whom they so lately sent forth with pride and hopefulness to his destiny; of whom, though they had no hopes of again meeting, they rejoiced to hear, that in a distant land he thought and cared for them, and prospered.

Is there yet no nearer and no dearer tie, one twined with the bright garland of youthful fancy, that has been broken? Have no visions of future homes, of kindly welcomes hereafter, of cheerful hearths, of children climbing on the knee, been rudely dashed to the ground? Is there no broken heart mourning in unacknowledged affliction?

Ask it not; probe not the secret of the heart, nor try to unravel the mystery of the tomb. Go, kneel by the grave; his is the happiest lot. No pain, no passionate grief, no hot burning anger, no disappointed ambition, no unrequited love, will vex him more.

He is gone to that silent shore, where grief *is not*, where the good are rewarded, and the weary are at rest And in humble imitation of the poet, who poured forth many a tuneful sonnet to the memory of his youthful friend, let this be my weak imperfect offering; let me scatter over the turf these few purple flowers, these un-availing tears, telling mournfully *how he lived and how he died*.

Bandras, August, 1852.

X.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER INDIA

ABOUT thirty-five years ago out in camp in the Panjáb, I was describing to the late Sir Robert Montgomery, Lieut.-Governor of the Panjáb, the kind of life, which some retired old Indians led in England between meals at their Club and their lodgings, a call on their tailors, a snooze, and a visit to a friend. It seemed to me, who had seen it while on furlough, that to die in India was better. Sir Robert, just about to leave India, seemed to agree, and remarked, that *he*, too, should not know how to get through the day, if there were no Chuprassee to bring his box of papers from the Secretariat for disposal. An old Military Bachelor, who was present, remarked, that when he got home, he should marry, and keep a cow. Another on his retirement proposed to patent a machine for blacking shoes with a rotatory brush, and did so.

Many talk about great projects, when they get back to England, or babble about green fields, and end in filling a space in an Indian Cemetery. An old friend, *per contra*, took his pension and left India in 1844, after serving twenty-five years; we called him "an old fellow" even then, but he lived for fifty years afterwards, and died in 1894, having drawn a pension amounting to £50,000. This instance, were it typical, would speak volumes for the climate of India, but would make one despair for the Finances of that country, for fifty such retired Civilians, or Soldiers, would alone cost two and a half Millions Sterling.

Is there a "*tertium quid*"? If Life be spared, is its residue to be given to hunting, fishing, card-playing, loafing about town? Has the retired Anglo-Indian Official no *duty*? It seems to me that, grateful for having got home with a competence, when so many have remained behind, he ought in his own way to give England the benefit of his Indian experience, and to do all the good he could before his course be run, whether he be appreciated or not.

The age of such a man is generally about fifty: he has been accustomed from his youth to public affairs, military, civil, or commercial: he has had to make up his mind, and even to record a practical opinion, in a given space of time; and this is just what his contemporary at the public school, the Parson, the Squire, the Gentleman at large, cannot do: anything so hopeless as a Committee, made up of such material, can scarcely be imagined: they argue incoherently, and at great length, when down comes the Anglo-Indian, who has learned to economize time: he may be right, or wrong, but he brings matters to an issue, and a decision is recorded.

The Anglo-Indian has, no doubt, great disadvantages, which it takes years to get over. He has lost touch with England and her literature. whatever subject, to which he intends to devote himself, he has much to read in order to come up to the level of those at home. if he does not recognize this fact, he will always remain a quarter of a century, the length of his Indian service, behind the age. His topographical knowledge of Great Britain and Ireland is still more likely to be defective: he may tell you all about Pesháwar, Banáras, Rajputána, Tinnevely, or Bombay, as the case may be; but of the manufactures of Lancashire, of the Cathedrals of Great Britain, of the Lakes and Islands of Scotland, of the beauty and the sorrows of Ireland, he knows little or nothing. Let him, therefore, during his first two years traverse these islands from Land's End to John o' Groat's House, as a Student, acquaint himself with the industries of his own country, attend sittings of the Houses of Parliament, visit the great Sea-ports, the great American Steamers, the Military Cantonments, the Courts of Justice, the Universities, the Museums, the Galleries, the places of Worship, and thus cease to be a foreigner in his own country: the daily study of the *Times* will make a new creature of him.

Then comes the time for annual foreign tours: in each year at least eight weeks should be devoted to a careful visit to a different part of Europe, North Africa, or Eastern Asia in its entirety: the thoughtful reading of competent Authorities thereon should precede, a notebook should accompany, and a Journal should crown each Annual tour. One year will see our friend at the North Cape, the next at the first Cataract in Egypt; a third at Morocco, the following year in Greece, on the Caucasus, and all over Russia; one Season may be devoted to Italy, or Spain, or Palestine, or a run to the Caspian Sea: a good temper, a civil tongue, a pleasant smile, a working knowledge of the great Vernaculars of Europe, and of Arabic, will always secure to him a welcome and information, and leave a friend in every place, which he traverses. he will thus shake off all Chauvinism; to him there will be neither Jew nor Gentile, he will find that a Turk is not

a bad companion, a Romish priest an accomplished fellow-traveller, an Arab a good fellow, and a Russian one of the most obliging of men. Life and reality will be given to his books of Travel; Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, Constantinople, Carthage, the Pyramids, Mt Caucasus, Kiev, Moscow, the fjords of Norway, will ever rise up before him, in grateful memories.

INDIA, the land of his adoption, will and should, however, occupy the first place in his thoughts: his visits to Mahometan countries, and inspection of European systems of Administrations, the tyranny of the Police, the venality of Officials, the systems of universal conscription, the deportations to Siberia, the prohibition of public meetings, of public worship, or of an outspoken Press, the demand for pas-ports, will favourably recall British India, with its freedom of the Press, of the right of assembly, of agriculture and commerce, of locomotion, its absence of forcible conscription, its liberty of all Religions, and the fact that there is not a single political prisoner out of a population of 285 Millions

If anyone attempts to injure the people of India, whether under the pressure of the Lancashire Millowners, the anti-Opium fanatics, the Committee of Female Faddists, the unsympathizing India Office, or the ill-judging Christian Missionaries, the Anglo-Indian will be ready to stand up for the rights of the dusky subjects of Her Majesty, and for the maintenance of Her Majesty's Proclamation, on the Platform, in the Press, and on deputations to the Authorities. The Anglo-Indian does not, like an ordinary Englishman, look at India through the small end of a telescope: to him many of her people are known to be good and accomplished men; nor, like the travelling M.P., is he likely to be misled by the English-speaking native, whose acquaintance he makes on a railway platform, with ridiculous stories, which on his return home he deals out to English audiences with all the air of a prophet just come down from the mountain.

To many Anglo-Indians one of the first duties will be to assist the Missions, sent out by the different Nations of Europe to try and win the people of India from Polytheism: with this comes the desire to disseminate copies of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in their native Languages, and other useful Religious and Educational Vernacular literature. This benevolent enterprise, though often prejudiced by the sensationalism of some of its supporters, gains when influenced by a steady middle-aged Anglo-Indian, who knows the people, their Languages, and aspirations. Another object of Anglo-Indian interest is "the Asiatic Strangers' Home," where natives of Asia, turned adrift from ships at the end of their voyage, are housed, and saved from being plundered and otherwise ruined.

SCIENCE comes next. the study of the RELIGIONS of the non-Christian world has a special attraction for the Anglo-Indian; the

publication by the India Office of the magnificent series of the "Sacred Books of the East" has been even to him a revelation. The subject has to be approached in a calm and sympathetic spirit, and to an Anglo-Indian, who has seen so many temples, Brahmins, Bathing-Ghats, Pilgrims, Fakirs, and processions of Idolatrous worship, it is of intense interest to find out the origin of these remarkable sights. In Buddhism and Confucianism, we arrive at a high conception of moral excellence, although atheistic systems. They have existed more than 2,500 years, and still occupy a large proportion of the population of the world. In Mahometanism we come on the latest of Human conceptions, a pure Monotheism.

ARCHAEOLOGY follows, and is, indeed, suggested by the former study; in India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia revelations of monuments, tombs, temples, obelisks, pyramids, inscriptions, and papyri, pass the wildest dreams of inquirers at the beginning of this century. The knowledge of these things, when they were comparatively young (say 2,000 years ago) escaped the ken of the Greeks and Romans; great as were their acquirements, they had not arrived at that degree of critical acumen, which is the feature of the Scientist of modern times. The subject of Indian Archaeology alone would furnish a sufficient study for the evening of a long and busy official life, slightly embittered by the regret, that attention was not paid to them years ago, when eyes could actually have seen, what they now only read in description of others.

The mention of Inscriptions, Stelae, Papyri, burnt graven bricks, and Manuscripts on vellum or the talipot-Palm, brings us to that great factor of Human existence: Language, as forming the link of communication of man with man. Religion is the other factor, by which Man thinks, that he obtains access to God, illustrating the threefold feature of mortal environment: "SELF—the WORLD—God."

The excavated record of dead Religions, like the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Hittite, Graeco-Roman, and others, tells us what Religious conceptions have lived their little life, been the consolation of Millions who have long since passed away. The manuscripts, well thumbed and well read, in the hands of the Nineteenth century, Parsi, Brahmin, Buddhist, Jain, Confucian, Taoist, Shintoist, Hebrew, Christian, and Mahometan, tell us another story, how tenacious a man is of what he has been taught to believe as Divine Truth; for the followers of each are ready to suffer torture, or die, rather than give it up.

Better also than field sports, loafing at the Club, or lolling in entire idleness at home, are the LEARNED SOCIETIES, the Geographical, the Asiatic, the Geological, the Historical, the Antiquarian, the Linnæan, the Philological, the Hellenic and Egyptian-Exploration Societies, and many others; at their meetings many valuable acquaintances are made, and new lines of inquiry are suggested.

but there is something more. Every third or fourth year there assemble in one or other of the Capitals of Europe International Congresses for the discussion of Scientific subjects : here the most illustrious representatives in each great country of Science meet, and discussions take place, the results of which are reported: stock is thus periodically taken of the progress of Knowledge, the animosities produced by long literary strifes on some particularly abstruse matter, are softened down by personal contact, and sweet friendships are formed, and a general advance is made of the whole line of Human Discovery, Analysis, Inquiry, and Speculation :

- “ Sic intestinis crescit res Palladis armis,
 “ Europaeque recens undique floret honos.
 “ Sic redivit a nobis Aurora, diemque reducit,
 “ Surgit et e fuscâ lux Oriente nova.
 “ Ossa sepulchrorum, veterum vestigia Regum,
 “ Vox vocat e tumultu : lux patefacta micat.
 “ Omnia nota patent : nam quid non vincere possit
 “ Subtile ingenium, et nocte dieque labor ? ”

R. N. C.

Nor should the contemporary POLITICS of the country be passed over: the returned Anglo-Indian may not be an English party-man; he may have outgrown the effete notions, which he heard in his youth; but he will find, that the thoughts of men have grown wider with the progress of the sun, and he will insensibly be drawn into one side of the combatants in the great arena. We can scarcely imagine anyone so stupid, or so used up, that he will not form some opinion on the leading questions of Imperial, or National, or local, interest, the murmur of which he will hear around him. Some may even be willing to express that opinion in public speeches, when opportunity offers. Anglo-Indians, however, are not eloquent as a rule. Their gifts, and training, lead more to the desk than the platform. Some of our greatest Indian administrators have been utterly deficient in the power of making a speech, or arguing a thesis. Post-prandial eloquence, or a verbose pseudo-classical oratory, has, generally, been the feature of the few Anglo-Indians, who make speeches in India : but the appetite may come in eating, the atmosphere of England may develop new and unsuspected powers. In some things the Anglo-Indian does not fail : he is not afraid to look an audience in the face, and he knows his subject; his opinions are made up, and he will deliver them, whether the audience likes it or not : his object is not personal profit, if his party get into power : he is not paid by wire-pullers to enforce certain views, whether he entertains them or not : so at least he will be sincere.

In *written* contributions to LITERATURE Anglo-Indians are strong : a great part of the duty of a civilian is to make Reports on every

imaginable subject, to rebuke those, who are below him officially, and justify himself to those, who are above him: he thus becomes ready with his pen: many Indian periodicals, Weekly, Monthly, or Quarterly, are thus supplied and well supplied: the only difficulty is want of leisure, but on his return to England the burden of office falls from his shoulders, and he finds that leisure long so dearly wished for: among his Memoranda is often a list of subjects with the sad note: "I should like to write about this, if only I had leisure." Many of his friends never found that leisure, for instead of their lucubrations going to the Press their bodies were carried off to the Station-Cemetery: let us hope that there has been a survival of the fittest, and that those, who have survived, will look up their Memoranda, and contribute to some Scientific, Religious, or Literary Periodical, they have a reserve of original matter, an entirely independent environment, and a freedom from some of the British idols of the Pulpit, the Marketplace, and the Den, to draw upon. As a rule, we should recommend them to do their work without compensation. "freely they have received, freely give": this will enable them to write what they like, not what a task-imposing Editor shall enjoin. The habit of contributing to Periodicals may lead to the composing and publishing of a volume, large or small, on some specific subject: here, again, it is recommended not to solicit the favour of a Publisher, or allow him to suggest alterations, or make conditions, but to send the literary infant forth at the charges of its Parent.

I cannot forget that in several pitched battles in the days of Lords Hardinge and Gough, 1845-46, my life was spared, when many were killed around me. I also escaped the knife of the assassin, to which my superior officer, Major Mackeson, and my assistant, Captain Adams, fell victims. I rose in the Service, through Mutines, Pestilences, and other public calamities, to the vacancies caused by the premature deaths due to violence, or disease, of many of my contemporaries, and friends: I, therefore, and others, who have escaped the perils of India, have a debt to pay to those who are sick and suffering in our own country. In the organization of Charity, we carry with us habits of business and a knowledge of accounts, in which the good English stay-at-home is often deficient. Nor are Anglo-Indians easily gulled, for their lives have been spent in one continual struggle with natives of India trying to outwit them.

Municipal and benevolent duties have to be discharged, and give pleasure. I was much struck by the following remarks of the Tutor of an Oxford College, which I visited on my return from India: "I could not bear up under the strain of examining "incapable or unwilling men, if I did not give Saturday afternoons and the whole of Sunday to the service of the poor in their homes, in the hospital, and in the Sunday School, or evening

“ classes : this brings me back to the realities of human life, Sin, Sorrow, or Suffering. The work of the week, however, is a “hopeless struggle with idleness and stupidity, and is inspired “by, or only leads to, *MAHA*, Illusion.”

Indeed, many Anglo-Indians find congenial employment in Parochial work, or on the Committees of great Hospitals, in Institutions for the Blind, the Cripple, the Waif and Stray, the lost ones in the streets of London. Beyond these and subject to election are the County Councils, the School Board, the parochial Vestry for local Government, the Board of Guardians for the relief of the Poor. all these bring men face to face with previously unknown contingencies of London life, raise sympathies, and develop untried capabilities. The Anglo-Indian has got such a habit of daily work, that he cannot shake himself free of it. I know a great many parishes, in which the services, sense of duty, courtesy, and abilities, of Anglo-Indians, returned exiles, women as well as men, are exceedingly valued.

Finally, there is the office of Justice of the Peace ; the necessary qualification is the occupation of a house at a certain rental. the duties are varied : some J.P.'s are on the Visiting Committees of the County Prisons ; others dispose of the Lunacy cases ; all are able to attend the Petty Sessions of their district, the Quarter Sessions of their County ; they are employed in enforcing the collections of the Parochial Rates, issuing and transferring licenses for the sale of liquors : many incidental duties are attached to the office. They are appointed for life by the Lord Lieutenant of their respective Counties : outside the Metropolitan area they exercise purely Judicial functions ; within that area their duties are purely administrative, as there are salaried officials to discharge the heavy Judicial duties in the Metropolis.

May I now venture to refer to myself as an instance of how an Anglo-Indian can usefully and pleasantly fill his time in England, twenty-five years after the conclusion of his Indian Service ? I made my quarterly Inspection of Wormwood Scrubbs Prison to-day before lunch as Justice of the Peace, and, after lunch, I formed part of the Visiting Committee of the Chelsea Parish Infirmary. Yesterday I spent several hours in the really painful duty of enforcing the collection of the Parochial Rates : the lavish extravagance of the County Council and the School Board will make this operation still more difficult every year, until at last it becomes intolerable. To-morrow my first duty will be to go down to the Workhouse observation wards to dispose of lunatic cases : the Prison population of Great Britain is annually dwindling : one-third of the prisons has been closed : the Lunatic population is increasing by leaps and bounds, and asylums are built, and filled, and more are called for. the number of female lunatics is distressingly large. Next week on one day I shall be at a Meeting of the Guardians of the Poor in

the afternoon, and the Editorial Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society in the forenoon to superintend the work of the Translation of that Book in a score or more of neo-Vernacular languages. Another day is marked down for the granting of licenses for the sale of liquors, and hearing of objections to particular licenses. In other weeks there are Meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Geographical and Asiatic Societies, interspersed with other totally different duties. I have, at the age of 74, eighteen Committees, nine of which I call Committees of "Saints," and nine Committees of "Sinners"; they are differentiated by their commencing, or not commencing, with a form of prayer. The object should be to enforce Christian principles in the work of Committees of Sinners, and to carry habits of business, and stern control of money-disbursements, among the Saints

London, January, 1896.

XI.

THE BOX OF INDIAN LETTERS.

MANY years ago I was deputed by the Government to take charge of the office of an Indian Judge, who had died suddenly. He was a man of the old school, who had vegetated in India uninterruptedly for more than the third of a century, who had broken through all English ties and set at defiance many of the better English habits. He had risen high in rank, and had obtained some estimation for official ability; but the heart, that could disregard the natural ties of relationship, was not likely to draw to itself new and sincere friendships. He had lived very much to himself and by himself, and, when he died, no one regretted him. There was rather a feeling of satisfaction among his juniors, that death had at length removed this permanent obstacle to their promotion.

I received charge of his private effects as well as his Office, and a strange *mêlée* of things they consisted of; for the deceased had left England during the last century, and had never returned to refreshen his ideas, and had never broken up his establishment. A great mass of rubbish, therefore, had accumulated, which for years past he had been too indolent either to look at or think of.

A few months afterwards I received from a solicitor in London an application urging and imploring me to make search for a particular document, which was supposed to be among the letters of the deceased, and which was of the greatest importance to his relations.

if produced at once. It appears that his next-of-kin were great-nephews, who had never seen, and only faintly heard of, their Indian uncle. They had become aware of his death from the papers, and had become entitled to some property, supposing a document could be produced, and they earnestly solicited me, though a stranger, to make a search for it, and, should it not be found, they authorized, nay, entreated, me to read every letter received in days bygone from his family, on the chance of some trace being found leading up to its discovery.

I complied unwillingly to what appeared to me to be an irksome duty, one very repugnant to my feelings, and for which I had little leisure or eyesight. However, one evening I opened the box, in which I had previously sealed up all his private papers, and began, with much *emmu* and ill-will, what seemed a very heavy task. But, strange to say, as I read, an unexpected interest seemed to seize me; I found in these letters a history of the deceased's domestic relations for the last fifty years, all the joys and sorrows of his home told artlessly, and, rising up unadvisedly, more fascinating than many a studied romance. The work occupied many nights, but I forgot the fatigue; and oftentimes I was so deeply interested, that I read on insensibly past the midnight hour.

The letters were tied up in packets, and the first, that came under my eyes, contained the letters of his father, written in a round, old-fashioned hand, with all the indications of being the work of a gentleman of the old school, such as we hear of in the reign of the Third George. From the first to the last they commenced, "My dear Boy"; and so faithfully had they been treasured and arranged, that the first on the file were written to the deceased, when he was at a public school. Full were they of old saws and modern instances, of warnings, kindly admonitions, announcing some projected pleasure, or forwarding some parental present. By degrees the plans for the future life of the boy began to be discussed; the dreadful word, India, was first placed before his eyes; the expressions were brief, but affectionate; the old man clearly did not like to condemn his son to banishment, but could not conceal from him the offer. The series with English postmarks then ceased, and a year after a fresh series commenced with Indian directions. In some of the last the bold hand began to tremble, the letters were shaky. At length, at one period many years ago, the series abruptly closed, and labelled on the last, which stood on the top of the packet, were the significant words, "My poor dear Father."

Hard by was a large bundle, or rather succession of bundles, written in a female hand. It was not difficult to divine who had written them; for they commenced at a much earlier date than those of his father, and some of them were written in large printing characters to catch the eye of a child. How deeply and clearly

did maternal love speak out in all this! How the notes of this early period brought before me the unknown writer in all the pride and fervency of the young mother, her kind and thoughtful watchings over her darling boy; her gentle admonitions; her steady supporting him in his difficulties; ever ready to befriend, to counsel, to caution for his health, to warn for his future! I traced the boy from the small school to the great public institution. The letters, though written by the same person, indicated by the change of tone and style the improvement and development of the mind of the receiver; constant, unbroken, often alluding gently to neglect of answers, but never reproaching; supplying to the absent school-boy the little incidents of his home, telling him of the health of his pony and the care taken of his garden. All the boy in his many phases stood before me: I saw his joyful face, as he opened and read the short note, telling him on what day the carriage would meet him to bring him home for the holidays; and I pictured the tearful eye with which the first letter was received after his returning to school, telling him, and oh how truly! how much he was missed. I began to know his brothers and sisters by name. Soon the fact began to grow upon me, that his second sister was sickening and would not long live. I read that in the mother's cautious phrases; but the boy, amidst his lessons and his cricket, little heeded them, until one letter came to convey him his first sorrow, and tell him that his earliest playfellow was dead. All the details were given, such as a mother's pen only can give them; all the little symptoms, the struggle of hope and fear, the opinion of the doctor, the trust in God's mercy; then came the last moment, the last words of the dying girl, the thoughtful message of love to the dear and absent brother, the "God's will be done" of the heart-broken parent.

All this I read, until I could read no more; it was a page of domestic history, that must have been known to all of us. I had become so identified with the family, so interested in the poor sufferer; I had so connected her with some lost loved one of my own circle, that I, a self-collected man, when I reached this crisis, rose up from my seat overpowered, and wept aloud at the account of the last moments of a young girl of sixteen summers, who had died years ago, before I was even born, of whom I had known and till that evening heard nothing. So strange and deep-seated is the chord of human sympathy!

For many years afterwards the letters of the mother were tinged with gloom and melancholy resignation; the blow had gone home to the heart, and all the mother was poured out in every letter. Whatever was the subject, constant allusions to the lost child would force themselves in, hopes, that the darling boy might never forget his sister; prayers, that he may be like her, and in the days of his youth remember his Creator. Even the joyful tidings of the

happy marriage of the elder daughter could not tear away *her* thoughts from the churchyard corner, where green turf and bright flowers bloomed over the grave of the early dead.

But the stream of Life could not be stayed. It flowed unceasingly on, the boy became a man; Love began to take the place of Authority; the Teacher gave way to the Friend; and the tone of the letters was again altered. Then came the first mention of abhorred India, the mournful anticipations too truly realized, the trusting in Providence; and then a great blank in the correspondence.

The boy had indeed become a man. The man had been doomed to exile, in his case eternal. There was no overland mail then. Ship-letters came few and far between. Yet, when they did come, what an outpouring of motherly love was contained in those closely-written and crossed pages! Not a hasty scrawl written on the day previous to the departing vessel, with empty apologies for premeditated carelessness; but a minute chronicle of home, a record of events renewed day by day, and, as year followed year, and letter followed at long intervals letter, an expression of hopes and wishes, a participation of doubts and anxieties. I soon gathered that the old man's health was failing, that he yearned to see his son after a ten years' absence, for the dates told me, that that time had now passed, that he grew weaker day by day. The letters told me how very near that return was to the mother's heart. How could the son coldly listen to such appeals! What newly-formed ties, what professional ambition, what foolish short-sighted love of lucre, tempted him to delay his return? I know that he never had revisited his home, and I fear that he never had intended; but for two long years the letters of his mother were written with new hope, dwelling on some promises expressed or implied, for in the Autumn she was expecting him with the Spring, and, when Spring came, she was building palaces of delight for the future Autumn. *But he never returned!* Oh! ask not the cause, blame him not, but let each remember, that the duties, that they owe to their parents, are paramount, and must not be delayed. How heavy must have fallen the news on the son, when he saw the black seal, when he read, that the old man was dead! Did not tears, bitter, scalding tears, of anguish and reproach blister the paper, when his mother's trembling characters told him, that his father had sickened; how he had died peacefully, bequeathing his benediction to his absent boy; how he had gratefully, with expiring accents, thanked Heaven for many blessings, and would not allow himself to murmur, if one only, that of seeing his son again, had been denied? Of what value at that moment to that son were his professional honours? What bootied his hoarded treasure that had prevented his return? Did not that lock of grey hair, now all that remained to him of his first and dearest friend, reproach him, now that he

had allowed that honoured head to descend to the grave with one wish unfulfilled, which a son might have gratified ?

The powers of the widowed mother now seemed shaken. Her letters never failed, but became shorter, and were as full of thoughtful love as they had been years before, new names were alluded to as taking place in the family circle, the old house had been vacated ; the seat under the stately elms, where he had often sat at his mother's feet, listening to the cawing of the rooks, was vacant ; the churchyard grave of the daughter, who had died twenty years before, was no longer visited ; all past associations were gone. The twentieth year of exile had now elapsed, and the mother had left off sighing for or alluding to her son's return, she was content that he prospered. A new race of people had sprung up unknown to him, and his sister's children had arrived at maturity. They were known to him only by report, and, though their hands filled up the vacancies of their grandmother's letters, they wrote as strangers. His own third sister, whom he had left in the cradle a baby, was now described as in blooming womanhood. Many a gentle allusion fell from the mother's pen to attract the brother's affection to this unknown sister, by describing her beauty, and her resemblance to that lost sister of his childhood, who had now been mouldering a quarter of a century in the deserted churchyard, and by all but the mother had long been forgotten.

I had begun to love and venerate this good old lady. My hand trembled, as I took up each letter, fearing not to see the same handwriting beneath. I saw, too, that I was approaching the last of the bundle, and I knew, that that must mean death, for such love ceases not this side of the grave. I seemed to have known her for years. I remembered her as the young mother writing her first letters to her schoolboy ; I remembered her pale countenance over the grave of her child ; I contrasted that blooming matron, as when she bade him farewell, with the stiff, upright figure in the old armchair, with the picture of her son hanging before her, her son, as he had left her, in sanguine youth, full of bright hopes, good resolutions, and warm affections, in the morning of his career.

And did he not return home even then to throw himself at the feet of his injured parent ? for what greater injury than love unreturned ! Did he not tear himself away from his Oriental ties to repay so many years of unchanging affection ? Will a few shawls and Indian micknacks, the cold display of useless affluence, gratify a mother's yearning ? Can the heart become so cold ? Can the first duties of Nature be so easily forgotten ? I had never loved this man, but, until I read these letters, I had somewhat respected him ; but I felt now burning with indignation, as if personally wronged, nor would I, fearing an avenging Providence, have trusted myself in the same vessel with one so regardless of the ties of humanity.

I said that but a few letters remained. They were short, cheerful, and resigned, thanking him for some present, inquiring tenderly after his health, but never alluding to his return or his future. The mother had divined the secret: some kind friend had told to her the Indian scandal. That silence, when contrasted with the warm anticipations and eager hopes of the past, cut me deepest. Her last letter was dated forty years after the first. The handwriting had changed but little; the signature almost the same; and the same true tone of unchanging womanly love, the same unselfish outpouring of maternal care, showed itself throughout the whole correspondence. True to herself, true to her principles, in a long series of two hundred letters, there was nothing that on perusal she could have wished to have expunged. Had the whole been published, each reader would have recognized the type of a Christian English mother.

I had almost forgotten the object of my search, and the urgent reasons, which had privileged me to violate these sacred pages. Having finished these interesting packets, I had to wade through a miscellaneous mass of correspondence, letters from his sisters, letters from his nieces and his nephews, from his lawyers in England, from his friends and acquaintances in India. There was the acknowledgment of the sporting Major, who had plundered him at the card-table or outwitted him on the racecourse, there was the note of apology from the youngster, who had broken the knees of the horse lent to him by his good-natured and careless host; there were the duns and the applications, the whining of misery and the fawnings of sycophantism. What a strange picture of the world is offered by a box of miscellaneous correspondence extending over many years! I found letters written in the freshness and confidence of boyhood by men, whom I knew now in the surliness and misanthropism of decaying years. The extravagant of those days had become misers; the sinners of the last century had furnished the present with saints. Names of old fogies, who had long since been transferred from the staff of the Army to the list of the Pension-Paymaster and the Sexton, were here alluded to as smart officers anxious for the purchase of their Company. Old judges, who had years ago gone to that place, where all old judges go, in these pages appeared as men of sense and intelligence, for which I had never given them credit. I read on with varied interest, sometimes a smile and sometimes a sigh; and at the bottom of all my attention was once more arrested by a small packet in a delicate female hand, and the contents told the old tale of an early engagement ending as usual in moonshine. The correspondence had commenced at a very distant period, before even the departure to India, and for two or three years the series was regular, abounding with the usual trite, schoolgirl remarks of undying affection, and anticipated happiness. There was no clue to

the name, as initials only were used ; and one day thirty years ago this correspondence had ceased ; why, it was impossible to divine ; for the last letter was as fervent as the first. This was not a case of love perishing by slow decay, but a sudden wrench of hearts ; and I sat sometimes wondering how it had come to pass, whether death or kind friends had interfered, whether she still lived, whether the sight of his name among the dead had secured one only tear for the grave of her old Indian lover.

But why were his days doomed to terminate in this way ? Why did he not return to his home to reap the rewards of his youth and manhood spent in intellectual and honourable labour ? Lax in Morals, unsettled in Religion, effeminate in habits, imperious in manner, antiquated in notions, and narrow in views, why did he tarry here at length to creep to an obscure grave, unlovable, unloving, and, since that one fond maternal heart had ceased to beat, unloved ?

Banda, 1853.

XII.

THE TWO INDIAN SHIPS.

WHILE residing at Southampton, in the year 1857, I heard that, on the next day the steamer to Alexandria would sail, and that probably about the same time the return-vessel with the homeward-bound passengers would arrive. I knew somewhat of India, and I availed myself of the opportunity afforded of studying the contrast offered by the appearance and deportment of the passengers of the two vessels, who, though belonging to the same Nation and rank of life, would appear under such singularly opposite circumstances.

It was the season of the fall of the leaf. On both sides of the beautiful Bay the trees had put on their autumnal tints, and departing Summer had assumed the tenderest of aspects. Sweet Southampton Water, how goodly art thou to gaze on, and how pleasant to the memory to recall in distant lands ! I hurried down to the docks to rehearse a scene of parting, in which only two months later I was to be myself a principal, and to witness a returning, the like of which may not be written in my destiny.

The outward-bound vessel was ready, and scrupulously clean : the cows were still lowing for the calves, which they had left last night behind them : the sheep were clean and well-looking, unconscious of the sway and the brine of the ocean : the barn-door fowls were plump and defiant, redolent of the Hampshire farmyard : the stewards stood at their ease, fresh, smiling, and intelligent, like

ministering Angels. What body of men so polite, and so pleasant-spoken, as the Ship's Officers in harbour? So charming are the arrangements of the saloon, so convenient, snug, and surprising the eccentric contrivances of the cabin, and the berth, that stayers at home reflect with wonder on the waste of room and air in beds and bedrooms in England. Ah me! if experience makes wise, wise indeed must be those, who have gone down to sea in the ships of the great Company, and have known, what it is to be for six weeks degraded from the position of a man to that of a passenger!

As the hour of noon approached, crowds began to assemble. As yet there was no outward discrimination between those, who were to part, and those who were to stay. Stewardesses were heard wondering, whether No 64 in the Ladies' Saloon was to be the young Miss in the hat, or the old party in barnacles. Some were thoughtless spectators, who were more tolerable than the odious Agents, who flocked here on business only: others, like myself, appreciated the position, entered into each sorrow, and filled up in fancy the detail of each history, for, as the hour of eleven struck, the motive of this gathering began to show itself unmistakably. Some, who up to this moment had held up bravely, burst into sudden and uncontrolled weeping. Partings, which had already taken place in anguish and unknown bitterness of heart in secret cabins, in hotel-rooms, in the privacy of domestic circles, were here acted over again before the cold world; for in the agony of the moment Nature spoke out, and demanded her own tribute. I stood up on a bench, and looked around. Every variety of unmistakable affliction was around me: husbands leaving wives, parents blessing and sobbing over children, sister parting with sister, brother with brother, and friend with friend. Bitter was it to behold, when both reciprocated, bitterer still to see the thoughtless boy shaking off the caresses of his widowed mother, who had pinched herself for his weal, and will long, long as her fond heart beats, pray for him, and think of him, while he in a few hours after the ship has left the port will be calling to his fellows on the forecastle, and will have forgotten his mother, and her advice, as if they had never been.

It is not often, that we can weigh grief against grief, and contrast sorrow with sorrow; witness at the same moment the overwhelming, abandoned, loving grief of youth, the heavy tear-storm of manhood, the strong frame quivering with emotion, the chastened enduring sorrow of middle life, where there is no hope to brighten, no future to look forward to. There ought indeed to be some recompense to those, who have to commence, carry on, and conclude, the battle of life with such a struggle.

Some will never see England again: this is a solemn thought: never again see those fertile and gay valleys, those undulating downs, broken with steeples and towers, to which the heart clings

so fondly, which will rise before them in many a fevered dream, which they will bless with dying breath, when they have ceased to care for aught besides. Stayers at home know not the bitter thirst of those, who long to, but cannot, return. Some are parting with aged Parents, and will see their faces no more. On your knees, on your knees, crave blessings, ask pardon, and breathe a word of gratitude into those ears, before it is too late! it may be a pleasure to them, for they have done their duty, but to you it may be the one thing, which, if done, will soothe your dying moments, and which, if left undone, will bring its own remorse. Some may live to return, but so changed, that they will know and be known no more. They may climb to honour, and achieve enviable greatness, but those, who loved them best, and most unselfishly, will never know it: they may have hoped it, have prophesied it, have in their heart of hearts believed it, but they will not live to see it.

The time is approaching; the steam is getting up; shrill is the Boatswain at the capstan; and Ship Officers, who clearly have no such things as a relation in the world, give hints to strangers, that they must depart. The last copy of the *Times* is bought from the news-vendor: oh! how often will those pages be conned over, for days and weeks must elapse before the next day's issue is seen, and so long will it have remained in sight, that even at the end of the journey it will escape destruction, and perhaps years after turn up, as a memorial of the day of departure from home. To one, as a parting present, a nosegay of flowers is offered, and received in tears, for redolent is it of the giver, of home, and of garden alleys, down which the feet of that youthful traveller will never again saunter. The bitter waters of separation are crossed in silence and sobbing. Grief is universally understood, and respected, for on that spot it has ceased to be a novelty. The anchor has been raised, the plank of communication removed, and the noble vessel moves in the docks. Hurry round, friends and loving ones, to the point, whence once more you can see the form of those, whom you love, can recognize their last salutation, distinguish the last wave of the handkerchief. But now all is gone, the individual merges into the vessel, which still excites interest, as the holder of such treasures. Now that is gone also, and parents, and children, and wives, are left alone on the strand lamenting.

Down the Southampton River glides proudly the noble vessel, sighting many a happy home, many a sweet villa, past Hythe, past Netley Abbey, under the shady slopes of Cadlands, past the mouth of the Humble: before her lies the Isle of Wight, and Osborne House, throned on its green eminence, and many a smaller vessel, bent on pleasure and traffic, is passed by in contempt by the great sea-going *Leviathan*. But, as she rounds Calshot Castle, steam is

shortened to exchange one word of salutation with her consort, which at that moment comes within hail on its return from Alexandria. Short is the greeting, and sadder the gloom of those, who are departing, when thus brought into contact with and sight of those, who are returning. "Farewell to the outward-bound," I exclaim, as, availing myself of the boat, which passed from ship to ship, I transported myself to the deck of the homeward-bound vessel.

Dirt, and sunny, sunburnt countenances, light hearts and indifferent costumes, were around me. The hencoops were empty, the decks decidedly grimy, the passengers provokingly selfish, and bad company, trying to wring me as a sponge to extract public news, vexing my spirit with inquiries, whether unknown individuals had arrived at any one of the hotels, and at what hour trains started to London. Round me echoed the din of foolish lotteries. On the deck was heaped the strangest kind of baggage, and the male passengers wore the most eccentric kind of headpieces. Some, who had evidently taken pains with themselves, wore shirt-collars of an antique mould, and coats with the buttons between the shoulders, while they writhed in the tightness of their straps. No smart new portmanteau from Regent Street, no smart dandified youngsters were there, but a vast aggregate of shapeless trunks, tin petárahs, birdcages, and cane-baskets, a crowd of unshorn, ill-tended men, men all of whom had suffered much, if they had not done much. Wounds, disfigurements, and disease, had swept away the pride of beauty and manliness, and many a countenance told its own tale of bad lives, bad livers, hopeless fever, and broken-down constitutions. What struck me most was the general atmosphere of children, into which I had dropped. Babies in the arms of black nurses, or black servants leading about children, met me at every turn. In the least-expected corner I stumbled over an infant refreshing itself with a draught at a dusky fountain, or lost my balance by an inroad of boys passing between my legs. The word "Baba" seemed to float in the air, for the doings of fifty children in a confined space set at least a hundred tongues in motion. I descended to the saloon, and even my respect for the fair sex could not disguise the fact, that a voyage has a most distressing effect. The pretence of finery in some by a Kashmir shawl flung over the worn-out travelling dress, and the soiled collar, made the contrast more lamentable. Still all was bustle, and the desire of the heart of all was to be clear of the good ship, which bore in gallantly forward.

As we touched the shore, and the plank was laid down, on rushed a crowd of anxious inquirers, and looked askingly around; then came recognitions and embracings, tears of gratitude and joyful voices. Old mothers fell on the necks of middle-aged, faded daughters, and men, who had been presumptuously called by their

fellows old themselves, found older fathers, of whom mankind in India had never dreamed, ready to welcome them. There was a general buzz of inquiry, and comparative analysis of appearances, in which the world at large could partake. "I should not have known you!" "Is it you, indeed?" "What! little Fanny?" "Are these the children?" "How are you all at home?" "Let me introduce you?" These happy parties soon clear off. How foul the steamer feels to them! How valueless all the little comforts, for which they have struggled and paid, as Englishmen only pay! Off they go to the hotel to be shaved, to buy new hats, to dress themselves so as to quiet the susceptibility of their friends. England welcomes their return with strict custom-houses, heavy duties, oppressive porters, and exorbitant hotel-keepers. Many a romantic hero, who had designed to kiss the consecrated earth of his country, as he stepped on shore, finds his feelings choked within him by the hard flags of the pavement, and the singular want of sympathy of the Dockyard Establishment

But there are those, who find no friend to meet them. One has found news, that his mother is dead, and that he has returned too late; some have found letters announcing some sad calamity, or offering cold welcome to relations bankrupt in credit, health, and fortune, who have failed in the battle of life, or outlived those who cared for them. Widowed fathers sit apart with little children in deep black on their knees, until the crowd has cleared away, and they can steal away to some solitude, and try to find comfort. Others are there, who expect neither friend nor letter, for whom owing to long exile England has ceased to be a country, and who land, as if landing on a foreign shore. Hopeless are they indeed, who have outlived the love of their country, or forfeited the love of their relations!

And there are those, who have gone through much tribulation: mothers, who have seen their children perish, and whose hands are empty, and whose hearts are blank; men, whose wives and families have been slaughtered before their eyes, who have called on man in vain for assistance in their agony, who look on the meetings of others with staring and hollow eyes, for they are alone in the world. May God in His mercy help and console them!

Amritsar, 1859.

XIII.

PARTING FOR INDIA.

AND so my sister is to go to India! She has chosen for her mate one of those stern spirits, which were fashioned for rule and power, and therefore wisely placed *there*, where that capacity can be developed.

She is to go, and that soon: ere ever her old home has vanished, while it is still in all circumstances and persons complete, while her parents still claim her affection and sustaining hand, while the old house is still as it was, when she was a child, while the friendships of her youth are still strong, and naught has happened to dis sever the charmed circle of her girlhood.

She is to go: it was written in her destiny. I had known what such goings meant. I knew the full meaning of the words, separation and exile, letter by letter, not from the set phrases of kind friends, but from the early experience in youth, from the recurrence in manhood. My own heart was steeled and proof against the weakness, yet the contemplation of it in another, and one that I loved, opened old wounds, and with the interest of one who has suffered, I watched the sufferings of others.

At first no mention of the hated name was to be made: no black thoughts were allowed to tarnish the white roses of the bride: the darkness of to-morrow was not allowed to dim the brilliancy of to-day. But weeks and months crept on. Time will not be trifled with; and a tinge of bitterness poisoned the charmed chalice, and all felt, what none like to speak of, that *the blow was to fall*.

There were the last preparations to distract, the last round of letters to write and receive. How little do the warm-hearted, yet thoughtless, correspondents think of the wounds which they inflict! how lightly they talk of the wrench, which is to take place! how they seem to rejoice in dressing out in some new phrase the pang, which has ever been present before the waking and sleeping thoughts of the victim!

Next came the parting with those, who were never valued so much as when about to be lost, the acquaintances of every-day life, for whom one cared not much, but whom one cared still less to lose. There were the partings of civility, the partings of well-meant kindness; there was the last word to be said to the old servant, the last shake of the hand of the neighbour, who has been known from childhood. With an aching heart, but

tearless eye, has all this to be gone through: a cheerfulness has to be maintained to keep up the spirits of those dearer, and nearer, for the struggle of the morrow.

Ah! that morrow; how well we know it! It is a morrow, that commences overnight, for the feeling of the last "good-night" is even worse than the last "good-bye." The last kneeling at family-prayers, the last meeting in the family-circle, the last assembly of all in the same room: here is the true agony of parting. On the morrow there is bustle, excitement, necessity for action, but at night there is the embrace repeated so often, oh! so often, the last loving words to be said, the last look to be looked, the mutual forgivings (for who has not offended?) to be interchanged, the night robbed of its sleep, the heavy dream worse than awakening, the too early arrival of dawn.

And now the fatal moment has arrived: she falls on her old father's neck, and sobs: her lips refuse to utter the word "Farewell," for in that fatal word, however we promise, and hope, and believe, we know, *that there breathes despair*. Silent she receives her father's blessing; silent she embraces her mother. She believes, she hopes, that it is only a dreadful dream: she acts unconsciously, and she scarcely awakes from her trance, until the door has turned upon her. Her last look has been taken: she is gone. Oh! what would she give for one other look of the old scene, one more embrace: but it is over: she is gone. Her home knows her no longer.

But her place will long be vacant. Before the eyes of her parents her figure will ever arise, sanctified by distance, and sweetened by Time. Faithful Memory will bring back to them the little trials, which had endeared her to them, the little habits, perhaps the little faults, of their lost darling. They will remember the beautiful infant, as it was first presented to their embrace in the nurse's arms: oh! so long ago, that it had been forgotten; but it now comes back with the distinctness of yesterday; then the incidents of her childhood. How many a long night has the Mother watched by the sick-bed of the sweet daughter, trembling at the idea of losing *for ever what she has now lost*! how the father has crept on tiptoe to catch one glimpse of the pale face, and share the cares and fears of his helpmate! Other scenes of joyousness and happiness, merry meetings at Christmas, merry welcomings of happy new years, come back to the recollection: but in all *she* was present. No picture of the nursery, the schoolroom, no family-meeting has been void of her figure until now. Can that place ever be supplied? Can we go back over the years of the past, and unweave the thread, which bears her name, from the golden tissue of the history of a Family.

And she, poor girl! as she glides along the plains of France, or is tossed on the waves of the Mediterranean, how often with

bursting heart, and tearful eyes, will the fearful conviction of the truth of what seems a dream come over her in the novelty of her grief! How will the long hours at sea pass with her, with heart yearning for home and prayers, that she may live to return there, and *part no more—no more!* How often will the picture of the dear old home, the aged parents sighing for that form, which they may never see again, the vacant seat never to be filled up, come back to her, expanded by fancy, and hallowed by memory! How often, when she least expects, will the chord be struck and the heart reply! At the sound of some voice, the note of some song, when lonely, or in company, the light of other days will gleam in her eyes, her lips will move inarticulately, she will think fondly and lovingly of the old place at home, of the little window, where the morning sun came peeping, of the alleys and garden paths, down which in childhood and girlhood she had flown, of the old sycamore, under the shadow of which she had so often sat, listening to the cawing of the rooks, and thinking of nothing so little as India. Ah! many the happy hours she has there spent, many the joke and the smile she has there given birth to, many the song she has sung *in days that can never return!* Often in her new home, amidst the luxuriant foliage of her Asiatic garden, will busy Memory bear her back to the less glorious, but more familiar, vegetation of her country, and amid the palm-trees of Bangál she will bless in recollection the good green wood of England, and, breathing a prayer (God grant that it may be not in vain) to see them again, own in tears of anguish, that a thorn from home is more precious than the flowers of India.

And as months and years fly by, how strange a homesickness will come over her! How she will long for the sound of voices that are still! How in dreams she will revisit, free from shackles, the green fields of her home! If by chance she meet some one from the old country, how her heart will warm to him, though a stranger, and how much she will have to ask him! How pleasant *even to talk of home!* “Oh! did you see my Parents? Oh! what would I give for the sight of those features once more, ere the grave close over me!” How eagerly will she welcome the missives of love, brought thousands of miles, but still fragrant of Home, and speaking to her heart like voices from the departed! Yes, let her cherish them, blister them with her tears, gather them up as her most valued treasures; for while many a fond kiss has left no trace on her cheek, and has been forgotten, many a loving word has entered her ears, and flow out again at the ivory-gate to be remembered no longer, yet *these* will be always hers, to be pored over in secret, and pressed to the bosom, when the hand of the writer has long been cold, and the affectionate heart, which dictated the phrase, has long mouldered into dust. Let her cherish them, and in her loving replies cheer her aged parents, seated

by the fireside dreaming, that *they once had a daughter*. Let her know, that a tenderness is thrown over all she said and did : terms of affection are coupled with her name : she had been forgiven, if ever she erred : she has been blessed night and morning. Long, long as home exists, shall we miss her merry laugh : never more can our circle be complete, for *there will be one always absent*.

Wherever she may be, I do not think, that she can have forgotten all ; for how we cling to England in a strange land ! how in vain we seek to be comforted ! how we prefer it in our mirth ! how we weep over it in our sadness ! how our heart's roots lie in the soil ! We stretch out our hands to bless it from afar, and Memory adores it in distant lands away.

It is hers to crown other realms of love with blessing, to be the happy centre of another home, to be the worthy helpmate of one of Life's stern reapers, one who will haply leave some trace in the sands of Time, and better and nobler is this than to wear out a vegetable existence in some obscure retreat amid dull domestic cares.

Still ever and anon will come some token of her grief, though trodden down. Remembrance often will wake her busy train, and the heart will beat in unison. Some thought will ever claim the tribute of a tear, for none are so desolate, to whom this blessing is denied. Perhaps new cares, new troubles, the solemn martyrdom of Maternity will arise : perhaps she will hear, that her old home has vanished like a dream, that her parents are no more ; but baby-lips will not laugh down the intense love of home, the water-floods will not drown it, the tomb of loved ones will not bury it. She will try to communicate the same feelings to her little ones, talking to them of distant places, and interesting them in scenes, which dwell in her own memory unforgotten.

And even if she lived to return after years have flown by, and sharp necessity, and experience, have taught her, that the home of the wise is in themselves, that to the self-collected all countries furnish a resting-place ; but if she return, how strange all things will then appear ! how small will seem the dwelling-house, which was once the centre and limit of her world ! what a change will she find in the little commonwealth of the village ! The old men, whom she had known as a child, will have long been slumbering under the turf, and their graves will be shown her under the yew-tree : toddling children will have been transformed into stalwart yeomen, and will scarcely confess to know her : some, perhaps those, whom her heart longed for most, will be *not*. Let her grieve, but let her confess that such is the order of mortality.

But perhaps she will not live to return. That one, so loved, and so regretted, may die in a strange country, amidst strangers, or perhaps alone in the roadside-refuge, no fond Mother to smooth her pillow, no fond heart, on which her parting soul can rely, no

sweet friend to soothe her anguish Still in her last day, as she watches the rays of the setting sun, which will never rise again to her, her thoughts will turn to the land of the West. The heart knows its own bitterness.

Courage, Sister, be not cast down! Others have trod this path before you. Compose yourself in humble faith to meet your Saviour.

Windsor, 1856.

XIV.

FAREWELL TO MY INDIAN DISTRICT.

I HAD been three years in civil charge of a newly conquered territory, the pioneer of Civilization in an obscure nook of India. I had abandoned the ways of my countrymen, and in the energy of youth had thrown myself into my charge, thinking in my fond egotism, that there was no part of the world like it, no scenery so glorious, no inhabitants so manly and noble. I had begun to look upon it as a second home, when one morning I received laconic notice, that I was to quit it, that my services were to be transferred elsewhere. Whether I owed this to the jealousy of a rival, or to freak of power in the Rulers, I know not, nor did I care to inquire.

Often times, though I have since risen to far higher power and dignity, have I pondered on the circumstances attending me at that period of my career, of the fairylike life, which I then lived; and, though I have long since acknowledged, that what happened was well, a thought of that parting pierces me with a dart still capable of wounding. Still a feeling of fascination attends those regions, which I never have seen, nor ever may see, again.

In the earliest dawn of manhood, caught away from the dull routine of my contemporaries by a gust of invasion and war, I found myself in the presence of heroes and statesmen, in the hour of danger and in the moment of victory. I was present at the concussion of rival armies, and the breaking up of the great Sikh Monarchy; and, when the storm cleared away, I was dropped alone, as from the clouds, among a new people, of whom the name and habitations had been unknown to me three months before.

War had again intervened, intestine war. There was to be a second struggle for Empire. I had seen smoke rising from the firing of my own villages, attacked under my eyes by my own troops. I had been congratulated upon the defeat and destruction of my own misguided children.

Much had there been in the natural features of the country, the blending of hill and plain, the union of mountain and river; but it was the development of my own faculties, the first sweet taste of unbounded power for good over others, the joy of working out one's own design, the contagious pleasure of influencing hundreds, the new dignity of independence, the novelty of Rule and swift obedience, this and the worship of Nature in the solemnity of its grandeur, and the simplicity of its children, were the fascinations, which had enchanted me.

In the course of the first year I traversed in every direction the Regions under my control, dwelling among the people, studying their feelings and their habits. The tent had become my home, and the horse my only means of transport. Simple was the repast, light were the slumbers, unbroken the health in those days, when the earliest morn found me in the saddle. How familiar I became with the Sun in his downsettings and uprisings! At starting Cynthia was my guide, and in treading the plain I looked with familiar pleasure at Orion, or counted the stars of the sinking Pleiades; until at length the East reddens, the chorus of birds announce, that a great event is about to happen, and glorious Phoebus looks me steadily in the face. On the journey he is lost again, for I dare not look upwards, until older, wiser, broader grown, he sinks into the river, with the golden shadow of his last smile playing through the green foliage with beauty inexpressible.

An hour before daylight all is dead silence: the sound of dogs barking is heard at a mile's distance. As we wade the river with lighted torches, we hear each melodious splash. All is dark, but the darkness becomes thinner, the black softens down to grey, the wind begins to blow, the stars begin to wane, to the silence succeeds a murmur; each bird wakes on its branch, and addresses soft notes to his companion: the great family of the wood is rousing itself for its business, for the search of food, to sustain life by labour and by crime: glorious tints now overspread the Eastern skies, visions of paradise, distant, distant clouds, shaping into happy islands: Aurora is scattering her gifts on the earth; and now the Sun sails up in majesty.

And how does the thoughtful mind in such rides expand, and elevate itself to the contemplation of the great Creator! Who tied up the cotton in those small capsules? Who bade the Indian corn spring up to so lofty a height? Who gave the broad leaf to the tobacco? Who filled the sugar-cane with sweetness, and suspended bags of honey from the branches of the mango-tree? Who spangled the orange-tree with the golden fruit of the Hesperides? Who bade the juicy water-melon spring up on the arid sand? Even He, that gave the green herb for the use of man! Bountiful Providence! who does not recognize the almighty wisdom both in what Thou givest, and what Thou deniest? Who laud the

foundations of those immemorial hills? Who plumbed the depths of that crystal fountain, which leaps down in a bright cataract, sparkling in the sun? The Palm shoots up on high, and from tree to tree hang gay festoons with vast petals of divers colours: the Parrot, and the Humming-bird, and numberless children of song dash to and fro. All Nature joins in praising Him: the breeze, as it sighs melodiously through the bambu; the stream, as it dashes down in its wild course, the melodious symphony of birds, the echo of solemn valleys: these are the voices of the created, praising the Creator.

Man only is silent: Man only, where all things are grand, where vast mountains expand, and conquering rivers flow, where natural gifts are on a scale of magnificence, is degraded, and in ignorance.

But see, we have turned a fresh glade, and opened out a fresh succession of vale upon vale. See, a herd of deer have sprung forth, dashing away the dew from their flanks. Bound on unhurt, ye timid Foresters: no weapon of mine shall pierce your leather coats! Taught by that Power, which pities me day by day in my rambles, I have pity for you also.

Long trains of birds coming from Tartary announce the approach of evening, governing by some sure law their periodical migrations, describing strange lines and figures in the skies. By how many names do men know them? in how many climes do they dwell? how puny to them are the local divisions of men! what to them is the boundary of Rivers, of Empires, or of Mountains? what to them the different races of Mankind?

Now the road lies by streams, which have auriferous sands; and some poor wretches are laboriously extracting grains of gold. To the calm, thinking, mind is their situation really more debased than their more exalted brethren of the counting-house, for their object is the same, and in neither case does the gold seem worth the labour? Who knows, whether beneath those quartz rocks, if Nature be only true to herself, there may not lie fields of gold far exceeding those of Australia and California? Dame Nature smiles: she knows what secrets she has to unfold, and when she will unfold them, secrets that have escaped the glass of Herschel, systems, that have not been unravelled by Humboldt, speculated upon by Laplace, or condensed by Comte. Ships steam across the Ocean, and idly strive to tie continent to continent. Poor weak mortals think, that they have made some great discovery, some new combination of the Elements: but she laid the nuggets of gold there, when the Creation of this orb was but a new thing, and the morning-stars danced for joy: she watched over them, while the Flood was out, long ere Solomon erected his Temple: she hid them, as she hides many a bed of Orient-pearls, until the fulness of time: and we make empty boasts, that we have discovered these fields of gold, as we boast, that we have discovered the last

planet, which has, regardless of us, been revolving its magnificent orbit long, long before our own was rendered habitable for Man.

Now I gain the highest ridge, and see down the valley and into the plains, those plains, which have been traversed by conquerors after conquerors, who have left no trace behind. My companion shows me my white tent glistening in the far distance. The scene is enchanting: for I know each village, and each clump of trees is familiar. I sit down and drink in the landscape.

And my approach is like a triumphal procession, for old friends flock out with kindly greetings. Much talk is there of the harvest, many wise remarks about the weather, many kindly proffers of service; and the heart genially expands in sympathy with the joys and sorrows of the people. Wars and tumults, so long as they reach not their acres, affect them not. They care not for the change of dynasties, so long as the little tyrant of their valley does not enhance his exactions. No thought have they of the steamship, or the railway, that shake mankind; but keen are they, and full-spoken, on the subject of blight to their crops and the marriage of their children. They reckon years by harvests, and count back to the era, when their mango-groves gave a bumper-crop, and when the grain was eaten by locusts. Still their memories, if touched by a skilful hand, will give back strange fragments of ancient story. Each ruined castle, each mountain shrine, many a field, many a tree, have their tales of local traditions of conflicts, of the politics of the valley.

A ruined temple swept down by some torrent arrests the sight: the great deity could not protect his own shrine. But it is in vain to attempt to draw the thoughts of my companions to the great Creator, for their weak intellects cannot reach Heaven's throne, while their depraved imaginations grovel amidst the high places of earth, its footstool. They are not even impressed by the signs of progress in their own valley, for ruined castle, and ruined temples, speak out with a language of their own. They tell that the power of kings is transitory, that Religions pass away, and that man-made gods are forgotten. The towers of other days, if torn down by batteries, tell of war and bad passions, but when dilapidated by time, they tell more instinctively of the stealthy march of Civilization and improvement, and the arts of peace, when such muniments of war are no longer required.

The stream is now won, and our horses enter the ferry-boat. Who can see a river without delight, or cross one without a pulsation of innate joy, spurring on to reach it, drinking in the prospect, longing to rush into the waters, and dwell for ever on its banks, as the Greeks cried *Thalatta! Thalatta!* when after long wanderings they regained sight of the Ocean! No wonder that men worshipped the Ganges and the Nile, the most noble of Worshipps, not based on Revelation.

But all round what busy scenes are going on? Boys are shouting to each other, as their ancestors did when they were boys; herds of buffaloes are crossing the stream from the pasture; solemn crows are perched on their heads, while on the neck of the leader strides the youthful herdsman; voices coming down stream, oh! so cheerily! old Brahmins looking on from the bank, or with upraised hands saluting the setting sun, and repeating their immemorial prayer. In the same boat are cattle laden with goods from Manchester and apples from Kábul, and one poor widow who is conveying the remnant of her dead and burnt husband, a tooth and ashes of scarred bone, many a weary league to the Ganges; for the one only moral feature, which pervades the whole world, is the unthanked devotion of women.

Mark the smoke curling up above the trees; to that homestead I have promised this day to carry honour. Hard by my tents are pitched, but I am to lodge in the house of the exulting yeoman. There, as the night draws on, a cheerful party are gathered round the wood fire, and the hours are wiled away with tales of the local Fairy, the legends of the place, history woven with fiction. What do they know of or care for the last new invention, or for the latest news from China or Pesháwar? Public events pass over them unheeded. Civilization in its railroad-pace has left them untouched; but every word which drops from my lips is greedily swallowed in. Strange questions circulate at that fireside concerning England and Queen Victoria. They descant on their troubles under their former rulers, and end exultingly, that all their woes are now over. Does not my heart misgive me? May it not come to pass, that the neglect of European Rulers, the venality of native officials, and the Procrustes-like rigidity of Regulations will break up this family, and pull down this roof-tree! Who would wish to disturb these quiet circles of domestic peace, where Patriarchal life has been caught alive? The children gather timidly round, lifting up their lustrous black eyes, and, if the stranger be gifted with the magic power of winning children's love, they nestle down. Sad is the absence of the women, but they are nearer than they appear to me; for, as the last surprise, the latest baby is brought in, and see the modest father of scarcely sixteen years stands in his new paternity, blushing to hear the chuckling of the grandfather, who exults, as if the child were some wondrous feat of his own performing: meanwhile the fire is glistening on bracelets and black eyes behind the adjacent lattice-work, and the room is indeed the centre of an Indian family. In the morn I am once more in the saddle: my host holds the stirrup, and offers a cup of fresh milk, drinking which I lift up my eyes to the everlasting mountains. Snow has fallen since the evening. Snow! what visions of distant countries are conjured up by the thought! what remembrance of home and forgotten days! what visions of friends long since slumbering in their calm repose!

Vast forests wave in the morning breeze. The falcon springs from the wrist of my companion, hovers, and pounces upon the hare. Hark! the bugle thin and clear! Pass by the solitary hermitage: were the grand ideas of the Hindu sages worked out by such as these? Now from our lofty path the men in the fields below are reduced to their proper level, and look like beetles, villages like ant-hills, with the busy ants moving about, women filling at the well the eternal pitcher, resembling in this the daughters of Danaus, for their labours are unceasing, and so will it go on, until the pitcher of their life is broken at the well; not that the golden cord can be snapped, for small portion of gold is there in the ligament, which binds them to life. Forth comes to meet me some Rāja, boasting of his lineage from the Sun, and believing his boast; then some greybeards with their offerings of sugar or almonds, or the Rupee kept to be presented, and touched by the Ruler. There is scarce a village without its tower, or its temple, with all the freshness of scenery, the union of works of God and Man, and far greater beauty than can be found at Teviot or Loch Katrine; but for these regions no sacred poet has been forthcoming to wave his magic wand, and cast the charming robe of fiction round the statue of reality, converting bloodstained robbers into Heroes of Romance.

Oh! the deep shade of the mango and mowha at midday, where my tents are now pitched, and where Justice is now to be administered, where decision has to struggle against habitual procrastination, the strong will, trained in English schools, against subterfuge, nonchalance, and corruption. The Saxon stranger, who has come from the distance of many a hundred league, the youth of a few summers, is listened to attentively by old men, brought up in these very valleys, occupied all their lives in these subjects.

The crowd is ranged round in picturesque groups: the busy hum of men resounds, while the rooks caw loudly, being roused from their siesta. The Court is open: no javelin-men deny entry, no ermine intimidates suitors, no barristers bar men from their right, no attorneys turn light into darkness: the natural sovereign takes his place among his people.

The witness is called upon to speak to what happened under his own eyes. The man, who in a distant Court-house, abashed by the strange scene, hustled by Court-officers, browbeaten by Agents, would lie grossly and foolishly, here amidst his relations and friends, standing amidst two generations, his children clustering round their old grandfather, makes a true and gallant delivery. He is standing in the presence of his *du mayores* and *du menores*, for from the spot where he stands, he can catch sight of his house, glistening on the hillside. He sees also the shrine on the mountain-top, to which he has gladly ascended on many an annual festival: he sees the fields, in which he and his father have sported

as boys: he sees many an eye fixed on him: he feels, that there is many a tongue ready in full chorus to convict him, should he swerve from the truth; he speaks out, and fully, like a man, and will not conceal the truth, though it be to his own detriment. A long murmur of applause from the crowd, as he seats himself, confirms his veracity.

But all is over now. No longer by the stream, or the mountain, no longer in the cottage, or the castle, will my footsteps be known. Tears, idle tears! the world may wonder, why I shed them, what sympathy I can have with those, whose skins are not of the same colour with my own. They know not, that a touch of Nature makes kindred of us all.

My subjects flock in to see me, to have the last word of parting. They touch my feet sorrowfully: they tell me, that they have scarcely felt my rule, so gently have their fetters fallen on them. They crave some small note as a memorial, and as an introduction to my successor, and they promise, that they will not forget me. Tears are shed, as I lay my hands on their heads, and wish to say much, strive to be remembered to some absent friend, but the spirit gives way, and I am silent.

It was my first charge. I had won it by energetic service. I had fought for it, and held it, against all comers during a rebellion. Untrammelled by Regulations, uncumbered by domestic cares, I had fashioned it after my own model, had founded its institutions, had been led on by high burning, yet unflagging, zeal, and ambitious hopes not yet crushed and blighted. These were the brightest hours of my Indian career.

I would not cultivate the friendship of a man, who honoured not his parents, and loved not his brothers: so would I, mindful of a just Providence, not risk my life in a frail bark with one, who could coldly neglect the interests of a vast people confided to his charge, one who rejoiced not in their joys, and sympathized not in their sorrows. His name will never sound stirring on hillside and in valley. Old men will never hereafter talk lovingly of him, or quote his jocund words and describe his actions. He may achieve by force of intellect a cold reputation, but he will never have won the hearts of a simple people, nor be chronicled in the annals of the poor.

But all is over. The heart sickens at the thought. How often in the dim of the Metropolis, amidst the domestic conventionalities of England, will busy Memory go back gladly to the white tent, pitched by the stream in the mango-grove, where, far from the tumult of cities, and rattling of wheels, have passed laborious hours, devoted in sincerity and simple-mindedness to the benefit of the people! Memory will recall the slanting rays of the sun, the cry of the peacock, the cooing of the doves, the white figures glancing through the shade, the row of elephants, and horses, and

camels. Thus dwelt Abraham, when he migrated to Hebron : thus judged the early Judges in Israel. A man may forget his first love ; but his first District, the primeval Forest, into which he was sent as first settler, will not be forgotten.

Hoshiarpúr, 1849.

Banda, 1854.

Amritsar, 1859.

XV.

THE INDIAN DISTRICT.

SOME papers come before me, on which the latest stroke of my pen fell in October, 1859 ; domestic troubles and illness had caused the pen to fall from my hands, and the ink has faded. The pages of my journal carry me back still further to enable me to complete the picture, which I was then sketching, and the days are brought vividly before me, when, having defeated the Sikh army in February, 1846, we annexed the country betwixt the rivers Satlaj and Beas, and sold the valley of Kashmír to the Maharája Goláb Singh of Jamu.

I had buried my Master and Chief, George Broadfoot, having recovered his body from the trenches of Chillianwála : I had been present by the side of Henry Hardinge and Henry Lawrence in the tremendous battle of Sobraon : I had been sent into Lahór on a solitary Elephant to persuade Maharája Dhulip Singh, and Goláb Singh the Wazir, and the Sikh chiefs, to come out to the camp of the beleaguering army at Mián Mír : I did not know then in the insouciance of youth, how very near to death I came that day. I was present and took part in all the proceedings of that period, and, when the tide of war rolled away, I was left, as my reward, in charge of the beautiful district of Hoshiarpúr, at the age of twenty-five, *quite alone*, amidst a people, who had never seen a European ; but I was in constant correspondence with my chief, and that chief was John Lawrence.

I used to march for many months about the District, consorting with my people, having given up my own Language, and adopted theirs. It was situated at the foot of the Himaláya, and the lower ranges were included in it. I knew every one of the thousand villages, and loved the people and the country. At eventide, when work was over, we used to saunter out, and sit on one of the jutting headlands, and watch the sun setting. Such a combination of mountain, river, and plain, can never be forgotten. Who were my companions ? They were young and old, Hindu, Sikh, and Mahometan ; some were owners of the soil, or mere cultivators ;

some were the hereditary servants of the Village or the Hundred, the Accountant and Kanúngo, and the trained officials from Delhi and Agra. Where are they all now? How many questions rise up in my mind, which with my riper experience I should like to ask them! Sometimes the Priest from the neighbouring temple would come down and sit near us, the travelling mendicant, who had visited all the shrines of India, or the young celibate of the neighbouring convent. Some of their names float, like strange sounds, in my brain; but of those cheerful parties all the older members have long since been burned on the funeral pyre, and the young have grown old, and a whole generation of greybeards have long since passed away.

What did we talk of? The history of these tracts, their own experiences, the tales of the country-side. Beneath us lay the great battlefields, where the fate of India had more than once been decided, and there was a ceaseless flow of anecdotes. I had long known and liked old Dil Súkh Rai, Kanúngo. He was an independent old gentleman, past the age of sixty, but still hearty enough to accompany me in my rides on his pony; and many the tale he told me, drawing on his own experiences and the legends of his ancestors. He was prejudiced in some things, but kind and benevolent; and, as he had taken service for many years in one of our old Districts in Northern India, he was much in advance of his neighbours, but he still spoke the sweet Panjáb dialect, and on his return to his country had fallen back into his old habits and dress.

One evening we found ourselves on a rising ground, which commanded not only a large portion of my present District, but a large portion also of the adjoining one of Ambála, which had been three times in my charge, and in which the old man had served the State for many years. We gave our horses to some one to hold. I was drinking in the landscape, and thinking that the time must come, when I must leave my District, and wondering how former native rulers had looked on the same beautiful prospect, as the many-armed Satlaj was flowing under our feet, and mountain rising above mountain behind us. Immediately beneath us lay the old man's own Pargána, or Hundred, of about twenty villages; his face showed no signs of thought: it was possible, that he was thinking of nothing, as he smoked his pipe, and looked calmly downwards.

At length I said: "You must have known many District-Officers in Ambála during your long service, and seen many changes in your own district of Hoshiarpúr since you were a boy?" "Yes," he replied thoughtfully, "it is now forty years, since the English rule commenced East of the Satlaj. I was quite a young man, but I remember the day, when the red-coated regiments arrived at Ludiána. We had heard strange stories in our villages, how the

General ate a young child each morning, and the Doctors seized men, and, after boring a hole in their skull, hung them up by the legs to let their brains ooze out, as a compound for their medicines. We were told, that we should all lose our caste, and have to eat with sweepers. In consequence many buried their jewels, and removed their women and children to hill-villages for safety. Well! nothing of the kind happened, that old fort by the river-side in ruins held out for a few days, but the gate was blown open, the garrison captured, and each man, instead of being killed, as he expected, was ferried across the river, and set free with a rupee in his hand. Quiet was soon restored, and we were surprised to find everything going on as usual. Gradually people came back, a cantonment was marked out for the white soldiers; bungalows were built, and we were astonished to find everything paid for. You can see the mounds to the left of the old fort, where stood the Colonel's bungalow. Ten years later the cantonment was abandoned, but the burial-ground still remains, and that white speck marks the grave of a Sahib, who was killed by a Dakait."

"Did you ever talk to the Sahibs?" I asked. "Yes, I did, I used to be a good deal about the place, and some of them were very sociable; but they spoke so strangely, that at first we could not understand them; but one of them, who had black hair and black eyes, spoke like a native, and with him I made great friendship: he was just my own age, and was killed in one of the battles with the Marátha. I used to see in his bungalow the goings-on of the Sahibs. They always had twisted leaves of tobacco in their mouths, or white bits of clay; and they drank brandy and played games. The Colonel was a just man, for one of the grass-cutters was flogged for cutting young green wheat in a field; and he was always ready to listen to complaints; and, although he was easily angry and called people bad names, he was easily appeased. He died of the cholera, and was buried in that graveyard. Some of us stood by, while they read a book over his body, and threw earth in upon the grave."

"But how did you get employed in the Office at Ambála?" "Why," he replied, "I could read and write, and knew accounts, as all my ancestors did; and one day I was summoned as a witness in a case, and the Collector was pleased with my answers, and laughed at my having earrings in my ears, and asked, if I would like to learn my work in his Office, and he gave me ten rupees a month as a writer. I was twenty-five years in the employ of the British Government, until my uncle died, and I succeeded him in the hereditary office of our family with the pension of my term of service."

"You must have seen a great many Collectors in that time?" said I. "Indeed, I have, and I know and remember them all. One or two lived to go back to their country, but most of them

died in India. My first master was a rough-and-ready soldier, always on horseback. He told me, that honesty was the best policy, and that if I would be content with my lawful wages, I should remain longer in office, and be richer in the end. I believed him, and found it to be true. He used to be too hasty and do acts of injustice, when he meant to do right." "Something like myself," I interrupted him. "Pardon me," said the old man respectfully, "I may have thought so, but I did not mean to insinuate it. The Sahibs often err from not knowing the feelings of the people, and wound us in ignorance. After my first master, who died, came a quite different kind of Officer from the Districts east of Delhi. He brought his wife with him, and never rode on horseback, but used, when not in office, to be always with her. I think I see him now walking in the garden with her arm under his. They used to smile at each other and talk. They saw nobody. He did his work in a certain way, rarely went into camp, rarely spoke to natives, until one day we heard that the lady had died. I with others attended to see her buried, and I shall never forget the face of the Sahib. In the evening we saw him walking alone in the same walk, and sitting on the same bench, and we heard him sob and cry, as if he had lost his mother or daughter, but we could not understand, how a man could mourn in such a way for his wife; but you Sahibs are different from us; and next day a new Collector came, his predecessor going to Calcutta, and I never heard his name again. For some years we used to put flowers on the lady's grave, but soon that was forgotten. Other Collectors went and came: some bad, some good; some swore and drank, and beat the natives; some were led entirely by their Headman; some were very careless and passionate, but still they liked the people, and the people liked them; some were always saying prayers; some seemed to have no Religion at all, and had a Zanána, like natives. But there was one feature in all. I never knew an instance of anyone taking, or being suspected of taking, a rupee, as a bribe or a present; and all lived simple lives without show or expenditure. You are a strange people, Sahib. Any other race when in power would have plundered the people, and given lands and houses to their relations; but none of these Sahibs took more than their pay, and, as far as we can judge, they had no relations. The people used to say, that the English had no hearts, and were mere machines for fighting and writing; but I, who had seen the poor lady buried, and seen some of the Collectors playing with their little children, knew better. And there was one Sahib who, when the time came for him to go home and see his old parents, cried like a child at leaving his people and his District; and when he left,¹ all the town, and many of the villagers, who had

¹ This happened to me twice: once at Hoshiarpur, 1849, and once at Banda, 1855; and I look back on it as something better than titles, better than honours.

come in from a long distance, stood by the roadside for the length of a mile to see him go, and bless him. But they are not all like that. And they change also; for when this Sahib came back after some years in a higher post with wife and children, he did not seem to care for his old friends as before. I heard people say that, it was not the same Sahib, though it looked like him. In one thing all the Sahibs, whom I have met, resemble each other: they seem to have no fear; they go about quite alone, without guards, and sleep tranquilly in the midst of dangers. I remember, that there was a rebellion in the District once, and one Sahib went out and slept in a little tent not far from the rebel chief.¹ It was suggested to the rebel, that they should attack and kill him by night, but when they found him and his two servants asleep, they returned and said, that they could not do it, for they were sure that, there was some Jin or Afrit ready to fall upon them." "The eye of God seemed always to be upon them," I answered; "and they knew it, and feared no one else."

We were silent for some time after the last remark. It is the remarkable phenomenon of the English Rulers in India that they have no fear; either from ignorance, or the high spirit of youth, or the innate nobility of the conquering race, they go about alone among the people. And this is at once the secret of their power, and a cause of awe to the people. It is true, that both my superior officer, Frederick Mackeson, and my assistant, Robert Adams, fell by the hand of the assassin; and for years I had a loaded revolver under my pillow by night, and in a drawer of my table by day, but I never had once occasion to use it, and yet I had lived for years alone among the people in distant parts of India, and never had a bad night from anxiety, or felt the necessity of beating a hasty retreat. If once we lose this prestige, if the Officers of Government keep to the towns, and appear only with guards around them, our Empire, which is based on Opinion, is gone. The District Officer, on his horse among his people, is their Ruler and Master. Shut up in the towns he is a mere name and a puppet.

"Tell me," I said at length, "something about your own family."

"Well," he replied, "my father died forty years ago; but my mother is still alive and lives with me. Her eye is not dimmed, her teeth are sound, and she moves about, eats her cake, and rules my home. She is more than eighty years old, and remembers the invasion of India by Ahmed Shah, and the battle of Pánapat, and the sacking of Sarhind by the Sikhs. She has often talked of those times. She had just been fetched home by my father from

¹ This happened to me in the rebellion of the Jalandhar Doab, 1848.

her father's house far away beyond Ludiána, when the Sikhs broke out into rebellion and sent their horsemen far and wide. One evening two arrived and threw their shoes into our village, as a proof that they had taken possession. The Mahometan Power had broken down, and we were too timid to do anything but submit. When I grew up to take notice, Jy Singh was established, as Chief over this Pargana. My father died young. I married, when I was twelve years old, and had several sons, but they are all dead. But I have grandsons and great-grandsons in my home; they have learned to read and write, and help me in my office, to which they will succeed, unless"—and he paused and looked at me—"the English sweep away this office also."

"Have you no school," I said, "for the children of the other villagers?"

"No," said he gravely. "You might as well ask the squirrels, why they do not educate their young, or ask the birds, why they do not alter the forms of their nests and adopt new customs; tell the goats to leave off gambolling. The children of the tiller of the soil are like them: they enjoy the sun; they hunger and thirst; they sleep and play; by the time that they are able to work they are condemned to labour, and thus the whole of their life passes away. So did that of their fathers for countless generations, and so will that of their children; and if you are wise, Sahib, you will let them alone. Each year they have their marriage-feasts, and their festivals, and they go up to that high hill to rub their head against the Idol. They never miss their daily meal and nightly sleep. Each man has his wife and his children. If their lot is hard, at least it is certain: let them alone."

"Ján Lárens, and you, have already done many things, which will give trouble hereafter. I was present at Hoshyarpúr, when you called out to the Landholders, that there were three things, which they must never do in future, and, if they did, that you would punish them: that they must not burn their widows; that they must not kill their infant daughters; that they must not bury alive their lepers. I remember an old Sikh remarking to me: 'Why do the Sahibs fret about such matters? If we pay them their revenue, and abstain from rebellion and plundering, why do they meddle with our women and sick people?' Then, next year came the order to allow cows to be killed, and compelling children to be vaccinated. The hearts even of well-wishers of the English Government fell within them, when they heard such bad things, especially when in the Proclamation of Conquest it was stated, that all our Religious customs were to be maintained. This year we hear, that the people are to be counted and their names taken down, and schools are to be opened, for which the people are to pay an extra cess. Then you are cutting roads all over the District, which never had one before, and did very well without

them. Some day the Sahibs will repent of this. What is to become of our homes, full of childless widows, virgin widows, useless widows, none of whom can by our laws marry again? Where are the high families in some castes to find husbands for their daughters, without loss of credit or run from the expense? What will become of the country, if the lepers, instead of being buried alive, as they are quite accustomed to be, are allowed to roam about, and live at the public expense on the threat of touching our children? And then think of the cows and the bulls, why should you kill them? Poor creatures! they are the objects of our veneration, and it is a sin to shed their blood." He then quoted a Sanskrit text to prove, "that the greatest virtue was not to injure anyone," which he seemed to limit to cows, to the exclusion of women and lepers.

The old man warmed up under the sense of the terrible grievance, and was then silent. I sat and looked into the future, and wondered, how this problem would work itself out: never for a moment could I doubt, that the famous trilogue to spare the lives of widows, female children, and lepers, was a just one; yet customs become so deep-rooted, that they caused moral blindness, or the obliquity of vision evidenced by my good friend.

At this moment the rooks began to caw over up in a lofty cotton-tree; there was glory from the setting sun in the atmosphere, and a humming sound from the insects in the trees; long lines of wild geese were passing over our heads; from the Hindu temple below us came up the sound of the gong and the bell, as the hour of evening prayer had come; there was an indescribable beauty in the prospect, as each village, each separate homestead, stood out in distinctness, and we each of us knew them by name. The old man watched the scene; something passed through his mind, and he said: "Why do the Sahibs allow all our ancient trees to be cut down or disfigured by the camel-drivers? Why are our sacred pipal-trees, that stand round our temples, so lopped and hacked about? Why are the materials of our old tombs and shrines carted away for new buildings in the Cantonment? The Mahometan Rulers and the Sikh Chieftains had spared them: under that great tree below my ancestors have sat for twenty generations, and the stump gives no shade now, and the monkeys have been driven off, who used to play round the great tank. Some of them were also shot by the camp-followers." I felt for the old man, and sympathized in this grievance, but we were on the highway of armies, and the Civil Authorities were helpless. A military camp arrived one morning; the mischief was done in the day, and the camp was gone that night; identification of the plunderer, or the thing plundered, was impossible: the camp-followers came, like the cholera or some fell disease; they selected their victim and departed.

I was anxious to test from the mouth of a man, experienced as he was, the correctness of the nature of the tenures of land, as accepted in official books in Northern India; in fact, I was testing in a practical view the accuracy of my own knowledge, such as it was, by the hard logic of actual facts; so I said to him: "Tell me, Dil Súkh Rai, the history of the twenty villages, which are situated in your hereditary Pargana. No doubt they will supply different and perhaps every variety of tenures, and you will be able to explain how this came about." He replied: "Gladly I will try to do so; they have been my life's study, and what I tell you, I received from the lips of my father, and he from his.

"The whole twenty villages have been for more than sixty years in the Revenue-Assignment, or Jaghír, of Jy Singh Sirdar and his descendants. He does not live here now, and under your new arrangements he cannot interfere with the Landholders; but he receives from them annually in four instalments, at fixed dates, the Revenue assessed on each village by Ján Lárens. Of the revenue thus collected he pays one-quarter as tribute to you; when he dies, his eldest son will succeed, and pay one-half as tribute for his life; and on his death the interests of the family cease, and the whole will be paid to the British Government. He possesses a garden and a few acres under his own cultivation in one village; and of the twenty villages he has granted the Revenue of two to persons, who hold under him and subject to his grant. One village is assigned to his family priest in return for prayers offered up at a Hindu shrine; the other is assigned to a Mahometan prostitute, who is the mother of one of his children."

He interrupted his narrative for a moment. "Ah! Sahib, that resumption of Revenue-Assignments has been the ruin of many a family, and the cause of bitter discontent all over India. What with the bribery of the native employés, and the tedious length of the investigation, many have lost their all, and their land has been resumed after all; it seemed so hard to take away fields occupied for two or three generations."

"Do not say so," I replied; "Dil Súkh Rai, be reasonable; I wonder that you, who see things so clearly, can call this injustice. You know well enough, that a Government must maintain armies, police, courts of justice, or else no order could be maintained, and they must be paid in cash. You know, that nearly the only means of paying them is supplied by the land-tax, according to the immemorial custom of India. Why, then, should a few people, sons of servants of the former Government, or courtiers, or priests, perhaps people of bad character, hold lands free from assessment, and contribute nothing to the public burden, thereby compelling others to pay double, or else the Government would fail to meet its demands? You know well, that when these grants were made, they were in lieu of actual service of some kind,

neither rendered now nor required; and that the grantees knew, that they only held at pleasure, and that the ruler had the power to resume, and had resumed, scores. Moreover, the Mahometan Ruler resumed every grant held by a Hindu, and, when the Hindu Rájás gained authority over the Mahometans, they resumed every grant. Why do you therefore blame the Government for exercising an undoubted right, in restoring the Revenue of land improperly alienated to the wants of the community?"

The old man was not convinced, and alluded to his own holding of a garden, limited under the Rules to his life only. I regretted it, but I knew, that the question was hopeless to argue then; but thirty years later, when his grandson, whom I had taught and introduced to public employ, after long years of faithful service, retired to his home in bad health, I petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor, my old deputy and friend, that this garden might be continued in perpetuity, Revenue-free, to the family; and last year I received the reply in the affirmative, and forwarded it from London to my old and faithful friend, Amín Chand, whom my eyes may never see again; a man, who never took a bribe.

He then continued his narrative. "That village on the mound in the centre is the oldest and chief site in the Pargana; it was located time out of mind by a caste of Rajpúts, who nominally possessed the whole, but the greater part was waste covered with jungle. There were two brothers among the original ancestors, and a division took place of the interests of the two branches, first as a matter of account, and at last by dividing the area into two equal portions, and allotting the portion towards the rising sun to the one, and towards the setting sun to the other; those shares and those names still exist, and, as a vast area of waste still remained uncultivated, the tenure is that known in your books as 'Incomplete Shareholding'

"One hundred years ago one of their family went out to service, and became a successful soldier, commanding armies, and amassing wealth. In his old age he returned to his native village with a large following, and demanded his share from his weaker brethren. A compromise was made at the advice of my great-grandfather, and a large area of the waste land was assigned to him, and he founded a new village with his own name, which is held by his descendants, still collectively as an 'Undivided Property,' totally independent of the elder village.

"As years went on, and the fertility of the soil became known, and the strength of the Rajpúts guaranteed protection from rapine, immigrations took place at different periods of lower castes, who were excellent cultivators, both Hindu and Mahometan; they petitioned the Rajpút lords of the soil to be allowed to found hamlets: permission was granted on condition of paying an annual quit-rent. Some of these hamlets grew, by natural increase of

population, or by further immigration of relations and connections, in strength and size far beyond the Rajpút villages, the owners of which were less industrious, and averse from taking a share in personal agriculture. They reclaimed the waste, sank wells, and fortified their villages; many of their brethren took service in the Sikh army, and came back with independent ideas, refusing to pay any quit-rents to their former masters. Some of these tenures are of the famous "Brotherhood" type, where each man's right is measured by his actual possession, all hereditary claims, if they ever existed, being forgotten. Some smaller ones are still held as 'an undivided property,' but there is a tendency to divide shares; others are already divided; and it often happens, that in each of the main divisions there exist different forms of the three varieties of tenures above described, according to the custom of the tribe, or the convenience of the people, or the circumstances of the proprietors. Over all presses the necessity of paying the Revenue, the amount of which is fixed by the Collector, and distributed to each shareholder by the Village-Accountants; beneath all is the unlimited number of tenants, some with rights of occupancy, and some merely at will."

I recognized in this description of a comparatively virgin district all the salient features of our system, and bowed to the wisdom of the founders of the great Settlements of North India, whose object was, not to create new rights, but record and uphold existing ones, and thus maintain self-government. Not as yet in this happy land had the curse of the Sale-Law commenced its ravages. Money payments had been introduced in supercession of the old rough-and-ready division of the corn upon the threshing-floor, or the annual valuation of the standing crop, which opened such a door to abuse and dishonesty. Vast tracts of uncultivated waste were being brought under the plough; but there is a Nemesis in all things, and the price of grain fell, and the landholder was ruined in the midst of his abundance.

The sun had set, and it was time to walk down to my white tent, which had been set up in the village near the well. I found my table spread after the manner of the English with fish from the stream, game from the coverts, cakes baked on the hearth, and sparkling beer from England. I dined, like a monarch, alone; and English letters from my Office, and sometimes overland letters from home, were before me. Though I spoke the Language of the country, I still wrote the Language of my nation. Early to my cot at night, early in my saddle in the morning to welcome the rising sun, and move on to new scenes of delight, new regions of interest.

Thirty years have passed over my head since then, and twenty-one years since I commenced this picture. Is it a dream of my youth, or did I once in the flesh live this life, and dwell thus among my subjects? All seems to have passed away, except my love for the people. I have since then been backwards and forwards to England, and have left all, that I loved most, in the cemeteries of Lahór and Allahabád; cut off from honour, while upon the very threshold, doomed by domestic sorrow to leave India, with my work unaccomplished, my term of service incomplected, and the goal of my ambition not arrived at. Still, in all my sorrow, and in all my disappointment, the thought of those happy days comes back, and I seem to hear the old voices and familiar sounds, to conjure up scenes long forgotten, and friendly faces long since passed away.

London, 1880.

XVI.

MIRIAM, THE INDIAN GIRL.

THE tale, which I have to tell, is a very strange one, and happened many years ago. The events, which are described, to the casual reader may seem very trivial, but to me they were fraught with overpowering interest, and have had an influence over my character and life.

In the year 1847, I was in civil charge of a remote and obscure District, the solitary European. I was in the midway of the path of life. The romance of youth had not entirely been extinguished by the commonplace thoughts of manhood. Naturally of a serious and retired disposition, I rejoiced in my solitude, was never less alone than when alone, as I found in my studies and books a better companionship, a more engrossing society, than can be realized in the sickening bustle, and hollow gaiety, of the larger Districts, where no real friendships are formed, where so few sympathetic spirits can be met with.

My days glided peacefully away. My mornings and evenings were usually spent in my large and carefully-kept garden; and there, when relieved from the duties of my Office, I sauntered up and down, chanting the majestic lines of Homer, or lost in the beauties of the Italian poets. I have spent hours in one nook, where a lofty pipal afforded shade to a rude bench. There, during the season of Summer, often I saw the sun rise, or set, without interruption and without intrusion of strangers.

The extremity of my garden bordered on the native town, and a large tank, and a few poor houses, were immediately adjoining. A low fence, with a little gateway, separated me from a path which, though not much frequented, was open to the public

Here one day my eyes fell on a little urchin of a girl, of about five years old, but lightly and poorly clad, who used to dart about from the cottage, where she resided, along the high banks of the tank, who seemed everywhere like a ray of sunshine with her light laugh. Sometimes she stood watching my actions, as I paced up and down. Insensibly an acquaintance was formed between us. A present of a few copper coins removed all fear and bashfulness. One day with trembling steps she obeyed my summons, and, passing the little gate, came up to me to be interrogated as to her residence, and the occupation of her parents. I became then aware of her extreme beauty, such as I have never seen realized before or since: eyes of the deepest black, features of the most delicate chiselling, and long black hair. Her figure and limbs were of the slightest and frailest mould; she seemed more like a sprite than a living being. It appeared, that she lived with an old woman in one of the cottages, whom she called her grandmother; but on inquiry it appeared, that she had been found five years before, a deserted infant, on the banks of this tank, her parentage utterly unknown and unsuspected; and she had been reared out of compassion by a childless crone.

The gate once passed, the little fairy included my garden within the circle of her dominions. To me personally still shy and reserved, with the gardeners and my numerous servants she was soon on terms of the closest intimacy, and won their hearts by her gentleness and beauty, hearts easily won towards children or animals. Morning and evening, there she was, chasing the butterfly down the alleys, calling to the birds, picking flowers, busy about something, her voice heard everywhere, her slight figure glancing about. She appeared, and she vanished with the birds and the insect tribe, and seemed as one of them. Sometimes, but not often, she came to me to have her head patted, and receive some toy, some new dress, or some small sum of money to carry home; and as surely as this happened, on the following morning the natural gratitude of the child prompted her to lay aside her shyness, and bring me a nosegay. As we met on the path there was always a glad smile, a light laugh, a musical "Śalām" to greet me; but a year or more elapsed, ere I thought of her more than the birds and the butterflies, which appeared always as her companions, or the pet dogs and the tame deer, which, like her, had the *entrée* of my enclosure.

One day in the whim of the moment, it occurred to me to order, that she should be taught to read and write, an unheard-of accomplishment for a girl in India. She, however, was in raptures, and in a few weeks developed a wonderful memory and capacity; and it was then, that our acquaintance ripened into intimacy. The treasures of knowledge, which she acquired daily from her teacher, could not be communicated to her former companions,

for in them she found no sympathy, but to me she delighted in her newly acquired boldness to read over the lesson of the day, to repeat what she had committed to heart, to ask wild questions; and I soon became aware, that there was a soul in that tiny body, that nature had endowed that fairy form with a wonderful precociousness of intellect: in mind, as well as body, she differed from those, among whom she had, as it were, been dropped from the skies.

My attention once roused, a deep interest now surrounded her. Who has ever had the task of instructing a beautiful and intelligent child without feeling a deepness and purity of love insensibly spring up in the bosom? As she sat on the ground day by day at my feet, busily reading, or listening with those deep eyes fixed upon me, with a trust and belief, that knew no bounds, her gentle hand supporting her chin, as she sobered down her gay spirits to thought and contemplation, or separated the long locks which had fallen across her eyes, all the love, which of old I had borne to the little fairies of my home and my youth, which had lain stagnant in my bosom during ten years of solitary exile, burst out, and was concentrated in her. When alone, we soon learn to love, if a fit object can be found; but she seemed like one of the spirits, that I had dreamed of, or read of credulously in the wildest of poets. As I saw her sometimes sitting by the edge of the fountain, thoughtfully looking into the water, and remembered her unexpected appearance in this world, I began to think, that she was indeed one of the Naiads, although no sandal imprisoned her tiny foot, and no fillet looped up her shining tresses.

As her ripening intellect enabled her to comprehend, I led her gentle spirit to the contemplation of Religion. I felt, that I had a sacred deposit entrusted to my charge. Here was no rude struggle with Sin, no attempt to drive out, trench by trench, the world from a hardened heart. Her guileless soul took in and comprehended the Divine Truths, as I with unpractised tongue tried to convey them. I felt my own unworthiness, my own unfitness to be the instructor and guide of so pure a disposition.

I had named her Miriam, from her resemblance to the picture of that most blessed among women, which Murillo has left us to gaze on with wonder, though not adoration; and Miriam had now become to me the companion of my solitude, and a very necessary part of my happiness. To me she read her Bible; under my guidance she increased her worldly knowledge. She was still the same wild, all but unearthly thing, with light step and uncontrolled spirits, the darling not only of the white master, but of every one of the dark attendants, and of all, with whom she came in contact.

Thus seven quiet years from the day, that I had first known her glided away, and my little girl had budded into a beautiful woman, for at the age of twelve, under the precocious heat of an Oriental

sun, development is more rapid than in the tardy West; and willingly would I have bade the dial return, and restore her to me as a child, on whom I could, without reproach, centre my affections; but I now daily felt the responsibility of my charge. The fate of my beautiful and now Christian child was in my hands, and depended on my judgment; and to permit one so beautiful to live unprotected under her humble roof, and to run unrestrained about my garden, and in my society, was not unattended by danger to her future happiness, and, in a censorious world, to her good name; and I was arranging to forward her to the charge of the wife of a Missionary some hundred miles off, there to be regularly introduced into the Christian Church, and to be brought up and settled in such comfort, as belonged to the adopted child of my affection. I was steeling my heart to the moment, when this communication was to be made to her, for I could not but believe, that she loved me as a father; and I knew, that her sinless and guiltless heart would not see the imperative necessity of our separation. Conscious of the integrity of my conduct, and the sternness of the duty, I had reconciled myself to the deprivation of my greatest earthly comfort: and my plans were all but matured, when it pleased Providence to ordain otherwise, and to bring to me, and my child, a more eternal separation.

It was in the middle of June, the season of the year, the most intensely hot and oppressing, and my arrangements were made to despatch her to her new home, when one evening I missed her from her usual seat in the garden, but thought nothing of it, ascribing it to the weather. In the middle of the next day I was informed, that she had an attack of fever, and was dangerously ill. Illness to her was an entire stranger, and alarmed me the more; and without further delay I hurried down the path, which led to the humble roof, which she still continued to occupy. During our long acquaintance it had so happened, that I never had crossed her threshold until this moment; and it was under one of the humble Indian roofs of mud, scarcely high enough for me to stand upright, dark though clean, that I found my sweet Miriam lying on one of the rude pallets of the country. It then flashed upon me, how little, while dwelling on her intellectual improvement, I had thought of her temporary comforts; but, such as it was, it had to her the charms of home. There she lay, exhausted by fever, her eyes closed, her long hair falling on her pillow, and one tiny hand hanging over the side. I knelt down, for under that humble roof there were no seats, and took the little hand in mine, and by the fierce heat and the rapid pulsation became aware of the seriousness of the attack. Perhaps there was something electric in my touch, for she opened her languid eyes, and a sweet smile passed across her features; and making signs to those around her to raise her up, she put forward her hot, parched lips to meet mine,

as with tears in my eyes I leaned over her. The exertion was too much, for she fell back, holding my hand, in which she buried her soft burning cheek, and closed her eyes again with a smile on her lips, as if she were then happy.

I felt from the first, that there was no hope; that her delicate frame could not resist the dread evil, which had seized her; and as I bowed my head, a scalding tear fell upon her hand. She opened her eyes, and began to speak faintly, asking me whether she was really dying. "My sweetest Miriam," said I, "it is in the hand of God: you have learned to trust in Him, and He will not desert you." She raised herself gently up, and leaning in my arms, clinging to me, exclaimed: "But why should I die?" "Please do not let me go: keep me with you: you are all-powerful: all obey your orders: I am *still so little, so young*: "I was so happy: the world seemed so bright to me: you were so kind to me: all were so kind to me: what harm have I done?" "Why should I die, and leave you? I cannot and will *not* leave you." She was pleading with me as for her life; her voice was now choked by sobbings; and she threw herself into my arms, hiding her head in my bosom, and I felt her little heart beating rapidly against mine. I tried to soothe her, and reminded her of what I had taught her in the Bible; how Jesus Christ would take her to Heaven, how much better it was for her to leave the earth as a child, for to children Heaven was promised. "Is it?" she exclaimed. "Oh! do tell me about that: but I should wish so much to live to hear more about Christ. You told me that you had much more to teach me. I must not, I cannot go yet." Laying her gently back on her bed, I opened her little Hindustáni Testament, and read to her slowly, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." A sweet smile crossed her lips, and she again pillowed her head in my hand, as if she were now resigned to death; and I thought that the end was not far distant, and I prayed gently, but distinctly, the little prayers, which I had taught her, and sometimes her lips seemed to try to form themselves to pronounce the words, but the deadly dryness prevented the utterance.

Thus an hour went by, as she dozed gently, and I even began to hope, that my prayers had been heard, and that the crisis might be passed. I looked round the poor chamber, in which this sweet girl had been brought up: bare mud walls with scarcely an article of furniture beyond the two pallets, on which she and her grandmother slept; but in one niche I saw her secret hoard of treasures, and with tearful eyes I recognized all the little presents, which in days gone by, before she was valued as I now valued her, I had thoughtlessly given her. Everything was there stored up. On the little dark arm, which languidly fell on the white sheet, I recognized a small piece of ribbon, a mark of a book, which in

a moment of playfulness I had two years ago tied round her arm, and which she had never allowed to be removed. All spoke of a love exceeding that of a daughter. She had given away a heart, ere she was conscious of possessing one, to the white stranger, who was unworthy of the priceless gift. In thought I hastily glanced over the whole period of time, since I had first seen her in her gambols; nor could I accuse myself of having striven in idle pride to gain her simple heart; nor had such a possibility ever suggested itself to my mind, preoccupied by other ties and other notions: but to her I had been Teacher, Protector, and Benefactor, and in return for little kindnesses she had given the one great gift of all a heart can bestow.

As the evening drew on, the door of the dark chamber with a sudden gust blew open; a gleam of sunshine streamed in, and played in glorious waves on the wall, a joyful chorus of singing birds floated into the dead silence; all Nature seemed as reviving from the exhausting heat of the day: the dying girl raised her head, for it was the hour, when she had been in the habit of sallying out for her evening lesson under the pipal-tree, and her sports down the green alleys. She passed her hand faintly across her forehead, as if she hardly knew what had happened, but seeing me kneeling by her side, all came back to her. She knew that she was dying: that bitterness was past, but her last thought in this world was purely womanly: it was not for herself. She had forgotten the grief of leaving the sweet and dear things of the earth so soon: she seemed in modest pride to know her own worth at last: all her thoughts were centred on the object of her guileless love, and her feelings for his bereavement. "Oh! what," she exclaimed, "will *you* do without your own Miriam? Who will read to you the Bible, and learn her lessons for you under the pipal? Who will, when I am dead, look after your flowers? Who—who will—" She could not express the words, but love, unutterable love, was written in her eyes: and, raising herself up, she threw both arms round my neck, placed her lips to mine, and in the exertion she breathed forth her gentle spirit and expired.

I laid her lifeless body down, and turned my face to the wall: all was over now. There are moments of such agony in this life (by the mercy of God they come but seldom), when the world seems one wide blank, when the wave of affliction bears down, sweeping away all the ramparts of pride and resolution, and overthrowing all but the rock of God's Providence to those who trust in Him. This now swept over me, engulfing everything fair, everything that was lovely, everything that was desirable here below. One such wave had passed over me before, on the day that I left my father's home and began life among strangers. My tears had now ceased: that is an early stage of grief. I had passed it. I felt like a martyr being led to the stake whose bitterness of death

was already gone by. It was time for acting also. As I looked on the slender body of my darling before me, I trembled at the thought of the jackal in that unprotected spot during the night, and shuddered at the idea of the funeral pile, which the old Hindu woman might perhaps have suggested. I seemed to recover a strange calmness, and ordered my servants to dig a deep grave beneath the pipal-tree; and placing a rosebud between her tiny fingers, I kissed the cold cheeks of my lost child, and directed, that her body should be at once sewn up in the sheet which surrounded her. One long lock of hair I cut off from her luxuriant tresses, and, with her little Testament, placed it in my bosom. The news had now spread, and my servants were all assembled in deep grief at the loss of their favourite; and I looked on, in sullen calmness, till it was announced that the grave was ready; but no one would raise the poor remains. Of those ignorant, all but soulless clowns, notwithstanding their respect for me, and love for her, none would raise her from her last couch. Indignation roused me, crushed as I was, from my lethargy, and lifting the light weight of her stiffened body from the bed, I carried her in at the garden-gate, that gate which she had so often passed in gladness. One little black foot peeped out through the shroud; her little elbow knocked against my heart, as I bore her in my arms. No useless coffin enclosed her; no useless prayers were said over her. Prayers are for the living; the dead ask them not. I laid her gently down, and placed all her playthings by her; the earth was filled in and levelled, and the last that I remember of the scene was, that I charged the gardener to take care, that naught disturbed the rest of the departed.

What happened afterwards I know not. I remember turning homewards; but from that moment consciousness left me, and it was not until weeks had elapsed, that I became aware of what was going on around me. I found, that I had been brought to death's door from a severe attack of fever in the evening of the events above narrated; that another officer had been sent to discharge my duties, and had nursed me; that to his care I was indebted for my life. I almost regretted, that it had been spared; so blank did the future appear; but a longer pilgrimage awaited me.

I scarcely clearly recollected what had happened, until my eye fell on the Testament and the black lock of hair; then all the sad details came heavily back. As soon as I had strength I walked alone to my favourite seat. The grass had grown during the rains, and there was scarcely a sign of the grave, but I was assured, that a faithful watch had been kept. I sat down to try to compose myself to the loss, and I saw before me the very spot of open ground, where the little girl had at first attracted my attention seven years before.

There was the same humming of insects, the same busy sound in

the trees, the same incense breathing in the air; the flowers were blooming with redoubled brightness, and earth had recovered her verdure from the rich blessings of rain: but there was *no* Miriam glancing down the shining pathway, or bounding towards me with a grateful offering along the shady alley, like some Indian Flora, the genius of my retreat, with eyes sparkling as the fountain, which splashed her naked feet, as gay, as fantastic, as the butterfly, whose flight she was chasing, as musical as the bird, who cheerily answered to her calling: no gentle pupil seated at my feet with upturned eyes, and talking thoughtfully of Heaven, to which, rather than earth, she seemed to belong. Thither she has returned: they reckon not by years and months, where she is gone. From much inevitable grief has she been saved; nor was her mission to me in vain.

Soon afterwards I returned to England. Many years have passed by since, and Providence has heaped unmerited blessings on my head. Among the friends of my youth I found a companion for my age, and loving hearts are gathering around me. Yet those scenes have never been forgotten. Often have my children, seated on my knees, listened with glistening eyes to the story of poor little Miriam; and the memory of their father to his latest hour will turn to that solitary grave, where the remains of the Indian girl moulder under the shade of the wide-spreading pipal.

Banda, 1854.

XVII.

THE INDIAN GALLOWS-TREE.

THE fatal morning had dawned, and I had to hurry to the spot where the ceremony, so painfully familiar to all in India, was to be performed. It was the first occasion, on which the odious duty had been forced on me; and, although years have since passed, the scene comes back as yesterday: the sloping ground, the bright morning sun, the crowds of women and children, and presently a long line of officials advancing from the neighbouring gaol, while low murmurs amidst the assemblage proclaimed, that the unfortunate victim had walked with undaunted mien to the foot of the gallows.

He had scarcely numbered twenty summers, and was sprung of an ancient race, so ancient, that even in the nineteenth century the common voice of the people acknowledged the Sun, the glorious orb of Heaven, to be his lineal ancestor! He had the misfortune of being

linked, while yet a child, to a beautiful wife, and, rightly or wrongly, believing himself to be betrayed, in the madness of passion he had cut off her head, and, with the corpse before him, sat down in his house calmly to await his capture. All reasoning with him was vain: his savage notions of what was honourable, and decent, and right, had triumphed: he had avenged his dishonour, and was ready to die. Alas! thought I, when I first saw him, that such high determination, such unshaken constancy, should be lost on a cause so unworthy! I had almost pitied him, until my eye fell on the ghastly body of his victim: there lay the headless trunk, and by it the head still beautiful, as painters would love to draw it, with the placid calmness, which ever follows death from the cold steel, the crisp black locks braided about the smooth forehead, and a gentle seductive smile on the rigid lips and half-opened mouth, speaking how true a daughter of Eve she had been, how well called Woman, as entailing woe on man.

And now I saw him once more, for on me had fallen the duty of carrying out the extreme sentence of the law, the justice of which not even the criminal could deny. There were no yells, no expression of feeling from the crowd, but eager eyes were watching his every movement. Some had climbed into trees, and carts with women had stopped on the road as for a show. There was no sympathy for or against him. The men might have been imagined to be on his side, as partaking his views of the necessity of the crime, which he had committed; but some feeling on the part of the women against him might have been expected; but there was none. So calm, and so contemptuously, did he look round and proudly smile on us, even as the fatal word was being spoken, that I almost felt, that I, and not he, was to suffer. Oh! what is he thinking of? Can it be, that I am an instrument in the hand of fate, and am unwittingly punishing by an ignominious death one, who is innocent, and supported by some internal comfort, of which I am ignorant? Will it be, that future ages will look back to the death of that poor youth, as the era of a new Faith, and brand my name as his murderer? for little indeed did the Roman Prætor, whose name is now cursed by every Christian, know what he was doing, when he ordered the Man of Galilee to be crucified.

Every object seemed to my eyes wonderfully distinct: my ears seemed to have a supernatural power of hearing. The elevated spot, where I stood, commanded the busy city and the crowded highway. I watched the labourers sawing wood, the cattle moving out to the meadows to graze, each person performing the routine of his dull hard life, not thinking, or caring, that a soul, laden with the frightful burden of its own sins, was about to start on its last sad journey.

But what sees he, the ill-starred murderer? The last few minutes have cleared away the film of his vision: his senses have

recovered from the shock of the late events, and at the last have acquired a wondrous acuteness. Memory brings before him a vision of his youth and his childhood. He sees his own cottage in the paternal village on the skirts of the primeval forest, girdled by the well-known features of river and mountain. He sees the fields, in which he and his father have played as merry boys; the old stone seats, on which he and his contemporaries have sat on the knees of men in days, that can never return. He recognizes the marsh, where he has whooped the bittern; the copse, where he has felled the giants of the forest; the lair, where he has roused the partridge, or tracked the barking jackal. He hears the cries of the herdsman, and the voices of the women in the field, and the chorus of the birds in the pípál-trees, and ever and anon he marks his own figure in the familiar landscape, year by year expanding from the naked urchin to the stalwart lad: *but ever by his side*, as the child, the boy, and the man, is she, the little playfellow, the little sister, the little wife, the partner of his very existence, without whom life had had no reality, whom he had known from his earliest years,¹ to whom he had been wedded in his childhood. Oft had Aurora looked into their faces and tanned their brown cheeks, as they climbed the mountains: oft had the setting sun found him with her under the spreading mango-tree, what time the herds returned lowing from the pasture: oft to meet her had he breasted the sacred stream on the neck of the buffalo, and oft had he helped her to fill her pitcher at the well, her champion, her adviser, and her helpmate! Who talks of the slender thread woven in manhood by the fickle passion of the moment, of two persons yoked together for life on the acquaintance of a few days, at the time, too, when discrimination is weakest, and the passions have the greatest sway? He had looked on *her*, as the wife ordained for him, as much as were his parents, and he would as soon have thought of changing one as the other. Thus gladly, thus innocently, began their life together. Little had they of worldly property, little of sentiment, nothing of love; yet they belonged to each other, and were content, until the demon of jealousy crept in. He had but little, but she was *that all*: it was the only possession, which Nature had granted him. He believed, that she had betrayed him, and he—slew her; for well has the preacher said, “Jealousy is the rage of a man, therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance.”

But his bright eye changes: the cloud drifts away: he sees around him the gaping crowd; he hears rude voices; he finds himself the object of a strange interest. All eyes were glaring upon him: vile hands touch him, but he scarcely notices it; for in the crowd he singles out one group, he recognizes his aged

¹ In the mountainous districts, and villages generally, the women in their childhood have much greater liberty than is allowed in towns.

white-haired father, and that trembling shrouded figure in the white mantle: oh! spare him! why came she there? it is his mother! After the manner of Indian women she has concealed her face: is it in mercy to him, or is it that, like the Grecian parent, she cannot bear to look on the sacrifice of her child in that deep agony, which sculptors cannot pourtray, and which no pen can delineate?

But the fatal word was spoken, and with a loud clap the platform falls. I heard it, but dared not look. My eyes were insensibly fixed on the ground, for what human heart can take pleasure in beholding the life-struggle of a fellow-creature? Still, every eye in the crowd appeared to be strained to drink in the spectacle. Gentle women gazed on the poor body, as it struggled, on the wretched bosom as it heaved to and fro, while drops of perspiration poured down in the throes of extinction. I tried to close my eyes, but I seemed to see on all sides of me; I felt a cold shiver and a strange sickness. So different is the moral and physical conformation of the European and the Asiatic; for, coupled with great gentleness, and great pity, there is a wonderful recklessness of death among the people of India.

At length recovering my composure, I stood face to face with my victim. The sinewy frame, cast in a mould of iron, so lately warmed by hot blood and sustained by dauntless pride, now hung rigid and cold. The labours of the hangman had been brief: a rope had been pulled, and *nothing more*: but in that moment where had that proud spirit departed? At what judgment-seat does it now stand trembling? Does it still with dauntless air, and resolute courage, face a greater than an earthly Judge, and bandy words with its Creator, pleading human customs in justification of a breach of divine Laws? Or lone, friendless, without sympathizing relations, shunned and shuddered at by spotless Angels and redeemed mortals, does it stand awe-stricken, roused to a sense of guilt, watching the balance, as laden with his sins it descends, and wishing, oh! in vain wishing, that it might recall the rash deed, and return to the life of poverty, and the dishonoured home?

Yes! it was but a moment: the proud Rajpút eye quailed; the whole composure changed; there was a feeling of throttling, a passing agony, a desire to purchase one breath at the price of worlds. One moment, and the fleshy integuments were cast off: naught remains but the awful sin, and the curse primeval of Cain. He dares not look up to the Mighty Presence, or the throne of Jasper. Everything speaks of murder: the voice of conscience, so long slumbering, is roused and cries out: murder is written in the air, murder sounds in his ears, and is engraved in blood on those hands, which are vainly raised up to screen his eyes from the radiance of ineffable glory.

In his life he had learned little : no mother had leaned over him in childhood to teach him the right way to soften his temper. He had been brought up even as the beasts of the forest, yet still the crime of murder had ever been condemned in the annals of the village : he had heard from the lips of the old men of the reprisals and miseries, which followed such outrages ; but pride, passion, and jealousy, had overpowered him, and he fell.

And needs be, that he should perish : but why should such scenes as his punishment be enacted in the midst of our cities ?¹ Why should our populations be hardened by the spectacle of death, and, while every avenue of pity is closed by familiarity with suffering, punishment become a common show ?

Banda, 1855.

XVIII.

THE INDIAN RÁJA.

HE was sitting at the window of his Palace, surrounded by his rabble followers, as alone and unattended I rode under the archway, and entered the enclosure. The sight was picturesque from the irregularities of the building, the bright colours of the dresses of the people, and the draperies suspended on the walls. A royal salute from two old guns, fired by some ragged Artillerymen, announced my arrival. A company of ill-dressed and undrilled Sepoys presented arms, as I dismounted, and, ascending the stairs, came face to face with the Rája.

Every filthy habit, every abominable crime, had been his practice from his youth, not in secret, but openly and unblushingly. His attendants would scorn to act as he does, but do not question his right to do so, as one above Law, and with a right to do so as a Rája, being incapable of crime. All, that disgraces and stigmatizes others, renders him illustrious and distinguished among his countrymen.

Monstrous and bloated in bulk, hideous and disgusting in appearance, decked with earrings and necklaces like a dancing-girl, and tricked out in silks and satins like a popinjay, rising heavily from an old chair covered with silver, he bid me a rude welcome, and, as he spoke, a disgusting effluvia issued from his black teeth, and red tongue, and a murmur of applause arose among his

¹ I rejoice to say that owing to remonstrances made by me at the time, supported by those of others, executions are now carried out within the prison walls.

sycophantic followers, as if they had heard the voice of a god. As a simple Anglo-Saxon of the nineteenth century, I felt ashamed of being obliged by public duties to have such a host, and be in such company.

What is his lineage? Surely he has sprung of noble ancestors, and his family is of those, who have ruled India since the days of Alexander, who have entwined their names with the Bay and the Cypress of History, the memory of whose virtues or misfortunes has been enthroned in the hearts of the people: these thoughts might make me forgive his shortcomings, and mourn over a noble dynasty in its decadence. But no! none of these things: he is the offspring of a petty freebooter of a neighbouring district, a rapacious landlord, a dishonest farmer, of a most obscure family, and degraded social caste. Just when the great Empire of the Moghal was falling to pieces, his grandfather was thrown up like scum on the fermenting pool of Indian politics, then boiling over in the change of dynasties; and, as that mass was subsiding by the influence of a foreign agency, this scum congealed on the surface, and became a Rája, to the disgust of the pure waters below, and to the contempt of all that was above.

What are his habits? The gifts of Fortune have neither taught him pity nor forbearance. He is still the freebooter in thought, still the assâssin in heart; jealous of an impalpable substance called his own honour, regardless of that of others; grossly ignorant, grovellingly superstitious, his mind is the only one thing grosser than his gross and disgusting body; without manners or power of conversation, without ideas or facility of speech, selfish, cruel, fickle, and cowardly; grasping at anything belonging to another, tenacious of even a dry stick belonging to himself; unconscious of good works, incapable of good or wise thoughts; a mass of uncompromising claims, and of arrogant and antiquated ideas, always in heart hostile to the great Power, at whose feet he is fawning, through whose undeserved bounty he protracts his unworthy existence; always listening with outstretched head to ill news from Kábul, drinking in with delight and chuckling the garbled tale of some discomfiture in Barma. No bitterer hater than your ghee-fed Rája, who talks of his white Masters in secret with contempt and opprobrium: no keener speculator on the possibility of change of dominion, forgetting in the folly of his heart, that a storm once raised would sweep away such poor rubbish as himself with the first puff, to make room for sterner spirits with some pretension to Manhood, if not Virtue.

Analyze that monstrous conglomerate: cut through the spangled robe and costly girdle: reduce the mass to its real elements, the pure silex of ignorance, the alumen of depravity, the stinking fæces of some antediluvian monster: not one grain of pure gold, of valour, or of worth.

Ask him about countries and kingdoms beyond his narrow limits, and he knows them not. To him in the nineteenth century the world is still a flat plain, supported by elephants, who again stand upon a tortoise: the noble river, that flows under his terrace, to him is a Divinity. Follow his eyes to the heavens, and in the starry orb he sees nothing but a machine, by which his lying priests calculate his worthless horoscope. For him the pages of History have been written in vain. Ask him about justice, and he will tell you of the rights of his family; of Religion, and he will point to the hideous Idol, at the feet of which he daily rubs his ill-favoured head, and deposits lamps of oil; of Wisdom, and he indicates the coarse and cunning Brahmins, who pander to his vices, and mutter incantations to his terror. The poor fool has said in his heart, that the people were made for his pleasure, to administer to his passions. The great social maxims, which in Europe are as elementary Truth, are unknown: he knows not, that Power was not given to gratify lusts, but a solemn trust, of which a stern account will one day be required; that the oxen do not wander in the hills, the fruit does not blush on the trees, the seed in the furrow, for him, and him alone: for in his solitary state he knows naught of books beyond the sounding lines, which are chanted to him in an unknown Language: of society he knows naught but the flattery of his menials.

If fond of hunting, he will seat himself on a raised platform, where with a coward blow, free from all possibility of personal danger, he may slay a beast not more cruel, but at least more noble and intelligent, than himself. Ready he is to take advantage of every subterfuge: utterly devoid of honour and truth, he will not hesitate to plunder the last gran of the peasant's harvest, while at the same time he is shirking the payment of the merchant's debt. Thus wears out the day with him, until one morning a rumour of a Mutiny or an Invasion reaches him: he believes it, he rises with his hundred men: the villagers are distracted and shaken in their loyalty by hearing, that he is arming. For two days he is sole master, plays the Sovereign most royally, and wonders why he ever submitted. The third day arrives a company of infantry; his rabble is dispersed; he flies, he has nowhere to turn; he is taken prisoner, he is brushed away like a cobweb from the map of India, and ends his miserable and useless career, as a prisoner at large, at Calcutta, and sighing for those Hills, which he will never revisit.

Sickened I turned away, and looked outwards on the scene before me. Nestled in an amphitheatre of lofty hills, tipped with distant snow, the town with its steeples and its gateways shone like a diamond: the sun was shedding upon it its last rays, as if sorrowful to depart: far above, and around, were scattered villages, and amidst the feathering bambu the smoke curled

wavingly upwards, while the whole mountain-side gleamed in the glorious golden sunset of India. Plenty appeared everywhere: annual rich gifts of Nature were scattered in rich profusion: it was a place for the residence of Angels: the valley might have been the Paradise of Man; but over it, to the shame of Men and Angels, ruled the hereditary scoundrel, who, since the day, that he was born, had never lifted an eye of thankfulness to the God, who gave such rich things, who sat before me, like a scorpion at the base of a beautiful lily, who looked upon men only as materials for slavery, and on women only as possible concubines, on the earth as producing its kindly fruits in due season to be eaten, to be drunk, to be smoked, by such as him, or as a substance to receive the expectorations of his vile appetites, and to be stamped by the foot of his folly.

And this is the class of Chieftains, whom we uphold with our bayonets, worse than the most degraded Nobility of the Middle Ages in Italy, more exacting in their indefeasible rights, more selfish, and more cruel, than the petty Dukelings of mediatized Germany. These are the protégés of independent Members in the British Commons, whom philanthropists in England would wish to uphold; treating the governing of men as an hereditary right, and a kingdom as private property, and not as a high Office, and an onerous duty. And they are all the same. Search India from the Himaláya to Cape Kómorin, and there will be found on the pageant thrones the real or the adopted sons of needy adventurers, lucky farmers, successful freebooters, ignorant, antiquated, selfish, overbearing opponents of every reform or even practice of civilized life. The only varieties in the picture are that of a senseless man, or a shameless woman: the only alternative of Government is the Tyranny proper, or the Strumpetocracy. Every such petty kingdom becomes of necessity a nucleus of bad feeling to the great Government, a refuge of notorious criminals, a place, where ideas stagnate: and the retrograde tendency of all things moral, and material, offers the mockery of a contrast with the show of elaborate Laws, of enlightened judges, the complication of tape, form, and returns, which we have introduced into our Provinces; while at the same time we allow villages interlaced with our own, and large tracts inhabited by a kindred people, to be handed over to men, who have no broad views distinguishing Right and Wrong, whose notions of Revenue are to squeeze as much as possible, and spend it on personal gratifications, whose views of Justice are so oblique, that they would take away the life of a man, who slaughtered a cow, and yet tolerate, and venerate, the hereditary perpetrators of Female Infanticide.

And will our fair countrywomen touch the hand of such a reprobate? Will the pure have aught to do with the impure? Pause and consider his views of, and his relations to, the sex.

Pierce the walls of his Zanána: there is the wife, or the wives, of his youth, the mothers of his children, neglected: there are the concubines, who had the misfortune of being born and bearing children of uncertain parentage in his house: there are the Mahometan dancing-girls, who have become the joy of the obese period of his life, from whom have sprung a promiscuous family of all castes and all Religions. Who are the officers of this State? The fiddler, the dancer, the easy husband, the venal father. Will you appear in such company, and for an annual display of fireworks and cheap luxuries, bow to Rimmon, and eat food offered to Idols?

Who can say, that the new race is improving, or is more worthy than those, whose unprofitable ashes have been flung into the Ganges, and whose widows have been burned with them on the funeral pile? Let them therefore be treated with cold civility: let them be taught their moral inferiority, and learn, that we bear with, but do not countenance, their filthy and disgusting practices, their Pán-chewing, and their Natches, but that we put down with a high hand their abominable practices, and crush their foolish quarrels: let them understand, that the time and men have changed, that it is their misfortune to be anachronisms, that their antediluvian ideas and wishes cannot be tolerated, that, if less wise than the Megathérum, and other obscure and hideous animals, they have chosen to outlive the peculiar era, which gave them birth, they must submit to the indignities, which have fallen upon them.

Finally, these and such as these are the main supporters of Idolatry. All Religions, which consist of externals, depend on State-support, and no severer blow has been given to false Religion than by cutting off their resources. We must remember the turn of mind, and the state of Civilization of the people, with whom we have to deal. Outward signs are everything to those, who have no great public opinion to guide them. It is when wealth is lavishly bestowed upon Idolatry, when the proud temple rises, when the stone steps climb for many a league the hill-side to some shrine, when the hundred fat Priests of Baal speak vauntingly of their god, it is *then*, that the vulgar mind is astounded, that the simple and untutored residents of the village and the hamlet believe, what they see, and see, what they are able to believe. But let the long steps of Banáras be once swept away by Mother Ganges, with no wealthy devotee ready to repair them; let the golden roof of the temple fall in, and the idol itself, robbed of its jewels, lie headless on the ground; let the mountain shrine be torn up by the torrent, or be buried and forgotten in the jungle; let the colleges of sleek Priests be broken up, with no treasure pouring in, no fat bulls of Bashan lowing in the streets, no temple-ceremonial gathering in the crowd: then will come a great change over the

minds of the people, and they will arrive at the conviction, that the *old gods have had their day*. Thus fell in the Western world the Idolatry, that still enchants us by the beauty of its fictions, and enslaves us by the Majesty of its Poetry and its Philosophy! Let us picture to ourselves the feelings of the worshippers of Delphi, when the roof fell struck by lightning, and the Pythia was prevented by stress of weather over the tripod from giving her oracular responses; for Constantine had transferred the patronage of the State to Christianity, leaving the priests of Diana at Ephesus, and the cymbal-beaters of Daphné, to grow thin for want of bread, owing to the resumption of the lands set apart for their hallowed Religion! Apart from Religious persecution let poverty make Idolatry ridiculous, as it certainly will. We are bound morally and openly to oppose detestable heathen practices, to cease to call Religious grants sums of money, which have been set apart to melt butter over volcanic fires, and light tapers before obscure images. We should call things by their right names, and cease to talk with the Hindu of his customs, and his Worship, except in the same manner as we should, gently and reprovingly, in pity and disgust, talk of drunkenness, folly, and libertinism.

Banda, 1855.

Lahór, 1858.

XIX.

THE GREAT INDIAN NATION.

IT will be remarked, that my subject is limited to British India, that is to say, the Great Peninsula and the basin of the Irawádi, to the exclusion of the rest of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Indian Archipelago. At one end of my subject are positive facts, revealed by the reports of the Census, and amply testified to by the evidence of Language and Ethnology, viz, the existence of millions of non-Arians in British India: at the other end of the subject are the dim prehistoric reflections, or impressions, of certain great facts, which we can only see darkly, and which we must approach by the cautious use of reasonable induction. In India, History is non-existent, until times comparatively recent: Monumental Inscriptions, carved upon stone, are of a date later than the invasion of Alexander the Great. The problem of the date of the earliest written record of the Indian people, hangs upon the still more difficult problem of the date of the earliest use of an Alphabet in India, and the period, during which legend in a poetic form may reasonably be supposed to have been handed down orally from generation to generation.

It may be reasonably concluded, that at some remote period

before the Christian era, the common ancestors of the so-called Arian, or Indo-European, Family were settled in the neighbourhood of the watershed of the basins of the rivers Indus and Oxus. At some period still more remote, they must have separated from the Semitic, Hamitic, Uralian, Malayan, and Mongolian Families, who were also established in Asia. Attempts have been made to reconstitute the primeval Language of the Arian Family, by collecting the roots, which can be traced in two or more of the Branches. Pressed by want of sustenance, or pushed forward by the action of more powerful tribes behind, the progression Westward of the Arian Family began. The Kelts led the van, and reached the shores of the Atlantic, where their remnants still exist; behind these, North of the Caspian Sea, came the Teutons; behind the Teutons came the Slavs; the Helleno-Latin branch proceeded Westward also, but South of the Caspian. Two branches, the Iranian and Indian, remained for some considerable period longer together, and are sometimes called specially Arian, as their Language and mythology are more closely united: at length they were also set into motion, and the great Iranian branch descended to occupy the wide tracts South of the Caucasus and the Caspian, and the great Indian branch crossed the Indus into the famous Peninsula, which is shut off from the rest of Asia by the wall of the Himaláya, and the mountains of Afghanistán. Even to this day, some poor, uncivilized, hardy tribes exist on the confines of the old cradle of the race, the Káfir and the Dard, whose Language never advanced to the grandeur of the Sanskrit Languages, although it is essentially Arian, of the Indian type.¹

When the Indian Branch of the Arian Family crossed the Indus, and occupied the Panjáb, the country of the five rivers, whom did they find in possession of the land? We gather from the Veda, that they found a black and uncivilized people, inferior to them in civilization, strangers to them in Language and mythology, and, as was to be expected, very hostile to the invaders. It was the old story, of which we have many instances in the history of the Anglo-Saxon people in their colonization of so-called waste lands. *Vae victis!* the natives are always described in the darkest colours, and have to be improved off the face of the earth at the earliest opportunity. And yet some of these pre-Arian races have left in India the ruins of remarkable buildings, and attached undying names to rivers and mountains.

The Arian race pressed down the basin of the two rivers, the Indus and the Ganges, pushing their predecessors in the occupation of the country to the right and the left, and they reached the Ocean on each side of the Peninsula. Beyond the Vindhya range their

¹ Such was the received opinion in the year 1881, when this Essay was written. The prevailing opinion now (1897) is, that the Arian represents a Linguistic but not an Ethnological Family.

settlements were limited, but their Civilization was extended to the Dravidian races, whom they could neither exterminate, nor absorb. But this was not the limit of the power of the great Arian-Indian race, for they colonized Ceylon at a later period, which may be fixed approximately, and gave a Religion and Language to that island. At some unknown period they carried their Civilization and Religion to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, and the Island of Java. They have given birth to the most marvellous Literature, that the world ever saw, to twelve different modern Vernaculars, to more than a score of different written characters, and to two of the greatest and most ancient Religions of the World, Brahmanism and Buddhism. There let us leave then, and turn to those, who can only be described as non-Arians of India, for want of a more accurate designation.

The statistics of modern times introduce us to the existence of four distinct Groups, who are not Arian, within the confines of British India :

I. The lower strata of that great congeries of Castes, and races, which is known as the Hindu Nation. In the careless and unsympathetic Official Enumeration of former years all, who were not Christian or Mahometan, were, with a kind of grim irony, entered as Hindu.

II. Dravidian, whose Language witnesses to their entirely distinct origin, although their literature is deeply imbued with the genius of their superior neighbour: whose Religion is partly borrowed from the Arian, and is partly as degraded as that of the African savage.

III. Kolarian, whose Language witnesses to an entirely distinct origin from Arian or Dravidian: who have never risen from a low state of Culture, and cling to the Hills of Central India, to which they have been driven, with an exceedingly debased Religion.

IV. Tibeto-Barman, under which name are classed a large number of races totally distinct from each other, and resembling only in this particular, that they are non-Arian, and that their habitat is in the slopes and valleys of the Himaláya, and in the basins of the two great rivers, the Brahmapútra and the Irawádi.

No one can have lived in the interior of British India, frequenting the great towns, and passing through the villages of the rural Districts, without having the remarkable difference of colour, stature, and physical features of the people, whom he meets, or sees, forced upon his notice. The people are aware of it themselves: hence the vertical splitting up of the population into Castes, and tribes, which hold no communication, either by eating or marriage, with each other. This custom is incorrectly attributed

to Religion, while, in fact, it may be classed more fairly with the feeling of repulsion, which separates a European from an Esquimaux or a Negro. There is no greater error than to suppose, that the Brahmanical Religion is non-propagandist. In the long series of centuries, which have elapsed, since they commenced their progress down the Gangetic valley, they have absorbed non-Arian tribe after tribe into their comprehensive system, by the simple process of adding another Caste, with more or less of Hinduism veneered over the old-Customs of the newcomers. Abstaining from certain animal food, and cremation of the dead, appear to be the only indispensable requirements of the Hindu, but outside the fold are millions, who ostentatiously eat carrion, and prosecute loathsome trades and manufactures. The Chamār tribe of Northern India is recorded in the last official Census, as containing three and a half millions, not one of whom in any way can be considered to profess the Brahmanical Religion. There are many other tribes of the same kind. Indeed, in every village there is a helot class, the very touch of whom is considered by a Hindu a thing to be avoided. It is clear, therefore, that these infamous Castes, or perhaps the whole Sudra Caste, represent the races, whom the Arians found in possession of the land, and whom they converted into hewers of wood and drawers of water. In some cases the process of assimilation, and civilization, have gone on, and the conquered tribes are deemed to be Hindu, though ethnologically non-Arian; in others, as described above, they are distinctly non-Hindu and non-Arian. It is probable, that wave after wave of Arian immigrants poured into the country, and this will account for the sharp and distinct separation of the great Castes of the Brahman, or Priest Caste, the Rajpút or Warrior Caste, the Writer Castes, and the great Agricultural Castes, the Ját or Getæ, the Gújar, and others. Whatever came from beyond the Indus was "noble" or Arian; whatever was found in the country was Nisháda, ignoble or non-Arian. In this we have but another instance of the conduct of a dominant invading tribe, when they take possession of the country of weaker races. At any rate, here we have the first group of non-Arians of India. It is worthy of remark, that in the legends of the Dravidian people there is no record of collision with their great Arian neighbours, and we may conclude, that none took place: it follows that the tribes, with whom the Arians did most certainly come into collision, were the ancestors of those, who now occupy the lowest steps in the Hindu Polity, and possibly the Kolarians. The number of these Low-Caste men amounts to millions, and they dwell within the towns and villages of the Hindu people, but are as distinct from them, as the Mahometan, or rather more so. If they have places of Worship, they are distinct from the Brahmanical ritual; if they have a semblance of Caste, it is but a reflection of the custom of their

powerful neighbours, and it would be ridiculous to attach to it any religious sanction. Under British rule these classes have gained much: they can no longer be denied the use of the streets, the roads, the wells, the ferry-boats, the railway-carriages, the State-schools. Many hereditary Village-Offices fall to their share. Except in one instance they have not yet been admitted into the ranks of the Army. The time has passed for any forcible repression of these classes; even before the British rule notable upheavings occurred of the lower classes, as in the case of the Sikh and Marátha Nations. These subjugated non-Arians have lost their Language, and many of their customs; they have no traditions, and it would be mere idle speculation to inquire, from what quarter they came. All that we know for certainty is, *that they are there*; and the earliest tradition of the invading Arian tells us, that they were found there by the invaders on their first arrival. When hostile and unsubdued, they were termed Dasyu or Mlecha, but, when they settled down in nominal submission, they were called Sudra, and preserve that generic name to this day. Unquestionably the presence of these non-Arians in their midst reacted upon the Arian conquerors, and left an undercurrent of usages, and local Worship, foreign to the Religion of the Veda. The word Sudra itself is not a word of certain Arian origin.

We pass on to the Dravidians, who occupy the South of India from Chikakóle on the Eastern coast and the province of Goa on the Western, and the Northern portion of the Island of Ceylon; and in addition to this large tracts in the Vindhya range, and beyond as far as the banks of the Ganges at Rajmahál. The number of these Dravidian races is estimated by Bishop Caldwell, a most competent judge, at forty-five millions, which in any other country, but India and China, would by themselves constitute a mighty kingdom; but they speak twelve separate Languages, and differ exceedingly from each other, as regards their forms of Religion, their Customs, and their state of Civilization. But we must assume from the affinity of Language, that they are derived from the same common stock; and there seems little reason to doubt, that they entered India from the West, probably in the lower basin of the River Indus, as traces of their Language are found in the Brahúi, spoken by a tribe in Baluchistán, and there are affinities betwixt this Family and that form of speech, which has survived to our times, in the second, or Proto-Median, tablet of Behistún.

The four great Dravidian races are the Tamil, the Télugu, the Kanarese, and the Malayálim; the fifth is the Tulu, considerably less in size. But these five have, to outward appearance, adopted the Brahmanical Religion, and Culture, but not entirely; for amid the population of the so-called Hindu South Indian country are numbers, who worship local deities, foreign to the Hindu

Cosmogony; who also worship Devils, with all the wild ritual familiar to us in other countries; who worship Ghosts, or unite themselves into separate brotherhoods, essentially hostile to Brahmanism, such as the Lingaites. The Castes of the South Indians are essentially lower than in the North; the Sudra, who in North India is counted as nothing, in the South has a higher estimation, as below him are Out-Castes, or semi-Hindu, or unclean Castes and tribes, who look to the Sudra with the same respect, with which in the North the Sudra looks to the Brahman.

In addition to these five great semi-Hinduized Dravidian races are three insignificant Hill tribes, with well-developed distinction of features, the Kudagu, Tóda, and Kotá, in the Nilghari Hills, who are unquestionably Nature-Worshippers, and in a low state of absence of Culture. In the Vindhya range are two notable Dravidian races, the Khond, infamously known for their former practice of human sacrifices, and totally without Culture; and the Gond, who occupy the Central Plateau, and are partly energetic agriculturists, and partly shy savages. Farther to the North are the tribe of the Oraon and the Rajmaháli. It is impossible to account for the intrusion of these Dravidian fragments into the midst of the Kolarian territory, but we must accept facts, as they are. These last four tribes are totally without any Arian Culture, and nearly without any Culture at all; they have been systematically oppressed by stronger and more advanced Arian races, pressing upon them from the North, East, and West, robbing them of their most fertile lands, or domineering over them in the persons of petty chiefs. Unquestionably under British rule the position of these tribes is greatly improved: they are protected in their actual possessions: Education and Civilization are going on, and we may expect a great change in their position, and no doubt their numbers will greatly increase with enlarged opportunities for cultivation.

Next in order are the Kolarian races; they are wild and uncivilized tribes, occupying the lower mountains North of the Vindhya, or portions of that range. It is impossible to speak with certainty as to their origin; to call them the aboriginal tribes is only shirking the difficulty, as obviously they must have migrated into their present habitat from some quarter or other. It is reasonable to suppose, that the Gangetic valley was occupied in pre-Arian days by immigrations from Central Asia across the passes of the Himaláya, or down the valley of the Brahmapútra. When the strong columns of Arian invaders from the North-West forced their way down the valley of the Ganges to the Ocean, they effectually interposed themselves betwixt the portion of the non-Arian tribes, who fled at their approach to the Vindhya, and the portion, which fled to the Himaláya. Centuries have passed since then; while the non-Arian tribes of the Himaláya have,

as we shall see further down, received constant supplies of fresh blood from the Plateau of Tibet, and High Asia, that great Mother of Nations, the non-Arian tribes of the Vindhya, could receive no new additions. Just as the frightened game of all kinds, when the lowlands are scoured by hunters, take refuge in inaccessible mountains, and there prolong a hazardous and timorous existence; so in many well-known cases the advance of great and warlike races has driven their weak and helpless predecessors into a mountainous asylum, where it was difficult and profitless to follow them. The remnant of many tribes, quite different from each other, are thus driven to herd together, and the Philologist and Ethnologist are at fault, when they attempt to classify and arrange these strange and incongruous elements. We have a wonderful instance of this feature in the tribes of the Caucasus, who were swept into those inaccessible fastnesses by the great procession of the conquering Semite, Arian, and Ural-Altaic races, which passed over the plains of North and South Asia. Thus is it also notably in Central India. The word Kolarian is, after all, only a convenient term to comprehend tribes, which are certainly not Arian, and are rejected by Dravidian scholars. We do not know enough of their Languages yet to attempt affiliation. Some moreover of the races, who might ethnically be termed Kolarian, have lost their ancestral Language, and adopted a debased dialect of the Language of one or other of their great neighbours; of this class of cases are the notorious Bhil tribe, once notorious for savage plunder, now decent agriculturists, the Bhar, and a portion of the Savára. Many others, no doubt, have done the same. Of the still surviving Kolarians the Sonthál are the most conspicuous by their numbers, their rapid increase, their great agricultural industry, and their beautiful and vigorous Language, which in its refined symmetrical structure rivals that of the Osmánli Turki, with richness of grammatical combination, comprising such as five voices, five moods, twenty-three tenses, three numbers, and four cases; and yet it had never had a written character, indigenous or borrowed, and a total absence of all but legendary literature; so entirely is grammatical development independent of literary culture. This tribe numbers about one million. The Mundári-Kól are a tribe, which in its subdivisions, comprises more than three-quarters of a million, who all speak Dialects of the same Language; their Field is in the critical position of the point of junction of three powerful Arian Languages, the Hindí, Bangáli, and Uryá; and in the struggle for life it may go hard with their Language, but the ethnical features will long outlive the Language. Both the Sonthál and the Mundári-Kól are Nature-worshippers, with peculiar customs distinct from, and abominable to, the Hindu.

No Ruler, or Maker of a Census, could overlook these last two great, once troublesome, and still powerful, tribes. The remaining

Kolarians are unimportant, though interesting; the Khária are in a wild state, living in backwoods, and on the tops of hills; the Juang are the remnant of a great Forest-Race, and are a truly wonderful survival. The women wear no clothing, except a bunch of leaves hanging to a girdle of beads, before and behind. Although decent clothing has been supplied to them by the Officers of Government, and engagements taken from the men to clothe their women, they still entertain a superstition, that they will be devoured by tigers, if they do so. The Korwa, now reduced to fourteen thousand, live intermixed with other races, a savage and nomadic life, but are said to have been once the masters of the country. The Kur dwell in the Hills above the Rivers Tapti and Godávari. The Savára is another tribe, said to have been mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. Part of the tribe has lost its Language, and adopted that of its Arian neighbour, and become semi-Hinduized; part dress in leaves, and have maintained their customs, savagery, and Language.

By the march of events, the pressure of Civilization, and the education, that proceeds from contact with higher races, it may be expected, that the Languages and customs of these tribes will soon disappear, like the Language of the Cornishman and the Manx; but the ethnological features will remain, and that freedom to adopt new Religious ideas and ritual, which appears so difficult to the Arian-Hindu, whose mind has been fixed in a particular groove.

We pass on to the Tibeto-Barman Branch of the non-Arian Races. When it is stated, that in the five groups, out of a much larger number, which are unquestionably situated within the limits of British India, there are no less than sixty-three tribes, still separated by the fact of their speaking separate, and mutually unintelligible Languages, and that many other tribes have accepted semi-Hinduism, and a debased form of the Arian Languages, Bangálí and Asamese, the magnitude of the subject may be imagined, although any idea of the number of the people is beyond the power of computation. In all time by the passes of the Himaláya, the surplus population of the Plateau of Tibet has poured over into India, in an extremely low state of culture. Some have pressed down into the basins of the Brahmapútra and Irawádi, and, becoming civilized, have lost their independent existence in the lower strata of the Hindu Polity; some have become decent agriculturists, or shepherds, preserving their identity, and yet subject to Law and Civilization. Some have become strong and powerful, and made themselves a name, founding large or petty States; some have remained to this day in outrageous, lawless savagery; some have suffered reverses in their contact with more powerful neighbours, and are miserable broken remnants: but all are non-Arian. Some bury their dead,

some burn them; some have a particular written character, some are wholly illiterate; some are hunters, some nomad shepherds, some freebooters, and some decent householders. If a century be allowed to pass over British India in peace, a great change must insensibly come over these races. All turbulent inroads are instantly repressed; lands at the foot of the hills are offered for cultivation; markets are established for forest-produce. New kinds of culture offer opportunities for employment of unskilled labour; roads are cut through hitherto impassable jungle; a police armed with muskets laugh at the bow and arrow; and, where possible, the schoolmaster is abroad.

Six hundred years before the Christian era lived Buddha, who set on foot the first propagandist Religion, that History records up to that time. Religion had been previously as much a feature of Nationality as Language. Buddhism spread over India, but from causes, of which we know little, it died out of the Peninsula, and was superseded by the neo-Brahmanism of modern times, which is essentially different from the pre-Buddhistic Religion. Buddhism, although expelled from India, took root among the non-Arian races of the Tibeto-Barman Family, spread over Tibet, Barma, and the rest of the Peninsula of Indo-China into China. Religious toleration has always been the Law of India, and within the Hindu fold exists the greatest laxity and diversity. The appearance of Mahometanism in India, and the long domination of Mahometan Rulers, enlarged this toleration, and abrogated the Hindu Law, which punished change of Religion by forfeiture of property. But as a fact Mahometanism made little way among the Arian-Hindu people. Of the forty millions of Mahometans a large portion are the descendants of *bond-fide* immigrants from Khorasan, Persia, Turkistán, or Arabia, settled in Northern India, and a still larger portion are from the non-Arian races on the skirts of the province of Bangal, who accepted Mahometanism with their new Civilization, as giving them a better position than that, which they would have in the lower strata of the Hindu Polity. Hinduism, as stated above, in its own quiet way, is extremely propagandist; and in the same way as the Dravidians of Southern India, insensibly, and by their own choice, accepted Hinduism, so also numbers of the Kolarians and Tibeto-Barman races on the confines of the Hindu districts, have gradually, by the power of attraction, the force of example, and the idea of Civilization, passed into Hinduism, or, at least, semi-Hinduism; and the process year by year is going on.

It has often occurred to the thoughtful Missionary, that these non-Arian races present a more promising field to the Evangelist than the pure Arian-Hindu. Possessed of an ancient Civilization, a magnificent literature, certain religious dogmas hardened by age, a ritual sanctified by long usage, a priesthood, whose power and subsistence are bound up with their Religion, shackled by the

Indian peculiar Custom, known as Caste, the Arian-Hindu is not open to argument, and has no heart to be touched by pleading. If educated on the Indian type, he is content with the present state of things; if educated on the European type, he is apt to throw aside all belief in the Supernatural, all thought of the Future, and believe in Nothing. It is a severe shock to an opening intellect to have it forced upon him, that all the Religious and Moral sanctions of his elders are false. It makes a young man believe in Nothing.

Of the two hundred and fifty thousand Protestant Christians in British India, nine out of every ten belong to the non-Arian races. The great Christian colonies in South India are among a Dravidian people. The promising Missions in Central India among the Sonthál, and Mundári-Kól are among the Kolarian. In Northern India, wherever we hear of any particular success of a particular Missionary, it is sure to come out, that some particular low-caste section of the community has come under his influence; and I have attempted above to show, that these lower strata of the Hindu Polity are non-Arian. Missions have been started with some success in the district of Spiti, Kumaon, Sikhim, Assam, Gáru, and among the Khasia, a tribe totally isolated in Language and customs, and separated from the Tibeto-Barman, but situated in the midst of them. Crossing the Patkói range into the basin of the Irawádi, we find Missions to the Shán, the Barmese, the Mon, and notably to the Karén. It appears, therefore, that the non-Arian races have not been overlooked by the Christian Missionary.

It is the fashion to attribute all the want of success in producing actual results in the Indian mission-field to Caste: this is not a just estimate of the great Indian National Custom, and of the facts. We do not find such very marked success of Missions among populations like the Barmese, Sinhalese, and Chinese, where unquestionably there is no Caste. The real obstacle to conversions is the depravity of man's nature, the difficulty of touching the heart, and inducing a person to make a change in his daily walk of life. It is of course impossible to tolerate an exaggerated observance of Caste in a Christian community; and there must be a *bond-fide* acknowledgment of the equality of all mankind before God, an entire absence of Caste-feeling in the Church, and at the communion-table, as indeed there is already in the school, and the railway-train. But the Missionary does an injustice both to his cause and to the people in attempting to enforce intermarriage and commensality among people of totally different circumstances in life, race, feelings, and antecedents, for instance, an Arian-Hindu Brahman and a non-Arian, or a convert from Mahometanism and a convert from Hinduism. Both, indeed, have accepted Christianity, but one may be an educated refined gentleman, and

the other an illiterate sweeper of dirty habits. An attempt to amalgamate ranks and conditions of life under the guise of acceptance of Christian Truth, would not be tolerated in Europe; why attempt it in India, and put a stumblingblock in the way of the catechumen?

When Civilization comes to a tribe along with Christianity, as it did upon our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, the path of the convert is greatly smoothed. The whole family, and village, or even tribe, in such a case move in the same blessed direction: parents and children; mothers, brothers, and sisters; friends and neighbours. Of this process we have notable instances in South India, and in the Sonthál Missions of Central India, and at Metla-Kahtla in N.W. America. There are there no painful heartburnings, no deplorable scenes between parents and children, no rupture of conjugal relations, no desertion of the schools by children: in fact, none of the heartrending scenes, which accompany each conversion of an Arian-Hindu of good family and education. It is a positive fact, that by some process, and a peaceful one, whole villages of Rajpúts, the Warrior class of the Sanskrit Books, passed into Mahometanism, and still associate with their Hindu brethren without any reproach, or sense of inferiority, maintaining their tribal customs together with the precepts of the Korán. Such phenomena took place under the Mahometan rule, which was never a persecuting one in India. Some of the greatest statesmen and warriors of the Moghal Empire were Hindu of the noblest Castes. There is no reason, why similar phenomena should not gradually take place under the English Christian rule. It is an error to suppose, that the people are immobile. The long history of Indian literature tells the tale of constant sectarian uprisings, philosophic discussion, divergence of practice, the birth of new Religious Conceptions, and the extinction of old rituals. The Veda have been supplanted in the estimation of the people by the Purána: the idea of Sacrifice has well-nigh passed away: Education, Locomotion, and the Public Press are doing their silent work: the absence of Religious persecution, or disqualification, the stern repression of all acts contrary to the laws of God, such as widow-burning and daughter-killing, and the complete indulgence given to all customs, not in themselves crimes, give a breathing-time to the thoughtful and enlightened classes of this great people to consider their position. They have, moreover, a deep conscience of the Immortality of the Soul, a just idea of right and wrong, and a conception of the necessity of an Incarnation of God, and an expectation of an Incarnation still to come.

The non-Arians are devoid of these feelings: theirs is simply Nature-worship: they have neither Temple, Priest, nor Book of the Law: they have no traditions of the past to look back to, but they are conscious of a new freedom and independent status

given to them by the English Government, and an equality in the eye of the Law with the superior races, who previously either despised them or oppressed them. They welcome the Christian Missionary: their very ignorance, their difficulty in entertaining abstract ideas, the clouded state of their mind, occupied with vulgar pressing cares, their readiness to appease the forces of Nature, the Small-pox, the Pestilence, as living Powers, present the obstacle to their conversion. If they come over to the new faith in crowds, and after a certain amount of catechetical instruction are deemed qualified for baptism, we must be thankful; but the men will be weak Christians, unable to free themselves from their superstitions, ready to fall into immoralities, especially drunkenness, from which the Arian-Hindu is generally free, and not likely to supply an abundance of qualified Teachers and Ministers, though some have been forthcoming. But the inestimable advantage will have been gained of their women and children being brought under Christian influences, and tuition. The Government of British India is not withheld from assisting philanthropic efforts in favour of the non-Arian races by the same stern unflinching rules, which forbid any assistance being given directly or indirectly to any effort to convert the Hindu and Mahometan. Where Missionary efforts are directed against non-Arian tribes, a separate Native Church would be founded in each Nationality, and the necessity of the Language, if not any other graver consideration, forbids the attempt to include in a fictitious Church-unity elements, such as European and Asiatic, Arian and non-Arian, which are wholly, in this generation at least, incongruous. Where conversions are made from the lower strata of the Hindu Polity (the first group of the non-Arians) in large numbers, great difficulties will arise in getting the better classes to join such rising Churches: no doubt the early Christians felt the same difficulty in the congregations at Rome, consisting of slaves, Jews, and Syrians, to which the lordly Roman of the conquering race was invited in the name of Christ to join: the difficulty is a tremendous one, especially for females of good family, and refined nurture, to have to assemble with sweepers, and caters of carrion, men of filthy habits, and disgusting, though necessary, avocations. Faith and Grace will triumph over every obstacle, but the Missionary should try to present the Gospel to the better-class Hindu with surroundings as little open to such objections as possible. Some Missionaries show no mercy to the hesitating inquirer, in whose heart God's Grace is working: how few of us would stand the ordeal of having, as the price of our souls, to take our women and children, and squeeze into a chapel with scavengers, dustmen, and honest fellows, whose trades were more indispensable than savoury?

If the University of Cambridge felt themselves able to make an addition to the noble work, which they are now maintaining

at Dehli, and the share in the work, which they are carrying on in East Africa, the way is open to them. The upper basin of the Brahmapútra, known as the valley of Assam, is separated by the Patkói range from the upper valley of the Irawádi, known as Independent Barma. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has already a small Mission in those regions, which would be the basis of operations. The climate is not insalubrious, and many Europeans are settled in the Tea-Plantations. Some Nonconformist Missions are at work there, but there is work for many more. Selecting some particular spot, and making one tribe, South of the Brahmapútra, their chief object, they could in course of time extend over the Patkói, and tap new regions hitherto unvisited.

It would be well, that the University should have a field open to each of the two developments of Missionary zeal. To some is given scholastic training, power of argument, intellectual discipline, and the genius of order and organization: such gifts would find their place in the Schools, and Mission-Chapels, the itinerations, and manifold machinery of the Dehli District, among a people, who live in the loving recollection of the writer of this Essay, though never to be seen again. To others is given the far greater gift of power by preaching to touch the heart of illiterate and savage hearers, the exceeding great love for souls, that will lead them to undergo toilsome journeys, sacrifice their daily comforts, risk their lives for the sake of conveying their message face to face, mouth to ear, of races, who have never heard it before. How can they hear, if the message be not conveyed to them! The South-East frontier of India, where the confines of British India, Tibet, China, and Independent Barma meet, is still one of the wildest and least explored regions of Asia. We hear of expeditions fitted out to penetrate into Central Africa: that is well: but India is our particular heritage, and light should be let into this dark corner. A scheme for such a Mission was submitted by me some years ago to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but for want of funds no action was taken.

London, January, 1881.

This paper was written as a Lecture to be delivered to the Undergraduates of Cambridge in the Lent-term, 1881, at the request of the Regius Professor of Divinity; it was written, but never delivered.

London, April 2, 1881.

XX.

THE INDIAN WOMEN.

IN my public addresses on Missionary platforms on the subject of India, I often made the remark, that during my residence of a quarter of a century in that country I had only twice the opportunity of conversing with an Indian lady, so jealously screened from notice are the wives and daughters of the noble and rich, and, in fact, all, who are in comfortable circumstances. Of the poorer classes there are plenty of women in the fields and streets working like cattle; but as soon as a man gets a decent income, he shuts his wife within four walls, as a token of his respectability, and calls it "Pardah." The exceptions are worthy of notice. The old Sikh chieftainess of Jigádri, in the Ambála district, was very quarrelsome, and insisted upon seeing me. She was of any age above sixty, and I was conducted into her apartments, and found a native Indian bed turned up on its end, with a chair for me in front of it, while she was squatting behind it with her eye against the twisted cordage, which formed the bottom of the bed, so that she could see me, but I could not see her. She was quite able to explain her wishes to me, which were to destroy utterly her adversary, who was probably her own grandson, or grand-nephew, I forget which.

The other interview was more striking. In 1852 the old Rání of Vizianagram, and her son's wife, a really beautiful young woman, resided at Banáras. They were from the Madras Province, and I never understood why or how, but, as a fact, they received male visitors with unveiled faces, seated upon chairs, and very pleasing and sensible they were to converse with, and they went so far as to give entertainments in the English fashion. I never heard what became of them, but I always regretted, that the practice was not more general.

But no public Officer can pass through his official career without having a great deal to do with women. The suits in a Civil Court are in native parlance divided into three categories: Chattels, Women, and Land; and really the second is the most burdensome, as our subjects have to be taught what are women's rights and women's duties. The written Codes of Positive Law, both of Hindu and Mahometan, are singularly capricious, for they give a woman large rights of inheritance and dowry, and

yet she has no personal liberty, unaccompanied by license. In the Panjáb, among the Sikhs, a man has a right to the property and the widow of his deceased brother, and this often leads to ludicrous contentions. Again, where it has happened, that father, son, and grandson have died, leaving three widows, I have had experience of the widow of the son contending for the family property against her mother-in-law, that the death of her husband shut *her* out of the property; and against her daughter-in-law, that the widow of the son could not oust the widowed mother. Her pleas were wholly inconsistent to each other; but so obtuse is the vision of self-interest, that she could not possibly see, that of the three her right under no possible circumstance could prevail.

It has been asserted, that there is no case brought forward in the Criminal Courts, which cannot be traced directly or indirectly to that after-thought of the Creative Power, whose special vocation it has been to bring woe to man. There is no doubt, however, that a very large proportion of Civil actions arises in every country from this cause, simply because there has been from the beginning of Human affairs an attempt to keep them down, and debar them from the equality, to which they are entitled. It is self-evident, that the Old Testament was written by men; the Tenth Commandment was clearly reduced to that vehicle for ideas, which we call "words," by one of the male sex. Had Miriam been commissioned to legislate to the Israelites, she would probably have expressed herself otherwise. However unjustly trodden down, Nature will raise its head, and is generally triumphant; any unjust Law of repression against the equity of things is sure to strike in the rebound. Thus it has happened as regards the Law of women both in England and India. The wife has often been the ruin of the house in both countries. In England, though denied a legal existence while under coverture, though her property has been at the mercy of her tyrant, though unjust Laws have prevented her being heard in the case which affects her honour, her fortune, and her status, she has generally won in the end, or made her victor rue his success.

So also in India. From her earliest hour the woman is oppressed; no congratulations mark her birth; her poor mother's heart fails her, and her groanings recommence, when she hears, that a female child has been born; no care watches over her childhood to mark the budding beauty, and to develop the dawning intellect. If by the mercy of the British Government, or the humbleness of her Caste, she escapes the opium-pill, or the sly pinch of the jugular vein, designed for her to preserve the honour of the family, she grows up unattended, unwashed, uneducated, and very often unclothed. In infancy she is disposed

of by betrothal, and so much cash, so much grain, so many trays of sweetmeats, find their way to the family dwelling, as the price of her charms and the barter of her affections. In her nonage she is married, but no honour awaits her even on this occasion; the bridegroom is the great object of the ceremony, but where is the bride? Hired courtezans are dancing for the gratification of the men, while the women of the family are huddled away in closets, or allowed to peep through screens. Poor hapless daughter of Eve! Love has no existence for her; she never listened to homed words; she knows nothing of the wild throb of being wooed, or of the glory of being won; not for her the indistinguishable throng of hopes, and fears, and gentle wishes until the hour arrived, when in granting favours she was herself thrice blessed. Nobody asked her opinion on the subject. Her father arranged the transaction with the boy's father; her family-barber looked at him; his family-barber examined her, noting her defects and her merits; the male relations ate, and the Brahmans prayed, muttered, and ate also, and she had a ring thrust through her nostril, and was a bride. A few years afterwards, when she had arrived at a nubile age, amidst the conventional howling of all the females of the house, she was deported with a proportion, fixed by custom, of cooking-pots, clothes, and jewels, to the house of the bridegroom, a beardless lad, whom then for the first time she saw; and she was thrust into another labyrinth of dark passages, murky yards, and musty closets, resembling so far the paternal mansion, amidst a crowd of mothers-in-law, stern aunts, child-mothers, and widowed girls, who represent and make up the hidden treasures of an Indian home.

Nor in married life was her situation much improved. Owing to the universal habit of whole families herding together, and the comfortless arrangement of dwelling-houses, for years she never saw her husband, except by the light of the chaste moon on the flat roof of the mansion, or by an oil lamp in a closet. He was often absent for months and years; to the end of her days she never appeared unveiled in his presence before a third person, not even her children; she was never addressed by her proper name; if she proved a mother, she had at least the blessing of her children, and taught them to fear their father; but if her husband's lust of the eye fell elsewhere, she had a hateful colleague thrust in, with whom life became one continued jostle of persons, choking of choler, and conflict of children; and, if she were childless, she mourned her hard fate, and submitted. Her sin was not forgiven in childbearing, and she even cherished the child of her rival for the want of something to love. We pass over in silence the angry words, the neglect, the cuffs, and even blows, that must be the case in some

households in a country, where no shame attends the act of striking a woman. We pass over such outrages in silence; for in England not many years ago a mother, in bringing a charge against her son, stated in evidence, that he beat her as much, as if she had been his wife. In England there are savages still!

But the Indian wife has her revenge: the time comes, and the woman. In the declining and obese period of life, when passion is lulled, and the only object of the male animal, who has become seedy and weedy, is to be respectable, when the wife has become haggard, wrinkled, toothless, and hideous, she can wring his heartstrings, she can expose him to the gossip of his neighbours, and to the tittle-tattle of the Court. She sues him for alimony, or maintenance, or (that fertile source of vexation) dower, or for jewels, which she declares to be her separate property. She carries her wrinkled face into Court, and even lays bare her chaste bosom, rivalling a sun-dried mud-bank more than the conventional snowdrift, denounces her husband, discloses his weaknesses, and derides his defects. She thus revenges herself and her sex for many a slight, many a cuff; and this must go on, and he must bear it, much as he looks forward to the day, when it will be his special privilege to expend a few copper coins in faggots to consume the carcase of the woman, who had been his torment, unless she outlive him, when she will not be behindhand in each detail of conventional woe. Still, in spite of all these disagreeable circumstances, the Courts are pestered with ridiculous claims of brothers-in-law, or cousins, to possess themselves of the persons of widows, in whom they imagine, that their family has invested capital, of which they wish to enjoy the interest. Many long fights have arisen, with regard to the hand of very undesirable ladies, betwixt the party who considers, that he has a legal remainder, and the party, who is in actual possession, the one pleading a species of tenure of tail female, and the other a tenure *in corde*.

The wicked novelist, Balzac, has somewhere written, that a man should not venture to marry, until he had at least dissected one woman. We would warn the Hindu to witness one such Civil action, ere he add to his family. As far as the writer of these pages personally knows such ladies (from acquaintance in the Court-house), they are apt to be unamiable, unguarded of speech, rather spiteful, and very unreasonable, certainly not the ministering spirit, with whom he could wish to share the Arab tent. None so earnest in appeal, none so unruly and obstreperous, and the Judge is fortunate to have a table and rail between himself and the litigants, and not to have a long beard to tempt insult, for the Sikh lady is apt to run to bone in formation, and would be a powerful enemy in conflict. Nor do they persecute their husbands or their male relations only; none so pertinacious against the world

and its institutions at large, as the wretched widow, who has been tempted by some devil to waste so many weary days and weary nights for the possession of some miserable hovel, the value of which would never equal such an expenditure of temper, credit, words, or hard cash. A personal experience of some terrible widows, clasping the knees at every unguarded opportunity, shrieking at every corner, vexing the spirit at uncertain hours, has tempted many a public Officer to sympathize somewhat with the unjust Judge, who has been held up as an example to avoid.

And all this has arisen under English rule; all this trouble is authorized, and exists in the necessity of things. It is dangerous to insult the feelings of a people, yet here we must run athwart their most deep-rooted prejudices, and the Judge, though satisfied, that with a conscience and principles of rectitude he could not decide otherwise, returns daily to his home, deeply conscious, that he has wounded their feelings on the tenderest point. Their whole practice with regard to betrothals is iniquitous. Women are transferred like cattle; circular contracts are made, by which a whole series of marriages is arranged, grown-up women are tied to boys of tender years; little girls made over to old men; brothers sue for forcible possession of the widow of their deceased brother; the woman is treated as a chattel or a domestic animal, of which the joint property is vested in the whole family. The conscience of our jurisprudence is opposed to all such transactions, and they cannot be upheld. Great is the wrath and loudly muttered the dissatisfaction of many a middle-aged country gentleman, who from his age and turn of mind cannot see the drift of the policy. Moreover, the evil was aggravated by the novelty of our rule, for no sooner had the British Army crossed the river Satlaj, than it got about, that we were governed by a Queen, and the East India Company was believed to be an aged female of some description. This gave birth to a feeling of independence among the womankind of the country; hence a quarrel and a miniature rebellion in every house. The astonished Sikh, worsted at the battle of Sobraon, at least honourably, had in his own home to carry on a disgraceful contest with a loud tongue, cased in a body, which he no longer dared to chastise, craving for more jewels, more clothes, and threatening to avail itself of its newly-acquired liberty.

This dislocation of the domestic relations is brought about by Polygamy and child-murder, which, by destroying the numerical equality of the sexes, has given women a money value in the market, as a thing to be sold, and when bought to be kept possession of. Polygamy may be dismissed in a few words. None of the respectable middle classes tolerate it. In extreme cases of childless husbands the privilege may be under a protest made use of, for to a Hindu it is a dishonour and sorrow to be childless. The poor cannot afford it. It is only among the wild beasts of

the pseudo-aristocracy, that the custom prevails to any extent, and they as a class are being extinguished. A Law to place Polygamy under civil disabilities might be passed without exciting a remark, for it is as unsanctioned by the feeling of the people as excesses of the same character, though developing themselves in the European form of profligacy, are against the feelings of the people of England. Indeed, now that the power of the whip and the fetter has been removed, the custom is not likely to be much practised. It is all very well for a chieftain, residing in a fort with four bastions, to indulge in the luxury of a separate wife in each tower, or a banker with two or three dwelling-houses might find it feasible, but for a man with limited means the experiment would be dangerous. In ordinary marriage-contracts tricks are often played. The barber of the bridegroom is bribed, and at a time, when it is too late to recede, the bride is found to be one-eyed, with only one leg or arm, marked hideously with the small-pox, or imperfectly developed in mind or body. A contract, based on misrepresentation and fraud, is but a sorry start in life for the young couple.

Female infanticide lies deeper, as it is based, not on individual passion, but family pride. It must have taken some years, or perhaps generations, to stamp the iniquity in its present complete form, to drown all feeling of humanity, shame, and manliness, and it will take some time to restore them. The subject has been misunderstood. It is not only the undue expenditure at weddings, that led to the crime, as this would not have induced the wealthy in some particular tribes to adopt a practice, which their neighbours equally wealthy revolted at. The facts are these : Indian society is divided into Castes, and each Caste into tribes infinite. A man must marry one of his own Caste, but never one of his own tribe. As long as these tribes are relatively equal, no trouble would arise ; but as in process of time one tribe became conventionally more honourable than the other, and as it is a point of honour never to give a daughter to one of a lower tribe, there must be certain tribes, who may have equals, but can have no superior ; and if there should be no equal, as in the case of the Bédi tribe of the Khatri caste, there is no alternative but dishonour, or female infanticide, and of course they choose the latter. Let us illustrate this position further. Suppose that the great Caste of Smiths had from times beyond the memory of man been divided into tribes, the William Smiths, the John Smiths, Andrew Smiths, and so on ; now by the necessity of the case a Smith must marry a Smith, but not one of his own cognates, and all would go on well, until the disturbing cause of relative rank happened to interfere. Unluckily one of the ancestors of the Andrew Smiths was said to have been a Bishop, a Lord Mayor of London, a popular Low-church preacher, or a personage of some such distinction, as would lead his descendants,

who were apparently equal, to consider themselves relatively better than the William Smiths. The sad consequences of this absurd distinction would be, that the Andrew Smiths as a tribe, sooner than give their daughters to the William Smiths, or the other inferior tribes, would habitually practise female infanticide. *Hinc illae lacrymae!*

But ever and anon, amidst this wilderness of the affections, flashes out with a bright light on the part of that sex, which can forgive its tyrants every fault, even infidelity, some instance of the tenderest, because unrequited, love. The voice of the country, and tradition of the golden age, are against such treatment of the weaker vessel, and generation after generation has sympathized with the pictures of truth and fidelity, which have been portrayed so vividly and with such sweetness by Valmiki and Vyása, the great heroes of epic poetry, and gathered round many a fireside have young and old alternately wept and smiled at the tale of the sorrows and triumphs of Sitá and Damayánti. Still, in spite of her social degradation lives the proverb, that, though a hundred men form only an encampment, one woman constitutes a home; still inconsistently the dearest affections and nicest honour of the great people of India are interwoven in the veil, which shrouds their females. They plunder provinces to load them with jewels, and then complain, when restitution is demanded, they worship their mothers and elder relations, treat their wives as so much dirt, and ignore their daughters, yet will those wives travel long distances to visit them in prison, and sacrifice all to get them released, and scenes often occur, which reconcile us to the Oriental development of humanity. The neglect on the part of the selfish lord often displays itself in as ludicrous a manner as the devotion of the wife. It is the custom for a Hindu on the loss of a relation to shave his beard by way of mourning, and I once asked a Rajpút, who had lately lost his better half, why he had neglected this attention. The reply was, that a man would as soon think of shaving his beard for the loss of a pair of old shoes. On the other hand, I once overtook a lone female on my road towards the river Ganges, and she informed me, that she was journeying many a league to commit the remains of her lord to the sacred stream. I looked back, expecting to see some modest conveyance, on which these melancholy relics were deposited, but there was nothing; on inquiry she undid a knot in the corner of the sheet, in which she was clothed, and showed a tooth and a bit of calcined bone, which she had picked up from the cinders of the funeral pile, and which she considered to be a sufficient representative of her husband.

Education, moral and religious, is the only cure. A quarter of a century ago, not a woman in India could read or write; and there was some justice in the assertion, that there was no book fit for a woman to read, and no legitimate occasion for a woman to

write. That excuse can no longer be made. The efforts of good and pious English women have brought into existence an abundant, and daily increasing, serious and light literature, suitable for women at their present state of Education, in many of the Indian Vernaculars; and the Zanána Societies have been started with the sole and laudable object of educating the women, elevating their ideas, making them fit companions of educated husbands, and fit mothers of educated sons. On the furtherance of such designs the well-being of India depends.

Amritsar, 1859.

London, 1881.

XXI.

THE FIRST INVADER OF INDIA.

(Written for the people of India, and translated into several of the Vernacular Languages of India.)

No one has obtained, and preserved, so worldwide a reputation as Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, and Conqueror of Asia. Being a native of Greece, and so intimately connected with the most glorious period of the history of that country, it was not likely, that his name would be forgotten; and every well-educated person in Europe has heard of, and knows generally, the details of the life of this remarkable man. But in Asia he has obtained a still wider, though not so distinct, reputation; and, though very few can say exactly who he was, when he lived, and what he did, yet nearly everyone has heard the name of Sikandar, and connects with it the idea of a great King and a great Conqueror. And, indeed, there is no such book in the Languages of India, as gives a condensed and accurate account of his long expeditions, and short life, which are more interesting to the people of India, as he visited and conquered a part of that country. It is to supply that want that these pages are written; and with the aid of a map, the reader will be able to trace the course of Alexander, from Macedon to the river Euphrates, and thence to the river Beas in the Panjáb.

Some Indians will remark, that they have read the Sikandarnáma, and are not in want of a history. It is replied, that the Sikandarnáma is a most silly and most incorrect book. It is quite evident, that the author had no correct means of information himself, and was ignorant of general History and Geography; and it is also clear, that no one, from the perusal of that book, would be able to form

any accurate notions of the country, or deeds, of Alexander. And, if any teacher of a native School were asked by a pupil, where were the Nile or Euphrates, or the great cities conquered, or founded, we all know, that no satisfactory answer would be given. If the same teacher were asked, how many years ago Alexander lived, he would be unable to say, whether he was a contemporary of Abraham, or Mahomet; whether he was a fire-worshipper or an idolater. All, that would be told, would be, that he lived many years ago, and somewhere in the Western countries. The writer of these lines has read the book through, and had an abstract prepared, of the historical and geographical facts contained in it, and compared them with the Greek and Latin historians, who must now be noticed.

The subject of History had been much cultivated in Greece before the birth of Alexander, and people were quite aware of the importance of a correct account of remarkable events, written in plain language, and not in poetry, as has generally been the case in the East. The consequence was, that two of the companions of Alexander wrote accounts of all that was done, and which they had actually seen. Both these books have been lost, but fortunately they were read, and made use of by two authors, whose works have come down to us, one of whom lived four hundred years, and the other four hundred and sixty years, after the death of the man whose life they were writing; but they lived in a country adjoining Macedon, among a people of most enlightened intellects, and they were aware, that many false reports and stories had been spread even there, and they were on their guard to avoid them. It is to be feared, that the author of the *Sikandarnáma*, who lived more than a thousand years after the death of his hero, and in a country very widely separated from the place of Alexander's birth, and among a people not capable of criticizing and distinguishing truth from falsehood, was not so much on his guard, as Arrian and Quintus Curtius, and had not the same opportunities of testing the truth. He did not intend to write falsehood, but he was writing poetry to catch the ear, and he merely committed to paper the legends, which he had heard. Alexander was a Greek, and it is fair therefore to trust to Histories drawn from Greek writers, rather than from a foreign country. Another proof of their general veracity has been afforded by modern geographical discoveries, as the country, traversed by Alexander, has only lately been opened to travellers, and therefore the account now given may confidently be relied upon.

Alexander was son of Philip, King of Macedon, a portion of the country then known as Greece, or Yunán, now included in the empire of the Sultán of Constantinople, and known as the kingdom of Rúm. He was born 356 years before the Christian era. Greece is the most eastern portion of Europe, and separated by an arm of

the sea from Asia. In those days nothing was known of the present Nations, who are powerful in Europe. Their country was inhabited by barbarians with different forms of Religious Belief. But they were not so much to blame then, as God's will had not been revealed to mankind at large, but only to one small tribe. Philip, by his wisdom and valour, maintained a great influence over the States, who possessed the southern part of Greece, and the Greeks were a very warlike and learned Nation, though not numerous.

The whole of Asia, as far as it was then known, and the country of Egypt in Africa, were all included in one great kingdom, called the kingdom of Persia. This kingdom had been founded by Cyrus, so well known in the *Shahnáma* of Firdúsi as Kai Khosru, and had been ruled by Darius Hystaspes, known as Gustasp. At that time it included one hundred and twenty Provinces, stretching as far as India, and including the countries on the river Indus, though they had never been thoroughly conquered. They had, however, been explored, for ships had been floated down the Indus to the sea, and conveyed thence to the port of Suez, in Egypt. At the time of Alexander, Darius, known as Dara, was the king of this country; but, like the large kingdoms in India, it was badly governed: no care was taken of the people, who were plundered for the benefit of the servants of the king, and a corrupt nobility. The Religion of the country was that of Zirlast, or Zoroaster. The followers of this Religion were called fire-worshippers, or Gabr, and a remnant of them still exists at Bombay, in India, whither they fled from the persecution of the Mahometans. For a century previous to the time of Alexander, the kings of Persia had been at war with the people of Greece. The Persians had twice invaded Greece, but they had been signally defeated both by land and sea, although their numbers were far greater than those of the Greeks. There had, after that, been constant war in Asia Minor, and it had become the practice of the Persian satraps, or governors of provinces, to engage Grecian mercenaries as their soldiers. On one occasion, when Artaxerxes was king, his brother Cyrus had rebelled against him, and, aided by a force of ten thousand Greeks, had penetrated across the Euphrates, almost to Babylon, and fought a great battle, in which Cyrus, though conqueror, was killed. These same Greeks cut their way back many thousand miles, through the strange and mountainous country of Armenia, to the shores of the Black Sea, in spite of the attacks of the Persian forces. All these things had taught the Greeks, how very weak, in reality, was the power of the Persian king, and how much a few properly disciplined troops could do against many.

We thus see, that there existed at that time the great, but weak, kingdom of Persia, and the small, but strong, country of Greece, divided into several states, which were generally quarrelling with

each other. Philip had managed to unite them nearly all under his orders, and was himself preparing to invade Asia, when he was killed by an assassin. But his son Alexander, though only twenty years of age, at once undertook to carry out the scheme. Some foolish people choose to believe, that Alexander was elder brother of, or related to, Darius. This was a story, invented to render the disgrace of the Persians less remarkable. He was son-in-law of Darius, as he married his daughter, but in no other way connected as the Greeks had not previously intermarried with the Persians, and Alexander was in every respect a pure Greek. Others have pretended, that he was the son of one of the heathen gods. Had he lived a few hundred years earlier, no doubt the story would have been believed; for in very old times everything was believed, and everybody, whose father was of no repute, was said to be son of some god. Luckily Alexander lived after the historic period had commenced, and we know exactly who he was.

In the year 334 before the Christian era, he commenced his memorable journey. His force consisted of 34,500 foot-soldiers, and 4,500 cavalry, and he marched along the coast of Macedonia, until he came to the narrow arm of the sea called the Hellespont, which separates Europe from Asia. This he crossed in boats, and had at once to prepare to fight a much larger army assembled by the provincial governors, consisting of 110,000 men, more than twice the size of his force. Alexander entirely defeated this force on the banks of the river Granicus; an immense number was killed and taken prisoner, and all opposition ceased. He now swept through Asia Minor, conquering city after city, and appointing governors over the new provinces. He passed through the mountainous ranges on the south-east of Asia Minor, called the Syrian Gates, and entered the province of Syria, not far from the celebrated city of Antioch. In the meantime Darius had prepared to receive him, and had himself led a large army from his capital across the river Euphrates into Syria, and advancing towards Antioch, met Alexander near the little river Issus. Both parties came unexpectedly in sight of each other; but, although the army of Darius was not less than 200,000 men, he was entirely defeated, obliged to fly, leaving his wife and family in the hands of the conqueror. This battle was a very severe one, and the number of Persians killed was enormous. Darius fled across the river Euphrates, and offered terms of peace, agreeing to surrender half his dominions; but Alexander refused to listen, being determined to have all or nothing.

The whole of Syria was now conquered, and the great city of Damascus taken, known as Shám. The famous city of Tyre, so renowned for its commerce, was besieged and taken in a wonderful way, for it was situated on an island, and Alexander threw out an immense causeway, by which the island was connected with the

land, and is now a peninsula. Thence Alexander marched to Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, but that people surrendered at once, they went out to meet him, and showed him their Sacred Books, and he worshipped the great God, of whom he had never heard before, and visited the celebrated Temple, and spared the city and people.

He next marched southward, towards Egypt, which for a hundred years had formed a portion of the Persian Empire, having been conquered by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus. Egypt, or Misr, is one of the most ancient kingdoms of the world. Fifteen hundred years before, the well-known Joseph, or Yusuf, had been governor of this country on the part of Pharaoh, who then ruled. The river Nile flowed through the land, and was the cause of its great fertility and wealth; but the people were always, and are still, a degraded Nation. They were so debased, as to worship animals, such as the cat, the stork, and the cow, than which nothing can be more foolish. It is even more unworthy of a man of sense, than the worshipping of Idols, as they at least are believed to represent a deity; but the Worship of animals is only that of brute beasts. Alexander conquered Egypt without difficulty, visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the desert, and founded, not far from the mouths of the Nile, on the coast of the Mediterranean, a great city, which is still famous, and called Alexandria.

Returning northward, he prepared to cross the Euphrates, and attempt the conquest of the Eastern provinces also. The country of Mesopotamia, to which he now approached, is a very remarkable one. It is a Doáb, between the Euphrates and the Tigris, which take their rise in the mountains of Armenia, and flow southward, until they join together, and form the Shatt-al-Arab, and thence into the great Persian Gulf, which is connected with the Indian Ocean. It was the seat of some of the earliest kingdoms, of which the memory has survived in History. Up to the time of Alexander, the sovereign of Western Asia had always lived on the banks of one of these two rivers, and all the commerce of the ancient world, whether by land or sea, found its way there. Alexander marched to the Euphrates, and crossed by a bridge of boats at Thapsacus. To avoid the desert country he marched across the Doáb, and crossed the river Tigris also, near the ruins of the celebrated city of Nineveh, which in those days had been quite forgotten; but during the last few years its ruins have been discovered. Not very far off, at a place called Arbéla, the Grecian army met the army of Darius, and after a battle, in which the carnage was dreadful, Alexander was victorious, and the Persians entirely destroyed. Darius fled away, and was killed by one of his own officers. Babylon, on the river Euphrates, the capital of the Empire, was now occupied without a struggle,

and the Greeks found themselves masters of the great Persian Empire.

This was not, however, enough for the young king. The lust of ambition and conquest increases the more that it is gratified, and Alexander at once prepared for a campaign further eastward, extending to Afghanistan and India. He took the cities of Susa and Persépolis. At the former he found immense treasures; and in a moment of drunkenness, he set fire to, and destroyed, the palaces of the latter. He then marched to the north, passing through the modern kingdom of Persia, and near the present capital of Tehcrán, and crossing the mountains he entered Hyrcania, now called Mazenderán, on the shores of the Caspian Sea. He then marched through Khorasán, near the sites of the modern cities of Mehed and Nishapur, thence invaded Bactria, and the kingdoms of Bokhára and Samarkand, crossing the river Oxus, and penetrating as far as the river Jaxartes. This country is known now as the country Mawar-al-Nahr, or regions beyond the Oxus. Báber, the founder of the Moghal dynasty, who ruled so many years at Delhi, came from that quarter, his native land being Ferghána. Wherever Alexander went, he conquered the people of the country, took strong fortresses, and founded new cities bearing his name, but the exact sites of which can now with difficulty be fixed.

Crossing the mountains to Kábul, he prepared to invade India. The names of places have so much changed since that time, that it is not easy to trace his exact route, but he must have come along the usual mountainous route by Jalálábád to Pesháwar. He had to attack and defeat many wild tribes inhabiting the mountains, for the inhabitants of these parts were then as wild and rude, as they are to this day. One celebrated mountain fortress on the banks of the Indus was taken, which is supposed to be near the town of Amb, in the country of the Yusufzye. He crossed the Indus at Attuk, and entered the district of Rawal Pindi, in the Panjáb. It is interesting to read of events, which happened in these countries two thousand years ago. Advancing thence eastward, Alexander was met by the king of that country, Porus, who was prepared to dispute with him the passage of the Jhilam, a deep and rapid river. No opposition had been met between the Indus and Jhilam, for Tákiles, the king of that country, had made friends with the invader. The capital of Tákiles was called Tákila, and the ruins have been discovered. The Jhilam was formerly called the Vestusta by the Indians, but the Greeks called it the Hydaspes. It takes its rise in the valley of Kashmír, through which it flows, and after passing through many ranges of mountains, it at length enters the plains of the Panjáb, and joins the Chináb.

The exact spot, where Alexander crossed this river, is not

known, but by a skilful artifice he effected the passage, and entirely defeated the army of Porus, whom he took prisoner, but afterwards released, and restored to his kingdom. He himself advanced across the Panjáb through the district of Gujerát, and crossed the Chináb. The name of this river with the Indians was Chandrabhága, and it is so mentioned in the "Ramáyana," and by this name it is still known in the hill tracts. The Greeks called it the Acésines. Advancing farther, Alexander crossed the Rávi, on the banks of which Lahór, the capital of the Panjáb, stands. This river was called the Arrávi by the Indians, whence the word Rávi is corrupted; but the Greeks called it the Hydraotes; it flows southward, and falls into the Chináb, below the junction of the river Jhílam. Thence Alexander marched across the district of Amritsar, and attacked and conquered a people called the Kathaei, who dwelt at a town called Sāngala. The site of this town is not known, but it must have been somewhere in the Bári Doáb. The people were no doubt the ancestors of the tribe, so numerous in the Panjáb to this day, called the Khatri, a branch of the Kshatria, or Warrior Caste. Some scholars connect the Kathaei with the people of the country, mentioned in the "Ramáyana" as the Kekéya Des. At any rate, the two countries must have been very near together.

Alexander had now reached the Beas, known by and mentioned in the "Ramáyana" as the Vipása, but called by the Greeks the Hýphasis. He was preparing to pass this river, and enter the Jalandhar Doáb; he would then have crossed the river Satlaj, known to the Indians as the Satúdra, but to the Greeks as the Hysúdrus; and, as he conquered more countries, he was seized with the desire of making more conquests, and was planning to cross the river Jamna, and descend the Ganges, through kingdoms, of which then nothing was known to the Western world, but from the Sanskrit books we know, that at that time powerful kingdoms existed in Madya Des, at Indraprasthá, Hastīnapúrā, Máthura, and farther down at Ayodhyá. With all these Alexander would have had to contend, and so many battles, and such long marches, had much reduced his army. He himself was most anxious to penetrate farther, to descend the Ganges, and sail back to Greece round Africa. This is a very easy voyage now, and may be done with great facility; but in those days, when ships were so small, it seemed like a dream, for nobody then knew the extent of the world, or even of the peninsula of India: something, I am afraid, like the majority of the people of India now, who are much more to blame than Alexander; for his teacher, Aristotle, at least knew all, that had been discovered up to that time, and attempts had been made to draw a map.

When the Grecian army heard, that the king was preparing to cross the Beas, they mutinied. They loved him dearly and

truly, but they were exhausted, and they lost heart, when they heard, that he was determined to go still further Eastward; they could not tell, how much farther he would have taken them. When Alexander found, that he could not persuade them to go with him, he was obliged to yield, and retraced his steps to the river Jhulam. Here a fleet of boats had been prepared, on which part of his army was embarked, while two other portions marched down the right and left banks of the river. The Jhulam flows into the Chináb, which receives, a little farther down, the river Rávi. Still farther down these three united streams flow into the Satlaj. The five rivers of the Panjáb thus united bear the name of the Panjnad. Some miles farther down they join the Indus, and flow on through the country of Sind into the Ocean. Alexander attacked many Nations on the way down, especially the Malli, who are supposed to have been the inhabitants of the district of Multán, and here he very nearly lost this life, for he scaled the walls of a fortress almost alone, and was severely wounded. He was also opposed in Sind, but eventually arrived safe at Patála, at the head of the delta of the Indus, near the modern city of Latta. Here the army was divided into three parts. One portion, comprising the elephants, was despatched by a central route betwixt the confines of Balúchistán, and Afghanistán, to find its way back to Kirman, in Persia. A second, under the command of Alexander in person, marched along the southern coast of Balúchistán, through a desert and uninhabited country, never traversed before. The third division was embarked in vessels, which sailed down the Indus into the Ocean, under the command of Nearchus, the most skilful sailor of the time. This was indeed a wonderful feat, and a service of great danger; for the vessels were small, the navigation unknown, the distance scarcely known either, and the chance of getting supplies of food very doubtful. However, they kept close to the coast, as in those days no ships dared to leave the coast. After suffering great privations, they arrived at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, which was well known to them, and all difficulty was then past. The land detachments suffered from want of water and food, and numbers perished. At length the whole army was again assembled on the Euphrates, and the great campaign was finished. The whole world, as it was then considered, had been conquered. Close calculations have lately been made to ascertain the exact distance traversed by Alexander from the day that he left Pella, the capital of Macedon, until his return to Babylon, and it is found to exceed nineteen thousand English miles. This was the greatest expedition, that had ever taken place, and was indeed a very wonderful one, though the distances traversed in modern days by the troops of the present Rulers of India, coming from, and returning to England, or proceeding to China, and every part of the world, are much larger.

Alexander was quite aware of the importance of Commerce, and now that he had returned to his capital, he was preparing still more extensive schemes, one of which was to conquer the Peninsula of India. He was building new cities in every part of the world, constructing a large fleet, and many of his schemes were wise and worthy of a great sovereign; and, as he was still only thirty-one years of age, and had no single rival, all being dazzled by his great glory and success, all his schemes seemed possible and probable, and it is much to be regretted, that they were not carried into effect. But everything is ordained wisely, and so it happened, that this great king, who had survived so many battles, and such severe wounds and fatigues, died of a fever in his palace at Babylon, and with him all his mighty schemes perished, and India was cut off from the Western world for another fifteen hundred years, until it was conquered by the Mahometans.

His death is a memorable instance of the frailty of all Human greatness. All his family, his wives, his child, and his mother, were in a few years killed; his kingdom was divided among his generals, who each seized what they could lay hands on. Nothing remained of him, but his great name, which has received a greater lustre from the circumstance of no one having arisen in after times to equal him; and his reign was so short, only thirteen years, that it appeared like a dream, when he was gone.

Alexander was a great king, and a great general, and possessed many noble qualities, such as valour and generosity; yet he was stained with many crimes. Nor can we wonder, when we consider the temptations to which he was exposed. In a fit of drunkenness he killed his friend Clitus with his own hand, and set fire to the palace of Persepolis, the ruins of which even to this day excite our admiration. He put to death also some of his most faithful companions upon unjust suspicions. He was insatiably ambitious, and pleased with the grossest flattery. Very few good traits of his private character are recorded, and it may be perhaps the better for his fame, that he died so young. We must not also forget the thousands of lives, which he sacrificed, both of his countrymen and of the people of Asia, solely for his own selfish objects. It has been too much the practice in Asia to consider the lives of the poor and the weak entirely at the disposal of the rich and powerful.

The countries included in his Empire for the few years of his reign must now be noticed. Macedon, his hereditary kingdom, was to the extreme West. Proceeding Eastward, we come to Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, or the Holy Land, to the South-West of which was Egypt. In Arabia Alexander made no conquests. To the east of the Euphrates his Empire included Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan, the country between the Caspian Sea, the Oxus, and the Jaxartes, the Panjáb, Sind, and Balúchistán. It

must not be supposed, that these countries were all governed directly by him, or that his power was equally exerted in all : in some he had entire control, and appointed his own Governors, who collected the revenue, and maintained soldiers to control the inhabitants ; in others the local Rulers were allowed to remain, on condition of paying an annual tribute. Among these were the Rulers of the Panjáb and Sind, who, soon after the death of Alexander, threw off their allegiance. No idea can be formed of the population, or of the revenues of the whole kingdom, owing to the rapidity, with which it was created and fell away ; but great as it was, we know that it fell far short of the Roman Empire in extent, and even in these days is far exceeded in size, wealth, and number of the population, by the Empire of the British Nation, of which the great country of India, from the Himaláya to the Ocean, is only one Province.

My readers may rest satisfied, that this account of Alexander is that, which has been received and believed in Europe for more than two thousand years, and which there is every reason to believe to be true. It will occur to any person of intelligence, that nothing is here related, that is contrary to possibility or probability. The countries and cities described are recognized, and can be traced on the map ; but what shall we say of the story of Alexander visiting the country of Zulmat, or Darkness, at the end of the World, to fetch the water of life, which is mentioned in the "Sakandarnáma" ? Where are the ends of the world in a globe, which has neither end nor beginning ? The author of the Poem is a Mahometan, and of course he makes Alexander visit the Kaaba at Mecca, in Arabia, a place utterly unknown beyond Arabia at that time, as it was not, till many hundred years afterwards that Mahomet was born, and brought the black stone of the Kaaba into notice. No doubt, had a Hindu written the life of Alexander, he would have taken him to Máthura or Banáras ; for, when once the path of truth is departed from, each author wishes to introduce the countries, which are most interesting to his readers. The object of this essay is to interest, and also to instruct, and therefore truth is not departed from ; but all, that Antiquity has left us of the actions of the great Alexander, is faithfully examined, and no one is required to believe, what cannot be proved, and is not within the bounds of probability.

Banda, 1854.

XXII.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE POPPY, AND MANUFACTURE OF OPIUM.

ARE THE PEOPLE OF BRITISH INDIA TO BE SACRIFICED TO
THE CHINESE?

"Audi Alteram Partem."

IN the midst of loud declamation and plenteous abuse, the Anti-Opium agitators neglect to grapple in a practical manner with the subject, or suggest any feasible remedy for the alleged evil. It is natural, that this should be so, for, not understanding the formidable complications of the disease, how can they prescribe for the patient? The problem is a solemn one. If the agitators urge, that China is not to be sacrificed to the financial wants of India, the whole body of Anglo-Indians rise, as one man, to maintain, that British India shall not be sacrificed to the moral weakness of China. Great Britain has no direct interest in the matter: every rupee of the vast sums spent in the culture of the poppy, and the manufacture of the drug, is supplied by natives of British India, or Anglo-Indians, transacting business in India.

Let me clear away sundry topics, which only cloud the discussion, and divert the mind from the real issue, which is, "What shall be done?"

I. The war of 1841-2 may, or may not, have been connected with opium in its origin (which is doubtful), or have been wicked (which is also doubtful); but, whatever it was, it is an accomplished fact and a matter of history.

II. The war of 1857 arose entirely from the capture of a small vessel, and had nothing to do with opium. Be it recollected, that Parliament was dissolved, and the matter was laid before the country, and the war was the direct result of the votes of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland. The people had the matter before them, and decided upon it. British India was not consulted.

III. Peace was made, and certain ports were thrown open to all merchandise, opium, at the request of the Chinese, being admitted to the Free Ports subject to a fixed Customs-Duty. Beyond those Treaty-ports China is absolutely master of the

situation, and nothing can pass out of those ports without an arbitrary transit-duty, which can at discretion be made prohibitory. I have ascertained this fact from the most competent authorities, and, if there were any treaty, *compelling* China to admit opium beyond the Treaty-ports, I should join in the petition to have the treaty repealed. It is very true that, if the Chinese were to forbid the passage of opium out of the Treaty-ports, smuggling would be resorted to along two thousand miles of coast by men of every nationality; but Great Britain, if it attempted to exclude French brandy, would run the same risk, and the Navy of the United States was not able to exclude the blockade runners during the cotton famine.

IV. The injurious effect of over-indulgence in opium smoking is admitted. But every nation has its prevailing vice, which must be attacked by moral arguments, not by the Arm of the Flesh. An English Bishop rightly said, that it would be better for men to be drunkards than slaves. The people of Great Britain extract twenty-eight millions annually from the intemperate habits of a portion of the community. There are worse things in China, a far greater moral contamination than opium-smoking. Why do the citizens of the United States, and the Colonists of Australia and British Columbia, who admit all nationalities to their territory, exclude the Chinese? Because they bring with them a contamination worse than opium-smoking. They occupy among races the position of the Bug among insects.

V. If the habit of opium-smoking be so destructive of body and mind, as the agitators say, it would tell upon the population. China, however, is like a full bowl, overflowing into every land, Australia, New Zealand, the Indian Archipelago, South Africa, and America. Other vices bring with them sterility, poverty, and national weakness. China is a power of unwieldy but gigantic strength: it has recovered all its lost ground on its North-West frontier, holds its own against European Powers, and there are no signs of decay in its arts, manufactures, or national development.

VI. If unhappy Ireland had a culture, a manufacture, and an article of export, which enabled the tenant to live in comfort, the landlord to receive his rent without fail, the State to levy an excise of many millions on the export; if the population were indebted to this culture for social and undemoralized happiness and content, would the Parliament of Ireland consent to destroy this culture, and arrest this manufacture, because the inhabitants of the Fiji Islands, or South America, were so uncontrolled in their appetites, and so abandoned in their proclivities, as to

destroy themselves with over-libations of Irish whisky? Yet such is the state of many millions in British India, to whom the culture of the poppy is as the wand of Fortunatus. Landlord and tenant welcome the arrival of the Opium-Factory Agent, who pays upwards of a million in advance without interest, under contract, for delivery of the poppy-juice, thus protecting the cultivator from the exactions of the village banker, and enabling him to pay his rent to his landlord, and enabling the landlord to pay his land-tax to the State.

VII. If British India were a constitutional Colony (and one excellent result of this agitation will be, that independent constitutional powers will be conceded to it for self-protection from selfish Englishmen), would it be expected, that the Colonial Parliament would throw to the winds a revenue of many millions, because irresponsible men in Great Britain take up one side of a question, and, forgetting the drunkenness of their own country, and the frightful injuries inflicted upon Africa by British commerce in arms and liquors, sympathize with the debased Chinese opium-smoker, and their debased and mercenary rulers, who fill their dispatches with moral saws, and tolerate ineffable abominations?

VIII. "Begin at home" is a maxim, which applies both to the British agitator and the Chinese Government. China will soon become, if it be not already, the largest opium-producer in the world, and some even think, that ere long it will export opium. Of one fact, however, there can be no doubt, that travellers in remote regions find the poppy-cultivation and the opium-pipe among tribes never visited by Europeans, or accessible to the Indian drug. It is not clear, that opium-smoking ever has prevailed outside China. In British India, with the exception of British Burma, which is outside of India proper, and in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, it is totally unknown.

IX. With our streets at home inundated with intoxicating liquors, with our manufacturers sending out annually arms, ammunition, and rum, to every part of unhappy Africa, so as to enable the aborigines, who have survived down to the nineteenth century, and have outlived the foreign slave-trade, to destroy themselves by internecine war and a liquor, of which they were ignorant before the arrival of the white man; with human sacrifices and cannibalism still practised in marts, to which our traders resort; with many forms of frightful cruelty and horrible crime rampant in countries to which we have access, are we to throw away the Empire of India in the vain and fanciful idea of keeping back a heathen Chinaman from his pipe, while we have failed to hold back a Christian Englishman from his pot?

X. It is notorious, that the surplus-income of British India over the absolute necessities of the State is supplied by the wonderful and heaven-sent windfall of the opium-revenue, and out of this surplus fund the Bishops with their Chaplains, and the grants-in-aid to the Missionary Societies from the Education Department, have for many years been paid. If, then, this source of revenue be so tainted, as the Anti-Opium agitators would have us believe; if it be an accursed thing, like the price of blood, the wage of the prostitute, the cost of a brother's soul, and the incense offered to Mammon, how is it that these Societies, so outwardly blessed by the Almighty, can accept a part of the spoils and mingle it with the pure offerings of Missionary love and thanksgiving? It is their duty before God and Men to reject the contamination. The Missionary Societies know very well from what source the surplus-income of British India comes, and yet they do not hesitate to take their share.

XI. Amidst the agitators there are two camps, the platform-orators, and the prudent Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, who must sometimes start at the utterances of the extreme members of his own party. We have heard the cultivation of the Poppy likened to the Slave-trade. What does this mean? No doubt the Slave-trade was a curse to the country which despatched the slaves, and a heavier curse to the country which received the slaves; but the sympathy of the world was with the slave himself, a man of like passions to ourselves, and with an immortal Soul. But the cultivation of the Poppy is one of the choicest and richest blessings to the country which exports it, blessed at every stage of the transaction, and to everyone concerned in it: to the country which receives it, it has neither brought depopulation, nor poverty, nor sterility, nor weakness, although to a large number (about two millions out of a population of four hundred millions) of the debauched members of that nation it has supplied an opiate, more carefully prepared and of greater intrinsic excellence than the culture and manufacture of his own country can produce, or at least has as yet produced, for in the ports of Mongolia the Chinese indigenous opium has driven out the Indian alien drug. We can scarcely suppose that any sympathy is felt with the fate of the opium-ball: so the analogy with the Slave-trade falls to the ground.

XII. The agitators sometimes urge, that it is an Indian, sometimes a British question; but I never heard anyone urge seriously, that sevenpence in the pound should be added to the British Income-tax to make up for the loss of Revenue to British India, and that compensation should be given to the landlords and tenants and chiefs of Central India for the terrible loss caused to them by

the abandonment of a profitable culture. Yet, if we have the strength of our convictions, we should rise to the dignity of paying the forfeit of our own misconduct. Sydney Smith gives an anecdote of the Bishops on one occasion feeding the starving populace with the dinners of the Deans and Canons, while they kept their own. When Slavery was abolished, the twenty millions of compensation were paid by Great Britain, and not by the West India Islands. An extremely moral sensitiveness should not be sorold, and attempt to make a scapegoat of another country, to satisfy its own scruples, not shared by the people of India. A much larger sum (perhaps fivefold) than twenty millions would be required to supply the compensation to the agricultural interests wantonly injured by the Exeter Hall moralists. Nor would the Chinese be any the better for this Quixotic insanity.

XIII. Another line of argument, brought forward in Exeter Hall, is, that the suppression of the Manufacture would cause British India no loss at all. It is stated, with charming simplicity, that the area of culturable soil, now occupied by the poppy, would be at once transferred to cereals, which would be equally profitable and be a safeguard against famine. How little do such advocates know of the infinite trouble taken, during the last thirty years, to introduce into British India other and more profitable products than cereals? How little does he reflect, that a glut of cereals is the ruin of a country, unless the means of export are at a very high stage of development, which requires capital? Besides, land under poppy-culture pays its land-tax to the State, and the rent to the landowner; and it will have to do the same if under garden-crops or sugar-cane: but over and above the land-revenue and rent, the opium pays an export duty of many millions to the State, and who could place an export duty on any other crop? There would, therefore, be a dead loss to the State, but the landlord and tenant, in losing the poppy-culture, would lose their enhanced profit upon a profitable culture with a certain demand, and in the provinces under the Bangál Monopoly, they would lose the opium-advances, which fall annually in a shower of silver over the fortunate districts suitable for the cultivation of the poppy.

XIV. Herod and Pilate are reported to have become friends on the occasion of the condemnation of an innocent prisoner. This reflection rises in the mind, when we read of a Roman Cardinal and the Evangelical Clergy of England joined in a strange alliance. In the Papal Bull of 1882, the British and Foreign Bible Society is described as the eldest daughter of Satan, and all Protestant Missionaries as propagators of lies, and yet the evidence, which has convinced the Cardinal, is supplied by these Missionaries. On the other hand, the Evangelical Clergy have over and over again

denounced the Pope as the Father of Lies, and yet on this extremely complicated question of morality and politics, they appear on the platform, and exchange compliments with the Cardinal. The astute Cardinal would keep the Monopoly, which we Anglo-Indians are longing to get rid of, until he can find an opportunity to cut down the culture, manufacture, and trade, root and branch. Others would get rid of the Monopoly as a glaring offence, and leave to time and public opinion to correct the greater evil, which is inextricably entwined with the great principles of liberty, freedom of culture, freedom of trade, and freedom of export. Still, the independent observer cannot but look on the sudden alliance between parties otherwise so opposed in a matter, the whole gist of which is mixed up with the efforts of Protestant Missions, as inauspicious and suspicious. Over and over again it is asserted, that the Manufacture of opium in Bangál is the chief obstacle of Protestant Missions, and the Missionary Societies take it up as such, without going into the truth of the assertion. Such being the case, the Cardinal was a strange ally: *Non tali auxilio*. I remark, that there was the same inauspicious conjunction of orators to attack the Surgeons on the platform of the Anti-Vivisection Society.

"National Sin" is the cuckoo-cry of the party. Each day His Eminence the Cardinal, the great champion of the Anti-Opium party, kneels in his Oratory and prays, that the Lord would remove from Great Britain the great National Sin of *Protestantism*. The High Church Party pray daily, that the Lord would remove the National Sin of the Schism of the Nonconformist Churches of Great Britain, who presume to preach the Gospel without the Divine Commission of the Apostolic succession. I have heard the Reredos of St. Paul's Cathedral called a "National Sin." In many quarters it is called a "National Sin" not to allow Home Rule and unrestrained confiscation of property in Ireland. We must discount the meaning of these much-abused words at the value placed upon the general intelligence, experience, and judicial calmness of persons, who use it.

I would not willingly say an unkind word against any Missionary. I am a Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society, and take an active interest in every attempt to evangelize India and China, assisting the work by addresses on platforms, by my writings, my subscriptions, and the devotion of the best part of my time to Committee work. Their motives are pure and above suspicion: their hostility to the culture and manufacture of the Poppy-juice in India is inspired by respectable but mistaken feelings, roused by ignorance, or misconception of the real state of the case. The plummet-line of their investigations does not reach the bottom. They do not appear to advantage in this controversy, as going out of their

proper sphere, and displaying a narrowness of vision. Some of them are indeed great men, of whom the world may be proud, and the majority are men of self-devotion and probity; but no Government would deem it wise to rule an Empire on their advice, or according to their notions.

In China there are six hundred Missionaries, and they represent thirty-eight different Societies, of different Nationalities and Denominations. The people of China know very well, that there is a great difference between a Frenchman, a German, an American, and a Briton, and they know, that British India belongs solely to Great Britain, and that from British India comes the opium, which they so much prefer to their home-grown opium, just as the British Native prefers the claret and brandy of France to his own gin and beer. Now I read the weekly organ of the Roman Catholics, and I do not find, that the French Priest in China attacks the Opium-importer as the obstacle to his work, but rather the Protestant Missionary, as the great propagandist of deadly error. The American and German Missionary can, in no sense, be said to be partakers of the so-called "National Sin" of the British people (although it is to be feared that many Germans and Americans are engaged in the export trade of Opium from Calcutta to China), and I cannot find, that the Chinese people receive them more gladly, or that their conversions are more numerous.

In Missionary phraseology the great kingdoms of India and China, with their population of seven hundred millions, are conventionally described as the kingdom of Satan: those of us, who have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the people of India, know how untrue that description is of them, and it may be assumed to be equally untrue of the Chinese. The kingdom of Satan, if it were localized, would probably be found in some European capital. They fix on some particular evil, which strikes their eye, and attribute to that evil their want of success in their field, forgetting that in other fields, where that particular evil does not exist, want of progress is complained of also. For instance, Caste is denounced in India, Opium in China, Cannibalism and Slavery in Africa, and Polygamy and idolatry everywhere. As a rule, owing to the necessity of acquiring the vernacular Language, the transfer of a Missionary from one field to another is not possible: so a Chinese Missionary lives and dies with the conviction, that, if he could get rid of his bugbear opium, his way would be clear. Nor are those, who chronicle the works of Missionaries in Europe, wiser; for I read in a pamphlet by a simple-hearted German writer, that he would recommend the British Government at once to throw up and abandon the millions obtained from India from the export of opium, *and trust to God to supply the deficit*. I write with all reverence, that empires

are not built up and maintained on such principles. It is a pulpit-utterance, and not the counsel of a ruler.

Nor do the Missionaries recollect the famous words of Prince Kung: "Take away from us your Missionaries and your Opium."

Sir Rutherford Alcock has publicly stated, that the enmity felt by the Chinese to the importation of foreign opium sinks into nothing, and will not bear comparison with the hatred, felt and openly expressed, for Missionaries of all denominations and their doctrines, and it has been a constant trouble to the Ministers of the French, British, and American Governments. In 1884 at Fuh Chou placards were stuck up against the Missionaries. I do not justify the Chinese rulers or people, but I state facts, and it is reasonable to believe, that, if China recovered its independence, it would sweep away all treaties, and get rid of both subjects of annoyance. The Missionaries have, in China and elsewhere, directly and indirectly, done infinite good, and it would be wiser and better, if they would not meddle in politics, leaving to Caesar the things that belong to Caesar, and devoting themselves to the things of God. And I can truly say, that throughout the length and breadth of India, with extremely rare exceptions, such has been the practice of Missionaries of every denomination. Unhappily in China the Missionaries have taken up political agitation, with very little advantage or credit. Could these excellent men, whom I love even in their weaknesses, have a term of five years in Africa, how gladly, on their return to China, they would accept the Chinaman with his pipe, and try and win him by moral influences and the public Press, could they be rid of the savage and the cannibal, the sorcerer and the executioner, whose presence weighs down the spirit of the Missionary on the Victoria Nyanza and the Niger.

The agitation has been re-echoed by a certain class in Great Britain. So long as the principle of repressing the use of intoxicating liquors and drugs is not adopted by the State for the people of Great Britain, it seems mere mockery and hypocrisy on the part of Britons to apply it arbitrarily to a nation not under their control. The Chinese, who are the consumers, and the Indians, who are the producers, must laugh at the hypocrisy of a nation, of which drunkenness is the notorious blot, and urge it to begin its moral reform at home. In one of the Reports of the Society I read, that the Chinese Government desire to stop opium-smoking among their own soldiers, and they are quite right to do so; but it is shocking to think, that for the first offence the punishment is flogging, or excision, of the upper lip, and the second offence is visited with decapitation. In all our wars we have refused to accept as allies tribes, who scalped their prisoners. The Anti-Opium Society does not hesitate to ally itself with the rulers of China, who openly avow such barbarous laws, although we may hope that they are not acted upon.

I was reading a short time ago the Report of the Anti-Vaccination Society, and but for the title, it might have been supposed to have been the Report of the Anti-Opium Society: there were the same speeches at public meetings, the same complacent self-assertion, a general abuse of all Governments, who were fools, or knaves, or both, and a disposal of a most intricate and difficult question in an offhand manner. The Reports of the Anti-Vivisection Society are moulded in the same mould. Many of the discussions of the Anti-Opium Society have the character of a College Debating Society, for the Society is spoken of as "the English nation," and one individual, writing from Calcutta, vouches for the opinion of the Hindu people, another correspondent, who had never left Hong-Kong, undertakes to express the opinion of the Chinese people. About twelve men seem to do all the speaking, for their names appear at all the meetings, and the same arguments are used with variations of inaccuracy, reiteration of abuse, and strange inconsistency. Can a tree at the same time bring forth good and bad fruit? Can the long succession of Indian Viceroys and Governors, whose praise is in the lips of all parties, whose Biographies are sold by thousands of copies, all have been deceived, or were they purposely blind and base in this one particular? Most of the speakers on this subject are of third and fourth rate calibre, and some really good speakers, when they handle the opium pipe, fall short of their usual excellence, as if out of their depth, or uncertain of the drift of their policy: occasionally, really great men have stepped down into the arena. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone were at one on this issue: the former statesman remarked, in a somewhat bantering tone, that the deputation raised a very large question, when they asked them to interfere in any way to discourage the action of private enterprise in supplying a drug, which the Chinese preferred to take. He could not hold out any hope that any legislation in that direction was probable. If he were to assign a time, when such legislation might be undertaken, he should say that it would be subsequent to the time, when a Bill was passed preventing the sale of spirits in England.

But Mr. Gladstone, in 1880, raised the question above its usual level, and touched a higher chord. He said: "Do not let it be supposed, that I am treating this subject with indifference. The charge is, that this subject has been approached from a very low level of morality. Let us see, then, whether we cannot escape from this low level of morality, and resort to the high level of morality, which is recommended. If we are told, that we must abolish this traffic, then the charge has no meaning at all, unless we assume the obligation on the part of the people of England. Either we are to assume the obligation on the part of the people of England, or content ourselves at the

“ present moment with giving a promise, that something will be done in the future It would be a very high level of morality indeed, in one point of view, if we were prepared on behalf of our constituents to put 3*d* or 4*d* on the income-tax, and assume the payment of these seven millions. That would be taking our stand on a high level of morality But that is no part of the debate. That is not proposed; therefore that is not the level of the morality It must be some other level of morality, and let us see what it is ”

And how injudicious, and impolitic, and indeed unchristian, has been the mode of agitation adopted. Hard words and gross insults have been heaped upon a body of men, who for a long series of years have watched over the interests of the great Indian people. No close Corporation, no City Guild, no Company of Merchants, has been fattened by the Poppy-cultivation. It is notorious, that the Government of India is renewed every five years by both the great parties of the State, and a long line of illustrious statesmen, and an army of less distinguished but no less honest and single-minded servants of the State, both Civil and Military, have made India their study and delight Some, like Lord Elgin, have brought Chinese experience to India; others, like Lord Napier of Magdala, have served in both countries. There has been a Government at home independent of the Government of India, and yet there has been an absolute uniformity of opinion on this great question, shared by everyone of the servants of the Queen, who had studied the subject. Nor have the distinguished representatives of England in China arrived at a contrary opinion. I have myself taken the opportunity of personally consulting members of the China Diplomatic Body on their return to England, and I have received always the same reply. To show the length, to which this abuse has gone, I mention that in my presence a Member of Parliament, at a great public meeting, asserted that the “ gold coin, called a Sovereign, was large enough to hide the name of God,” as if any of the distinguished champions of the policy pursued by the Government of India for the last forty years had the remotest pecuniary interest in the matter. They were not slaveholders fighting to retain their slaves, or monopolists struggling to retain their monopoly, or rackrenting landlords to maintain their right of eviction, but persons totally uninterested in the issue, but convinced, that an attempt was being made to force a policy contrary to the rights and interests of the people of India.

Let me consider the matter from the Chinese side of the question. I am not careful to defend the use of the drug, or to assert that opium-smoking is innocuous. So much I can say from knowledge. I lived a great many years among the Sikhs of the Panjáb, who habitually swallowed opium-pills, and a finer, manlier,

more prolific race cannot be found. In *China Millions* I find at page 32, 1879, that Opium was plentiful in Yunan, and yet the people had a well-to-do appearance and good houses, notwithstanding that the narcotic, home-grown, could be purchased for a trifle. Mr. Cooper remarks, that it would be death to a large portion of the population suddenly to stop the supply, and that the Chinese Government, in wishing to stop the Indian opium, was acting, as they generally do, without any idea of the welfare of the people. I read in the *Friend of China*, 1893, page 221, that the elders of a village begged that the cultivation of the poppy might be stopped in their village, remarking that about one per cent. would smoke Indian opium, while twenty per cent. smoked home-grown opium. The greatest anti-opium agitator is obliged to admit, that no reliance could be placed upon edicts from Pekin, as they meant nothing, and were only bland expressions of Confucian morality. Moreover, they are known to mean nothing, and subordinates in high office smoked opium, and collected excise on imported opium, and took bribes to permit home-grown opium: attempts to stop cultivation, or destroy cultivation, notoriously failed. It transpires, that the Chinese themselves, while their Rulers were denouncing the trade of the Europeans, were exporting opium from Yunan to Barma. There seems little doubt, that the amount of home-grown opium far exceeded the imported opium, and the real objection of the Chinese Government was to the annual drain of silver from China, as the balance of trade was against them. It is notorious, that the Chinese Government levies an excise upon home-grown opium exceeding one million, and levies a differential duty on land cultivated with the poppy.

But of all things the idea is to be deprecated of making China a *corpus vile*, upon which benevolent enthusiasts desire to inaugurate a policy, which they are totally unable to enforce at home. One authority reports that opium-smoking is a pleasure, which it is quite possible to enjoy in moderation, and take in the same way as the Scotchman takes his whisky; and a Chinaman stupefied by opium is a much less terrible person than a Scotchman excited by whisky. Setting aside, however, such considerations, there is no doubt, that the violent extirpation of opium-smoking in China is as impossible as that of gin-drinking in Great Britain. When men are persuaded, that the practice is undesirable, the fashion will die out; but attempts to compel them before they are so convinced can only lead to aggravation of the ills complained of. Why should an enlightened Government, such as the British, recommend the tottering dynasty of the Chinese Empire to interfere with the private habits of the people? This would be dangerous even in England, where the people are educated and enlightened. We should never attempt such a

crusade in India. Mr Herbert Spencer, in his late work, "*Man versus the State*," shows that we are advancing too far in that direction in England, and over-governing, and therefore mis-governing. The Sikh Government, which preceded us in the Panjáb, forbade the use of tobacco, or the slaughter of kine, but tolerated the burning of widows, the killing of female infants, and the buying alive of lepers. Mahometan rulers forbid liquor-shops, while they tolerate Polygamy, and punish an abandonment of the Mahometan Religion by death. In the Papal States change of Religion and matrimony to a large proportion of the people were forbidden, but there was no objection to State-Lotteries, licentious lives, and liquor-shops. Leave the people in their pleasures and their private habits alone, so long as they refrain from breaches of the peace, and appropriation of the property of others. Leave it to moral pressure, and Education, and general advancement, to control, diminish, and eventually eradicate the particular moral weaknesses, from which no one Nation is free, although they differ in character and degree. It is very easy to make a treaty, forbidding the importation of opium into Japan, because the people are not addicted to the drug. It is still easier for the Government of the United States to make a treaty, forbidding the export of opium from North America, considering, that no opium is grown in the length and breadth of the United States: whether American citizens abstain from the trade in the Chinese seas is very doubtful. So random are the assertions, that it is a relief to find, that no one has yet charged the Indian Government with introducing the cultivation of the poppy into Western China, *via* Tibet and Barma, from pure motives of mischief, to complete the proofs that the Government consisted of men, who were both knaves and fools. The import of opium from Persia is comparatively insignificant. Borneo opium up to this time is only a possibility. On the Zambézi, in East Africa, the Portuguese have commenced the cultivation, and send the opium to India. One of the chief resources of the Dutch Government in the Indian Archipelago is opium: it is sold to the Chinese, and forms one-tenth of the revenue of the colony. Here is a National Sin in the embryo stage.

It must be recollected, that the Chinese Empire is sending colonists literally all over the world, and they take their pipe with them, and it is asserted, that they recommend with success the custom to the inhabitants of the country where they settle. This fact does not bear on the subject of importation of Indian opium into China, and is only mentioned by the Anti-Opium Society by way of aggravation. There are, however, colonies of Chinese in Singapur, the Malay States, the Islands of Sumátra and Java, the French Settlements of Saigon, and the Kingdom of Siam, as well as in Peru and California. They all smoke opium, and are

beyond the influence of the Chinese Government, but they intercept a portion of the Indian opium shipped for China seas. The Chinese at Singapur are robust, hearty, and energetic beyond other Eastern races, and yet beyond doubt they are all smokers. Is it expected, that in Australia, Hong-Kong, and Singapur, British Colonies, the crime of smoking opium is to be punished in the Courts of Law? It is whispered that the practice has commenced in London, and is extensive in the United States of North America.

There is little doubt that the Chinese Government has been false throughout. In spite of the high moral seasoning, which distinguishes their arguments, the real taste of their *flesh* is sometimes discovered. The Grand Secretary argued to Sir T. Wade, that the fair thing would be for the Indian Government to divide the enormous profits on the export of opium with China, share and share alike. He declined to give up his revenue on home-grown opium. In fact, he showed himself to be a ruler of men, and not a member of an irresponsible voluntary association. The Mandarins and the Governors of Provinces smoke themselves, and make a profit upon the drug. The real solution of the difficulty will be to deal with home-raised and foreign opium upon an equitable adjustment of excise, transit-duty, and customs.

Let me consider the matter from the Indian point of view. I took the opportunity of stating, some years ago, at a meeting of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Government of India had nailed its flag to the mast, and that I rejoiced, that it had done so. The Viceroy in Council has recorded his opinion, that the sudden loss on the excise would cause insolvency: this is stated in language not capable of misapprehension: other sources of revenue are not available, and reduction of expenditure is impossible. The abolition of the export-duty could confer a very doubtful benefit on the Chinese, but it would do incalculable harm to the millions of India. Perhaps this is overstated, as Empires and Nations have survived heavier losses. I was very sorry to hear, that an attempt had been made to widen the cultivation in the North-West Provinces, but it proved to be an utter failure. The cultivators stated, that they had been badly used in old days, that they did not now understand the cultivation, and had other crops which paid as well, and they wanted no change. The improvement of communication enabled more bulky produce, such as sugar-cane and potatoes, to be carried to distant markets, and the poppy is driven to inferior lands. It is satisfactory to know that the area of 500,000 acres, now occupied by the poppy, will not be enlarged.

It appears, that not more than £200,000 is realized from opium sold in India at the different Collectorates. India abounds in stimulants and narcotics, and opium is only one of many. The Arian nations seem to prefer to swallow the drug, the Non-Arian

to smoke it. I have often as Collector superintended the sale of the opium to the local retailers: if a prisoner were found to be addicted to opium, he had to be supplied with daily decreasing doses, so as to wean him of the habit without endangering his life: only once I came upon two men from the Himaláya (whence also much opium is imported into India) who were hopelessly addicted to the practice, and were miserable objects. In the early days of our rule in the Panjáb, where the cultivation has never been restricted, *post*, a decoction of opium, was sold openly in the shops licensed for the purpose. In Western India a decoction of opium is sold publicly in the cities, and called Kusumba. The Anti-Opium Society will scarcely find proofs, that with such vast stores of opium available in British India, we have attempted to raise revenue by encouraging our subjects to indulge vicious habits. We have raised the largest possible revenue out of the smallest possible supply; but this subject will be discussed in the following Essay.

There is not the least probability of the present policy being abandoned or modified, but it is as well to consider what is possible or the contrary. We might abandon the export-duty, and set the Indian opium as free as indigo and grain. The consequences would be an enormous increase of the exported article, an excessive fall of the price of the drug in China, and such a defalcation in the Indian revenue as would cause insolvency for the time at least. If an attempt were made to impose other taxes, we may imagine the indignation of the people of India: the mass of the population is very poor; the salt tax ought to be reduced. To impose further burdens merely to gratify a moral whim of a small portion of the British people, who had taken up an extreme view of the subject, would be a cruel injustice, and arouse a keen sense of wrong wilfully and widely inflicted, and would go far to justify a Rebellion.

We might abolish the Monopoly, and disconnect the State with the manufacture and sale of the drug. To some tender and uninstructed consciences the very existence of this Monopoly aggravates the evil, and, as a rule, all monopolies are wrong, and I am in favour of the abolition at all risks; but if the State withdrew, its place would at once be occupied by a Company, and very serious considerations would arise. So inexplicable are the reasons, which guide good men in their actions, that it is possible, that some of the loudest denouncers of the National Sin, as the Manufacture is called, might be found among the shareholders of this new Company. On the death of an advanced total abstainer a few years ago, he was found to have shares in a hotel, which held a liquor-license, and his family could not see the inconsistency. But the abolition of the Monopoly cannot be looked upon only from the financial point of view, but as

a measure affecting the well-being of the people of India. A great Company, seeking only a good dividend, would flood the country with opium, with great injury to the people. It is true, that no Monopoly exists in the West of India, whence nearly half the export-duty is collected, but the poppy cultivation is entirely within the territory of Native States, whose system differs entirely from our own. It is obvious, that a State-Monopoly is the severest of all fiscal restraints, and those, who really desire the export to be reduced, should not seek to destroy the Monopoly, however scandalized they may be by its existence.

We might forbid the export, in the same way as the Government of Italy forbids the export of works of art, but it would be impossible to prevent smuggling with a seaboard of two thousand miles. The people of India would resent the, to them, unintelligible policy of interference with a profitable trade, contrary to all the well-established principles of political economy. The cost of the preventive force would be very heavy, and the interference with other trades very annoying. In fact, such a measure scarcely comes within practical politics, and we should have the Native Chiefs of Central India to deal with: they derive a large revenue from the cultivation of the poppy: the prohibition of export would entirely destroy this, and they would demand compensation, and so would the Landholders of Bangál. Who would satisfy these lawful demands arising from inconsiderate legislation?

That we should prohibit the culture of the poppy within British India, is a thing that is not possible. It would be a policy unworthy of an enlightened Government, and would be incapable of execution. It is true, that we can restrict the culture to certain regions, which are most suitable to the crop. I have had considerable experience in the North of India from the River Karmnása to the River Indus, and consider it impossible to forbid absolutely any culture. Moreover, the regions, where the poppy grows, are the recruiting-grounds of the Native Army, and they would have a word to say in this matter. If the culture were prohibited in British India, and allowed to continue in the Native States, the production there would be stimulated. the attempt to prohibit the culture in the independent Native States of Rajputána and Central India would either be illusory, or, if enforced, lead to very serious consequences, and peril to the very existence of our Empire in India.

And at the same time that India was thus exposing herself to perils, and expenditure in the maintenance of repressive establishments, in a fight against Nature, equity, and common-sense, the Chinaman would be smoking his pipe with opium supplied by his own country, or other opium-growing countries, not such good opium perhaps, but much cheaper, and in much larger

quantities; and it is not obvious that, if the Anti-Opium Society had any definite ideas of its objects, it will have gained anything, for all the sad pictures of the debased and ruined Chinaman would be as true, or as deficient in truth, as ever, and the Missionary would be met with the same harrowing scenes, and would realize that it is not that which goeth into a man defileth a man, but his own fallen and corrupt nature.

We must recollect, that there is now a powerful Free Press in every part of India and in every language, and the Press would have a word to say on such an insane policy: and there is a power of Public Meetings, and the wild nonsense spoken by Young India is only equalled by the utterances of our Anti-Opium platform in Great Britain: but the latter is as harmless as the lashing of a dog's tail; the former may lead to Rebellion, Mutiny, Bloodshedding, and loss of Empire. I do not think, that the Government of India would entertain such a policy for a moment, but I wish the Anti-Opium Society to understand the ultimate consequences, to which their ideas would lead.

I intimated this Summer to a friend, who, like myself, is a Member of a Committee of a Missionary Society, that I intended to write a paper defending the Indian policy in this matter. His remark was, that I should be soundly abused for so doing. I am quite prepared for the contingency. Sir Rutherford Alcock felt himself compelled to stand forward and enlighten the public mind, and mercenary motives were at once attributed to him in connection with the New Borneo Company. It is the old story. When a man has a bad case in a court of law, his only resource is to abuse the attorney of the opposite party. I admit, that those, who oppose the Indian policy, are actuated by the highest and purest motives. Having myself no interests whatever except the promotion of Missionary enterprise, I claim the same admission in my own favour, nor do I rush into the controversy hurriedly, as I have had it under consideration for more than ten years, waiting for some further *dénouement* of the Chefú Convention, which appeared to have disappeared. Let it be clearly understood, that under no circumstances would the Government of British India admit into its Treasury income, of which the sources are tainted, such as the produce of lotteries, a tax on Hindu pilgrimages, offerings to idol-temples, the price of slaves, the earnings of slave-labour, the profits of immoral establishments, whether gambling, as at Monaco, or brothels, as in some European States, any more than it would accept the hire of the assassin, or the *premium pudoris* of the unfortunate classes, who infest the great cities. The line of demarcation of lawful, and unlawful, income is quite clear. The kindly fruits of the earth, blessed by the hand of the Creator, are intended to be gathered. In the case of the poppy they are thrice blessed, supplying comfort to the

cultivator, rent to the land-owner, land-revenue to the State, and over and above, a magnificent export-duty. If foolish men make a bad use of the exports, after they have left the shores of India, that is no concern of the people of India, and the so-called Government of India is but the Trustee of the great people committed by Providence to its charge. Neither in morals, nor by the law of nations, can a legitimate commerce be impugned. If fanciful and romantic objections were admitted, the Quakers would object to villanous saltpetre, as being the component of gunpowder. The total abstainer would object to the Palm-tree, hemp, sugar, and rice, whence intoxicating liquor is distilled. It is mere hypocrisy in a nation, which exports rum, gin, and gunpowder in such enormous quantities from British ports to Africa, and which, among many noble qualities, is noted for the drunkenness of a portion of its people, to feel such a tenderness for the besotted Chinese. It would be much easier for those, who think with me, to sail with the wind, and throw overboard the interests of the people of India. Sir Wilfred Lawson is the only consistent antagonist, for he would go to the root of the matter, and place opium and alcohol in the same category, adding a plea for mercy in favour of opium, as the opium-smoker is not a wife-beater, a ruthless murderer, a breaker of the peace, and a public nuisance.

It may be distinctly asserted, that the opium-trade is not based upon force, the Chinese are quite strong enough to exclude it, if they chose, and their being ready to resist the French on a much less important grievance, proves that they could do so, and they know, as everyone knows, that Great Britain would never attempt to force the drug into China by war. But, when force is so vigorously denounced, have the leaders of the movement reflected upon the meaning of the term, which they so often use? By force of character and of arms, Great Britain has raised herself to her present lofty position: by force she vanquished the Spaniards, the French, and the Russians, subdued vast kingdoms in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, and brought under subjection a large portion of the world. Our Indian Empire is based upon force: our prestige throughout the world is based on our potential, or stored, force. I have been pelted by little boys in the towns of Turkey, and have walked alone at my ease, and respected, in the great cities of India: this was owing to the force stored up in our cantonments. It was not the outcome of treaties, but of conquest. I have accompanied deputations of Missionary Societies to the Foreign Office, to solicit Justice, or Protection: what enables Great Britain to act, while Switzerland and Sweden submit in silence, but Force?

Some years ago I described to Giuseppe Garibaldi, the Italian Liberator, our system in British India: he remarked, that we

were no better than the Austrians after all; and this has often led me to reflect upon our inconsistent position, for in Europe, we are the champions of every State, which seeks for political liberty, and in Asia we are ourselves despots. The only reply is, that we are *there*, and it is not practical to leave India: but, while we are there, we are bound to stand up for the people of India, and be their champion against the Manchester-manufacturers; against the sentimental philanthropist, against our own countrymen, who come to fill their pockets and go home again: we are bound to protect the Indian in the enjoyment of his laws, customs, lands, and civil rights. If we cannot give him political liberty, he shall have everything short of it: if he cannot have a Constitution like the colonies of Great Britain, he has a strong phalanx of men, who have known India from their youth, and loved the people, and are ready to resist any attempt to oppress them, deprive them of equality in the courts of Law, or of free trade, and free commerce. If the Chinese do not like the products of India, they can let them alone. The Indian ports are open to every possible product of Chinese industry. If the Chinese prefer their home-grown opium, be it so, and India will seek other markets, and develop other industries; but it will do so by its own spontaneous action, and not under the threats of benevolent enthusiasts in a distant country.

However dark the colours may be, with which the Cultivation of the Poppy is painted, it is *there*, and, if the Government of British India abolished its Monopoly, and remitted the export-duty, and set the cultivation of the poppy free, the trade would not be diminished, but would be enormously expanded. It is said of King Henry V, that he intended, if he had conquered France to destroy all the vines with a view of arresting drunkenness. The late Mahārāja of Pateála allowed no distilleries and dancing-girls within his territory; but the extent of his administrative capacity may be measured by the fact, that I tried in vain, in a personal interview, to persuade him to allow me to open a post-office in his dominions. It is, however, beyond the power of Viceroys, or Parliaments, or even Philanthropic Associations, to fight against Nature, and exclude from culture and commerce one of the richest gifts of the earth. By restricting the culture to certain tracts (of which the soil is most suitable to its cultivation), we can create a Monopoly, and restrain the culture beyond certain limits; but as to forbidding it altogether in the central poppy region in our own territory, it is impossible, and, if it were possible, it would be a difficult and costly operation to war against Nature and freedom of culture under the influence of a mere fancy. Still less feasible would any attempt be to arrest the culture in the territory of the independent Chiefs of Central India. It is possible that if prices fell, the culture would be

given up in outlying districts, and other staples would prove more profitable, but this matter would be settled by the cultivator himself, and not by the State.

The people of China will soon have unlimited supplies of home-grown opium. The action of the Anti-Opium Society has helped to open the eyes of the Chinese authorities to the policy of this counter-action, which will arrest the export of silver, and still supply the much-coveted drug. British India will suffer for the time, but it is not clear what the morals of the Chinese will gain. The Chinese Government now thoroughly understands, that no force will be used to introduce the Indian drug, and they are anxious to share the vast revenue by imposing a transit-duty. If a few millions make use of the Indian-imported opium, which does not penetrate far into the country, scores of millions will learn to smoke the home-grown opium manufactured in their midst. When the Indian export trade has, under the inexorable laws of Supply and Demand, shrunk into nothing, it is not obvious, whether the Anti-Opium Society will congratulate themselves upon the extinction of the so-called National Sin, or feel like engineers hoist in their own petard, when they contemplate the enormous increase of opium-smokers in China.

In the meantime the march of events seems likely to extinguish the Opium-trade and the Anti-Opium Society in one common ruin. I quote the last accounts: "There cannot be any doubt, but "that the foreign drug will be driven, slowly perhaps, but steadily, "by native competition, from the China-market. The records "of the foreign Customs, and the Consular service, the testimony "of travellers and Missionaries, supply evidence on this point "which cannot be doubted. The three northern Ports, in one "year, show a loss amounting to 27 per cent. of their total imports. "The native drug has so much improved, that it is there driving "the foreign article from the market, even though the foreign "prices had been reduced from 9 to 24 per cent. from those of the "previous year. Sechuan opium is fast supplanting the foreign "on the Yangtze, the distribution being largely carried on through "boatmen and foot-travellers, who tell no tales. In Formosa and "South China generally, though the decline of the opium imported "through the Customs is marked, the consumption is said not to "be largely on the decrease, owing presumably to contraband "supplies, nor does the native article as yet interfere largely with "the foreign drug. The reason for this is simple. The opium "of Yunan and Sechuan cannot yet compete with the Indian "opium, adulterated, as sold at the ports of Formosa, Amoy, "Swatow, Pakhoi, or Hoibow, where it is delivered, principally "by means of junks from Singapur and Hong-Kong, mainly, of "course, the latter place. It resolves itself into a simple question "of cost of carriage.

“ Among the reasons assigned for this decrease are the action
 “ of the Chinese authorities towards discouraging the practice, and
 “ the depressed condition of trade. The latter is undoubtedly
 “ a great factor in the case, but I have no faith in the former
 “ That the authorities are taking any serious steps towards the
 “ suppression of the drug is not to be credited, least of all by
 “ anyone who has travelled in Interior China. Like the Abbé
 “ Huc, from personal experience gained in Chinese travel, I can
 “ say: ‘ Pendant notre long voyage en Chine, nous n’avons pas
 “ rencontré un seul tribunal, où on ne fumat l’opium ouvertement
 “ et impunément.’ It is found, in the opium-provinces, growing
 “ under the walls of nearly every court-house. All travellers
 “ are agreed in this, that Yunnan and Szechuan opium is rapidly
 “ increasing in quantity and improving in quality. It is fast
 “ forcing its way to the seaboard; being already brought there
 “ and shipped along the coast, although as yet in small quantities.
 “ The poppy is spreading over other provinces, and, as the value
 “ of the crop is double that of wheat, it is fast replacing that
 “ dry-weather crop. The use of the Indian drug, since the
 “ improvement of the native article, is becoming, slowly but
 “ surely, a luxury only for the more affluent trader or official.
 “ Perfected still more, fashion will give its *imprimatur* to the
 “ native article, and then the foreign drug will be doomed.”

The owner of a mine finds, that the ore is exhausted, and he has nothing to blame himself for: he has done his work scientifically, but the gift of Nature is exhausted. So will it be with British India. It made good use of the advantages, which fertility of soil, industry, and commerce supplied, and when one of them and there is nothing for it but to let the export-duty die out, very divine to face the financial difficulty. This is something of reverent from abandoning without cause an abundant source time, and. But this decay of resources will be a work of silver upon the cultivation of the Poppy, with its shower of disappear in India, will, though perceptibly diminishing, scarcely restrict then this generation. The Missionaries in China will sadder at themselves to their proper duty of preaching the Gospel, perhaps wise spectacle of the awful increase of opium-smoking, Nature, free- in having learned, that it is idle to fight against own actions invade, and the liberty of each man to control his Nations. The things not forbidden by the Laws of civilized its many plans overment of British India will have to restrict cease its exertions, usefulness. The Anti-Opium Society will and earnest leaders, unless, under the guidance of more thorough brandy, exported to West India its attention to gin, rum, and French

My own feeling has ever been in favour of getting rid, at as early a date as possible, of the
 and at some sacrifice of revenue, of the

Monopoly, because a Monopoly in itself is wrong, and in this case a scandal to some minds, and it seemed feasible to arrive at the same results on the East side of India, which have spontaneously arisen on the West side; but I am assured by experts, that the abolition of the Monopoly would be prejudicial to the best interests of the people of India, and that is with me the paramount consideration. I have already stated that, if I were satisfied that opium were introduced by force into the Provinces of China *outside* the Treaty-ports, I should join the opposite party. Five years ago I called, with another member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, by appointment, on the late Sir Harry Parkes, then Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary at Japan, and satisfied myself, that this allegation was not true. A short time ago a Missionary from China told the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, that the Chinese Government systematically neglected the provisions of the Treaty as regards Religious liberty. I made him repeat those words, and then asked him, why then it was alleged, that they were afraid to do the same with regard to opium? His reply was, that the Chinese were afraid of the merchants, but not of the Missionaries. But I read in the *Times* (October 23, 1884): "That for the last nine or ten years the Chinese Government has been allowed to encroach on treaty-rights, and has levied with impunity heavy transit-duties, which have virtually nullified the treaty-advantages, and proved disastrous to the sale of Manchester-goods in the interior."

This is the statement of a Hankow merchant. In the face of such statements, and the fact, that the Chinese Government is not afraid to go to war for ancient and shadowy rights over Tonkin with the French Government, how can we believe that the Chinese Government is not able to raise the transit-duties upon opium to such an extent as to increase the price and restrict the sale? Is China not strong enough to put down smuggling, if the attempt were made?

Nor can I, after calm reflection on the whole case, during the last fifteen years, acquit the Anti-Opium Society of being the cause of the miserable end of the contest, which will have injured the people of British India by the destruction of a profitable industry and export, and has yet multiplied the vice of opium-smoking in China beyond any previous calculation. What was their object? Did they desire to arrest the vice in China, or only to free the British Nation from the imputation of pandering to that vice? If we desired to wean the British public of their taste for alcoholic drink, we should scarcely commence a crusade against cultivators of the Vine, and the French Government. The line, which the Anti-Opium Society adopted, of indiscriminate abuse, had two effects: it stiffened and hardened the views of the Government of India. The statesmen who were, or had been,

Viceroy, and meritorious public servants, who were or had been Governors and high officials, felt injured by the gross insinuations, which they felt they did not deserve: they at least understood the nature of the problem, but upon the Committee of the Anti-Opium Society there was not one Anglo-Indian of experience, nor was it likely, that there would be one: a general feeling of resentment at, and contempt for, the movement was felt in Anglo-Indian circles, both in British India and Great Britain. But their proceedings had another effect, not contemplated, but equally real. The eyes of the Chinese rulers were opened to the exceeding value of the product, and to the firmness, with which the Indian Government held to it. They saw also how feeble were the efforts of the Anti Opium Society, whose motive was not the welfare of the Chinese, but the alleged discredit attaching to the British name. Opium-cultivation was found to be as acceptable to the Chinese landowners, the local Governors, and the State, as it proved to be in India. It was not clear what results the Anti-Opium Society desired: it is clear what they have obtained.

The above remarks were written in London in October, 1884, despatched to Calcutta, and appeared in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* on January 1, 1885. I had no idea that negotiations were going on, and that the Chefú Convention would so soon be ratified. Yet such has been the case. On my return from a prolonged tour to the Cataracts in Egypt, where I was, when Khartúm fell, and Gordon was killed, and a tour through Palestine to Damascus, I find the deathblow to the argument of force being applied to the Chinese Government has been struck, and in the Paper (China, No. 5, 1885) presented to the Houses of Parliament, August, 1885, Marquis Tséng appears as a very sensible negotiator, representing a very sensible and enlightened Government at Peking. They have entirely entered into the Commonwealth of Nations, and thoroughly appreciate the valuable addition to the Imperial revenues by an additional squeeze of the Indian opium, which pays the Customs-duty for permission to enter the treaty-port, and a heavy transit-duty for permission to leave it: when sold in retail, it may again be taxed, in the form of an Excise, but upon equitable principles with regard to the Native-grown Drug.

The arrangement now sanctioned is *proposed by the Chinese Government*: there are no Confucian platitudes, no high moral sentiments, but an unmistakable desire to secure the Imperial Treasury, as distinguished from the Provincial Chests, as large an income as possible, collected in advance at the treaty-port.

Moreover, the information is volunteered, that the new arrangement will harmonize with existing Institutions in China. The matter has stood over for seven years, and, as if by an irony of Fate, the final arrangements were conducted by the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Gladstone, and brought to all but a formal conclusion, but the finishing touch has been given by a Conservative Ministry under the signature of Lord Salisbury. So both the great parties of the State agree in this sound and profitable settlement of the controversy.

It may be asked then: why add ~~to~~ the controversial literature? let the dead dog lie. We shall probably hear little more of the Anti-Opium Society. They have discharged their Secretary, and are content with the occasional use of a small room. It is to be hoped, that moral influences will be brought to bear to stay the plague of opium-smoking among the Chinese People, and that the great European, Australian, and North American peoples will resist the contagion. Shame on them, if they do not!

But the mischief does not end here. Great Britain has many sins to answer for, both in past and present time. She has used the strength of a giant as a giant, invading weaker countries, and then abandoning them; but for the manufacture of opium Great Britain is not to blame, unless the new principle is to be laid down, that no Christian Nation is to be allowed to export Gunpowder, Arms, Alcoholic Drinks, and Intoxicating Drugs, and no commercial treaties are to be made with weaker Asiatic and African and Oceanic Nations. To make such without a degree of pressure, which in the case of European Nations would be intolerable, is impossible. Britons, by unwarrantably vilifying their own country, and in this case unjustly, only give foreign nations the opportunity of echoing it. We read with astonishment such expressions as the following: "The most outrageous and unpardonable national crime of any age"

These unjustifiable expressions are quoted and amplified by such excellent and respectable Religious organs as the *Missionary Review* of Princeton, U.S.A., and are believed by thousands of over-confident and uninstructed readers. Such expressions as these follow, indicating gross ignorance: "The perversion of many "hundred thousand acres of the best land in India from food "crops to crops of this poison is the main cause of the frequent "famines in that country. The thousands of Hindus, who grow "the poppies and make the opium, are greatly demoralized thereby, "many of them becoming eaters or smokers of the baneful stuff, "and the opium-vice is spreading in almost all parts of India. "In Barma and Arracan opium was given away at first, then sold "at a cheap rate, and the price raised, when the habit was "established. England on a vast scale is ruining her own subjects "as well as the Chinese."

Surely this is something more than ignorance, and amounts to *suggestio falsi*. It is notorious, that India suffers from a glut of Cereals, and exports grain to England. It is equally notorious, that the amount of opium sold in India is extremely limited, and that the population of the opium-growing districts are peculiarly free from the use of the drug. It would not be easy to find an opium-smoker in British India west of the Brahmapútra River, except the Chinese immigrants. As to the alleged policy adopted in Barma, it is simply ridiculous.

What will be thought of the following extract from a communication by a Chinese Missionary to his credulous friends? "The thing, which remains for us to do now is to give the people the Gospel of the Lord Jesus; meanwhile to use every effort to induce our Government to abolish the trade as far as India is concerned. We must wipe our hands of this dirty trade, though we cannot wipe out the past, *the harvest has been sown*. The Chinese regard it as a direct act of plotting the Nation's destruction, equally as much as the conduct of a man, who is guilty of administering poison to another for some evil advantage.

"I was talking with two men yesterday upon the subject of opium. One was a young fellow, who is now using medicine to break off the habit. As we were talking of its effects, he stamped his foot, exclaiming, 'Alas! alas! from where did it first come?' I answered, 'From India; but,' I added, 'no one has forced you to grow it, neither forced you to eat it. There is no foreign drug to be bought here; it is all your own production' Nevertheless the fact remained that Englishmen introduced it, or at least introduced the practice of habitual smoking; before that, it was scarcely known, if known at all

"The British Nation are undoubtedly the sowers of this dreadful seed; it has yielded an abundant harvest of death and ruination in China. So prevalent is the habit here, that the bulk of the people do not rise before ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and no business is commenced in the commercial houses until nearly midday."

A distinct reply is required, and an indignant denial, and an appeal to patent facts. We shall next hear, that the British introduced the use of intoxicating liquors among the tribes in the valley of the Kongo: fortunately Henry Stanley, an American citizen, in his great work, published in 1885, mentions incidentally, that these tribes were wholly given to the use of intoxicating liquors of their own manufacture, *before they saw a white face*.

If anyone had a dear friend, exposed to unjust obloquy, affecting his whole moral character, would he, if he had the facts at his command, maintain silence? If anyone were deliberately, and without foundation, to attack the British and Foreign Bible Society

and Church Missionary Society, to which I have devoted the remainder of my life, should I not draw the sword in their justification? and can I be silent, when such things are said against my countrymen, against the two great parties, Liberal and Conservative, which govern the country, and do not spare the failings of each other, and are equally jealous of the National good name; when such frightful crimes are imputed to the Government of British India, with regard to which I quote a few lines from a Leader in the *Times*, which appeared only a few days ago (August 11, 1885), and which expresses my deliberate sentiments after a prolonged study of the system of administration of European, Asiatic, and African Nations: "On the whole, we
 "are convinced, such an inquiry will be useful, mainly, because it
 "will show that there never was a Government, be its faults
 "what they may, more efficient for good, more progressive and
 "enlightened, and more consistently inspired by the highest
 "and purest motives, pursued with indefatigable zeal and absolute
 "self-devotion, than that of the English Rulers of India."

This pamphlet is written for an American, as well as an English, public.

London, August 18, 1885 (with additions, 1888)

The July number of the *Friend of China* supplies a report of the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium-Trade on June 8, 1887, and a Breakfast-Meeting to discuss the policy for the future on May 10, 1887. The tone of both meetings was highly to be commended. The object of all Missionary Societies is to improve the lives of the Heathen, so as to get them to be better citizens in this world, and heirs of Salvation in the next. All abominable customs, whether partaking of the character of crime forbidden by Human law, or vices condemned by Christian morals, are objects of aversion to all, who seek the welfare of Heathen people. It is in the method to meet, correct, and get rid of these vices, upon which sincere and earnest men differ. The Association has determined to follow the advice of the Rev Dr. Dudgeon, an esteemed Missionary, and have recourse to moral suasion of the Chinese people, similar to the action of the total abstinence Societies, which have worked such wonders amidst the British people. The scheme is to appoint a qualified agent of the Society in China, to act in unison with the Missionaries, and give his whole attention to the matter; to superintend the work; to collect information; to establish agencies; to employ Native helpers; to publish sheets and tracts; to hold meetings and give lectures; to establish opium-refuges; to form abstinence Societies; to memorialize Native officials; to conduct a periodical journal in the vernacular, and to use all lawful means to rouse the people to a sense of the ruinous nature

of the vice of opium-smoking. If such a policy be followed, there will be a rich blessing, for it is consistent with reason, experience, the practice of the home Churches, and the teaching of the Bible.

London, August, 1887.

The great Congress of Missionaries in London, in June, 1888, was disfigured by an attempt to disturb the peace of those, who follow the example of Paul, and seek only the extension of Christ's Gospel, by the introduction of this nearly moribund craze. I was sorry to read, that some of our dear American friends attended this meeting, thus interfering in the domestic affairs of a great friendly Nation, whose hospitality they were enjoying. *The Meeting was not part of the Congress:* it was expressly excluded from the Programme after a lengthy discussion before the Executive Council, and took place after the Valedictory Meeting, and the dismissal of the Congress. Our friends did not attend as delegates of Missionary Societies, but as private American citizens, interfering in the affairs of the great British Nation. I was invited but did not attend; but, if it had been attempted to pass a vote of censure on the President of the United States, for declining to agree to the Treaty for restraining the Traffic of Liquor in the South Seas, I should have attended, to protest against a miscellaneous assembly of the British people passing a censure on the Government of a friendly Nation, *whether right or wrong.*

None of the distinguished Noblemen, and Gentlemen, who had presided at the authorized meetings of the Congress, took the chair on this occasion: it was occupied by a permanent Civil Servant of a Public Office, who was not unwilling to put Resolutions, condemning the Government of India, at the head of which was his illustrious cousin, the Earl of Dufferin. Had those Resolutions condemned either the people of Ireland, his native land, or the Government of that Island, a question would have been promptly asked in the House of Commons, why a public servant with an annual salary of £2,000 should be permitted to put to a Meeting votes of censure on one of the great Departments of the State. British India is a *corpus vile*, upon which any brave orator can flesh his weapon, for the India Office, secure in its own strength, never returns the blow, but looks on with a smile of scorn. On this occasion something more than usual has to be recorded, for an American citizen on the platform of Exeter Hall was allowed to state, without being called to order by the Chair, even without cries of "Shame!" from the audience, that, "for what had been done in India, the British deserved far more than the Turks for their atrocities in Bulgaria, to be turned out bag and baggage." Opium seems to stupefy the sentiments of patriotism in the hearers, and decency in the speakers.

The cause of Missionary Societies is as unpopular with the higher, richer, and influential, classes in Great Britain, as with the great democracy: it is difficult to secure the attendance at a Meeting of a Member of either House of Parliament. This unpopularity is caused by the folly of this small section, always bringing forward their local and peculiar grievances, which have no direct bearing on the Evangelization of the World. No one distinguished in Art, Arms, Literature, Politics, or Theology, joins their ranks. Even quiet, undemonstrative, but still sincere, Christians feel shy of joining assemblies, which abandon their holy duty of conveying the Gospel to dying souls, to discuss, and pass resolutions on the subject of the Cultivation of the Poppy and Manufacture of Opium, the export of Rum and Gin, and the Immorality of the British Soldier. Sensible people can see no possible connection between such subjects, and the duty imposed upon us all by the parting words of the Risen Saviour. If Missionary Societies desire to constitute themselves Censors and Judges of the Morals of the British people, the Champions of all that think themselves injured, and the Denouncers of everything, which they do not understand, they are going beyond their province, and trespassing on the duties of secular Societies. Paul was determined to know nothing among the Corinthians, save *Jesus Christ and Him crucified*, and yet we know what Corinth and the Corinthians were. Paul tells us, that not many wise were called, and I feel that it is indeed true, when I listen to the speeches of good, loving and lovable Christians, who are no more able to appreciate the principles, upon which Great Britain has built and sustained her Empire, than that humble saint of God, who wrote the "Pilgrim's Progress." The reports tell us how an American citizen from the Far West, and a German from Westphalia, undertook to explain to a mixed assembly of men and women, what was the duty of the British Parliament, and the foolish assembly stamped and applauded. It is indeed a sad reflection, how much discredit is brought upon the cause of Christ by the weakness of some few of His devoted servants, who love well, but not wisely. We are sinking to the level of the Salvation Army, its extravagance and impotence.

June, 1888.

XXIII.

OPIUM TRAFFIC.

I HAVE read Sir William Wedderburn's letter in your issue of February 1, 1893. I heard his words in the meeting on the Progress of India on Thursday, the 16th, at the Society of Arts. Although we are entire strangers, we are both deeply interested in the welfare of the people of India.

I have been so since January, 1843, when I landed in India. The subject of the Opium-Traffic with China is painfully familiar to me during the last half-century. I was the intimate friend of such men as Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere; and have no doubt, that the subject, which we Anglo-Indians have to consider is, not whether opium is injurious to the consumer or not, not the filthy habits of the Chinese who smoke it, not the sentimental fanaticism of the well-to-do Pharisees of the middle classes in England, but the solemn question, what is our duty to the people of India, whom Providence has placed bound hand and foot at our mercy, but only for a season.

British India is financially entirely independent of England; it has its own Budget, pays its own Army. The British soldiers employed in British India are but mercenaries hired from the Home Government. British India is plundered by the Home-Remittances of seventeen millions sterling annually. Can History supply us with a parallel case? The Government of British India is not permitted to levy a moderate import-duty on manufactured goods from England, not for the purpose of protection, but for purposes of revenue. The people of India are increasing in number at a formidable rate—three millions every year. Every acre of land is being brought under cultivation. The old scourges of War, Famine, Pestilence, are absolutely removed, or essentially modified. I remember in past years how in the Panjáb, and on the slopes of the Himalaya, vast regions, deserted last century in the time of war and conquest, were under the blessing of the great *Pax Britannica* brought under cultivation. What right have the Pharisaical middle classes of England to interfere with the financial arrangements or the internal administration of the people of India? Would the Dominion of Canada, or the colonies of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand tolerate it? They would reply in the words used by Lord Kimberley to the Anti-Opium Society deputation last month: first cast out the "beam from thine own eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the mote from

thy brother's eye " Consider the British Drink-Bill of 1892, supplied last week in the pages of the *Times*, amounting to one hundred and forty millions sterling; consider the annual export of alcoholic drink from these shores to the West Coast of Africa

What is the use of sending Missionaries to preach the Gospel, when in the same ship tons of English poison are conveyed? Consider the immorality of the streets of London, the disgraceful revelations of the Law-Courts. Are we in a position to talk about the petty traffic of Opium from India to China, when such gigantic evils exist under our eyes? *

India is a great agricultural country with a great variety of soils, and it has been the study of its Rulers to introduce a variety of remunerating products. I remember how, in the Panjâb, after peace was secured, and the thousands of Sikh soldiers had returned to their villages, there was a glut of cereals, and every endeavour was made to encourage culture of Sugar, Oils, Dyes, the Poppy, Hemp, etc. In certain parts of India the culture of the Poppy is the support of thousands. I am personally, totally opposed to the State-Monopoly of Opium in Bangál, but I quite see the difficulty in abolishing it. An export-duty of millions is placed on Opium. China is herself becoming capable of exporting opium owing to the enormous increase of the culture of the Poppy in that country. The phenomena to be dealt with are of the gravest that the world ever knew, and yet pretty young ladies, and old Chinamen and women, go about with magic-lanterns and exaggerated romances, and the foolish audiences in the different parts of the Metropolis and in the country, stamp and applaud without understanding the problems.

If we were to attempt to destroy the cultivation of hops in Kent, the manufacture of whisky in Scotland and Ireland, to exclude absolutely the wines of Spain, France, and Germany, what an outcry there would be! Profitable industries disorganized, reasonable indulgences to the appetite put a stop to, interference with constitutional rights, tyrannous destruction of individual liberty. These same comfortable middle classes, who drink their beer, wine, whisky, and rum, with the air of free Britons, who would resent any interference, propose to make a great moral experiment on a subject kingdom: let me tell them that they will not succeed. They will merely lose that wonderful Empire which the wisdom and self-control of four generations of Englishmen have built up. "Leave the people alone as far as possible," was the maxim which I learned from Lord Lawrence. "Put down crime and rebellion with a strong hand, but leave the customs, the industries, the indulgences, the social habits alone." This we have done and have prospered. The existence of idol-temples newly built, or splendidly repaired, of magnificent Mahometan mosques, of a new life given, as it were, to non-Christian usages,

is a much more painful sight. But, if we consider the matter, it is the same intolerant spirit, which led Christians to wage war against heathen temples in the Middle Ages, which now urges easygoing people in their churches and chapels to find out one particular article of commerce in distant lands, and preach a crusade against it. The Emperor of China might by a single edict destroy the trade, and no attempt would be made by England to prevent him. Why does he not do so? Because he is wise enough not to interfere with the habits of his subjects.

Periodically there is an outburst on the part of a busybody class in Great Britain on the subject of some particular "fad," either anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, total-abstinence, puritanical observance of the Sabbath, remarriage of Hindu widows, child-marriage in India, etc. It is a kind of indulgence, in which the comfortable middle-class of England delight: they never go to the bottom of the subject, but they are guided by some particular self-elected Apostle.

Last week the Anti-Opium-Trade's tap was on, and there was a large assembly at Exeter Hall to denounce all, who could not agree with the speakers, and the assembly stamped and applauded. It is desirable, that the merits of the case should be understood. It is a melancholy fact, that in Great Britain the consumption last year of beer, brandy, gin, rum, whisky, wine, etc., according to the reports of Mr. Dawson Burns, given in the *Times* of last week, amounted to one hundred and forty-one millions sterling. It might have been supposed, that good people would do their best to stem this flood, cure this evil, and hang down their heads in shame. Not at all: a vast amount of liquor is exported from Great Britain to West Africa, working the ruin of the poor Negro, who could not get access to European liquors without the commerce of the European and American merchants: no shame is felt for this; no attempt is made to forbid the export by Act of Parliament. But, while quite unable to see the beam in their own eyes, these worthy people spy out the mote in their neighbour's eyes, and attack the Opium-Trade between India and China. China is an independent kingdom, and grows enough opium within its boundaries to supply the world with the drug, and its people have been from time immemorial addicted to opium-smoking. India is a great subject-kingdom, not as yet under an independent constitution, but paying its own expenses, with its own budget, and contributing to Great Britain the enormous sum of seventeen millions annually for expenses incurred in Great Britain, salaries, pensions, purchase of Railway Stock, etc. India is very rich in its products, and the Poppy-plant is grown in a certain portion of the Territory: from this opium is made, under most strict conditions: a heavy excise is charged on all that is sold in India, where the people swallow it in the form of

pills, or drink it as a decoction: far the larger portion is shipped from Calcutta and Bombay to China, paying an export-duty exceeding one hundred per cent, which would crush any other export: at the arrival at the Chinese Treaty-Port it has to pay a heavy Customs-duty, and on leaving the Port a heavy Excise-duty, and yet the drug is deemed by the Chinese Acts so excellent, that it finds a great, though annually decreasing, sale, as the Chinese home-grown opium, prepared more skilfully, is driving the Indian opium out. It may be expected, that the Trade will gradually die out from the force of circumstances. About five millions is the profit to the Indian Finances, and the people realize about another five millions. The object of the Anti-Opium Society is to destroy at once this trade. The Emperor of China might by a stroke of the pen close the ports, and India would have to submit, but he is too wise to destroy a profitable trade, the Government of British India naturally declines to interfere, and the object of this fanatical party is to bring pressure from the House of Commons to

- (1) Abolish the Opium-Tax on the Exporter.
- (2) Forbid the Export of the drug, or
- (3) Forbid the cultivation of the Poppy.

Both Governments, Conservative and Liberal, decline doing anything of the kind: it would be a gross interference with the internal affairs of a kingdom politically subject, yet financially independent. The English taxpayers could be never induced to compensate India for the frightful loss, and possible bankruptcy. Those who care for India feel for the millions of poor people, who would be deprived of a profitable industry. The population of India has increased by 30 millions in the last decade, and now amounts to 288 millions; war has ceased, pestilence is guarded against, famine provided for. So far so well: but the people are poorer, and poorer: every acre is under cultivation, and the country cannot find the means of support for its vast population. The fall of the value of the Rupee is only a matter of exchange with Great Britain, and the people of India are not even aware of it beyond the mercantile classes, who have dealings with Europe.

These few lines are penned to warn all patriots, that they must not be deceived by the specious arguments of itinerant agents, or the mendacious statements of some portions of the Press. The leading journals of London understand the gravity of the case, and treat with scorn the efforts of the Anti-Opium Trade Associates.

XXIV.

THE OPIUM COMMISSION OF 1893.

THE names of this Commission have been announced, and give perfect satisfaction. There is not an atom of party-politics in the question at issue; good men have taken different views on an exceedingly complicated subject. It is fair to state, that the balance of knowledge is on the side of the Government of India. The object of the Commission is to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Great empires cannot be governed on the principles, which commend themselves to voluntary associations, the members of which know nothing of the difficulties of ruling Oriental Nations, of levying the necessary taxes, as the sinews of administrations, without causing suffering to an exceedingly poor population of scores of millions.

Let us consider the question from a constitutional point of view. British India has all the attributes of an independent subkingdom. It raises and pays its own Army, passes in its Legislative Council its own Laws. It asks nothing from Great Britain, pays no tribute, but annually transmits the value of seventeen millions sterling in return for the loan of about 70,000 English soldiers, the civil home-expenditure, and the interest of loans. The Territory of Canada, the self-governing Colonies of South Africa and Australia, would defy the mother-country, if it attempted to dictate to them, that they should not cultivate a particular crop, manufacture, and export, a particular article of Commerce, in order to secure an addition to their revenues, and an honourable livelihood to starving millions of peasantry. Only imagine a suggestion, that France should not export brandy, Ireland whisky, and Great Britain beer and spirits. Now this is the precise problem laid down: Is British India the best and only judge of its own administrative policy? The Rulers of India belong in succession to different parties in home-politics, but they all agree in this question, whether Lord Lytton, Lord Dufferin, or Lord Ripon, and every servant of the Indian service without exception, civilian or soldier, Conservative or Liberal. Let us take at random Sir Richard Temple, Sir George Campbell, Lord Roberts, or Sir William Plowden.

The question before us is not the past history of China, but the necessity of British India in 1896. Chinese statesmen, like Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade, stand side by side

with the representatives of British India on this platform. Is anything so very contrary to morals in exporting opium, heavily taxed opium, carefully-prepared opium, to China, a country, which within its own limits produces more opium than the rest of the world put together? The Indian opium occupies in relation to the Chinese opium the same position, that first-rate champagne occupies to the light rough cheap wines of France; it is the luxury of the few rich. Consider the actual amount of Indian opium in relation to the population of China.

The export-duty imposed by the Government of British India is such, as would destroy any other export; the drug is again taxed by the Chinese Excise-Department, as it leaves those ports for the interior. We can whisper words full of comfort into the ears of our philanthropic friends. Within one generation the monster will have disappeared. Chinese opium will have driven out the Indian product. By a strange freak of nature tea is leaving China, and migrating to India and Ceylon. The poppy-cultivation is leaving India, and becoming centralized in China. The Chinaman takes his pipe wherever he goes: the population of China, as of India, is increasing annually: like an overflowing bowl of water the surplus spreads everywhere. In the Twentieth century there will be no country without the Indian coolee and the heathen Chinese. If the Anti-Opium Association seeks the welfare of mankind, it will recognize how puny its weapons are. Lord Kimberley remarked with justice this very year to a deputation, that Britons should cast the beam out of their own eyes before they attacked the mote in their neighbours' eyes. One hundred and forty millions sterling in alcoholic liquor in Great Britain in 1892 compels our lips to form themselves unwillingly into the words "Hypocrite," "Humbug."

But, even if the manufacture and trade were a crime, which we totally deny, can it be checked, mitigated, or destroyed? The answer of those, who have loved and ruled India over a period of fifty years, who in their old age stand up for the rights of the Indian people against their own countrymen, against the merchant, the missionary, or the benevolent, but ill-advised, Association, is that it cannot. It is a sad sight to stand in a Hindu temple, and watch the poor people grovelling to images of stone, or to listen to the proud Mahometan in his mosque: it is sad in courts of justice to accept as Law the custom of polygamy, polyandry, and child-marriages, to witness the infant virgin-widow condemned to a life of unhappiness, and to hear of sensible people of the Nineteenth Century mutilating the persons of their male babies, and calling it a Religious rite: these are the conditions of our Indian Empire. We hold it like a wolf by the two ears: if we let go one or both, it is all over with the British Indian Empire. Wisdom, self-control, the iron hand in the velvet glove,

the grand policy of *laissez faire* in all things not contrary to the laws of God or man, such as murder of widows and female children, are necessary, and hitherto have not been wanting.

If the British people, from a squeamish sense of false morality, determine to put a stop to the opium traffic in India, while they maintain the liquor traffic at home, the British taxpayer must pay the piper. At a late meeting the canny member for a Scotch constituency remarked, that he should like the opium traffic stopped, but he could not ask his whisky-drinking constituents to pay the expense. The cry is, "*Flat abstinentia, ruat India.*" The reply from India is: "Begin your amiable endeavours at home, and we will follow suit."

This is the epoch of "Fads": the easygoing evangelical middle classes with plenty of leisure, and no taste for theatres, racecourse, or field-sports, take to a "Fad" There are seven of them: (1) Anti-vivisection; (2) Anti-vaccination; (3) Pharisaic observance of the Sabbath; (4) Total abstinence; (5) Anti-Opium Trade Association; (6) Salvation Army. (7) Association to remarry Indian widows, and relieve the Chinese women from unnatural ligaments on their feet. The promoters consist of dear good people, male and female, old women, young girls, giving limelight lectures illustrative of Asiatic horrors: all these things are the characteristics of the *fin de siècle*.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1895.

THE LIQUOR-TRAFFIC IN BRITISH INDIA.

HAS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DONE ITS DUTY?

Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια, καὶ ὑπερισχύει.

“DOEST thou well to be angry for the gourd?” And he said, “I do well to be angry, even unto death.” Such were the words of the prophet Jonah, 800 B.C. it is well even in this age of hasty judgment, and rash words, to be angry, when statements are made by public men in public places, which are wholly unwarrantable, and the Government of a great Dependency, the greatest that History ever knew, is held up to scorn for having initiated, and continued for more than a Century, a policy of the damnable nature of deliberately destroying the morals of two hundred Millions, placed in their charge, and at their mercy, for the sake of realizing a paltry Revenue. As one of the chief speakers put it: “The wants of the Indian Exchequer are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in Revenue from the increased sale of drink, that the temptation is irresistible to go on licensing more drink-shops.”

There is no getting out of the difficulty: the charge is not made on this occasion against the British people, the great shipping and commercial and manufacturing interests of Great Britain, but against the Government of India.

How did it come about? For more than twenty-five years there has existed in England an association called the “Church of England Temperance Society,” which by its numerous branches has done an infinity of good to the people of this island, who are notoriously a thirsty race, and, in addition to many excellent qualities, which have placed them in the front rank of Nations past and present, do not possess, and never have possessed, the great grace of Temperance. Total Abstinence is the miserable and desperate remedy of the dipsomaniac, the weak-hearted, and coward, while Temperance in all things lawful is the glory of the Christian Man, using the good gifts of his Creator, as they were intended to be used. Happy are those, who from their youth up, not under the influence of a pledge, or a command, or a craze, have of their own free will and inclination learned to dispense with the use of

stimulants and tobacco : but this grace is not given to all, although the number is annually increasing. The above-mentioned Association determined in 1886 to make a new departure, and to carry the war all over the world. A letter was addressed to the Primate of England by the Chairman of the Society, enunciating this new policy, and stating with regard to British India that "A Nation of abstainers was gradually becoming a Nation of drunkards : that drunkenness had disappeared, but was reintroduced by the British : that nothing was done to check the evil by legislative measures : that nearly every village had its liquor-shop, and the natives believed, that they were *conferring a favour on the Government* by buying the liquor "

We are not told in the Pamphlet, to whom we are indebted for the last sentiment, but it looks, as if the writer had had a rise taken out of him by some astute Bábu from a Presidency College, who had acquired bad habits ; but Archdeacon Farrar is credited with the following dictum, which no doubt drew down rounds of discriminating and temperate applause :

" We have girdled the world with a zone of drink."

The selection of Authorities in the appendix to the Pamphlet contains no single name, which carries any authority whatever : one person suggests, that total abstinence should be a condition precedent to Baptism, for which there is no warrant in Holy Scripture. Another person translates "sharáb" as "shame water" : this rendering may deceive excited hearers in a public meeting, but will not hold water in Asia, and has no warrant in the Dictionary. Another person cannot see any other explanation for the increase of income, than the encouragement by the State of the sale, forgetting that a higher rate of taxation, only limited by the margin of profit of the smuggler, would have the same result. A great increase in the amount of Police-fines in the Metropolitan area in a given period would imply, not that the Magistrates had encouraged intemperance, and wife-beating, but had punished it by heavier fines. The late King of Oudh is credited with the merit of not making a revenue out of the sale of spirits : it is true, for he allowed distilleries to be worked without any check whatsoever ! This would hardly seem a wise policy either in India or Westminster. Another person states, and no doubt correctly, that the educated classes betake themselves to imported liquors, and infers, that the Government is entirely responsible for this state of things. Has that person considered, whether in a country, of which Free Trade is the glory, any import can be excluded without raising difficult complications with British and Foreign Producers ? The same person remarks, that the heathen regard the use of intoxicating liquors as a sign of

a Christian. I shall show below, that this person must have imperfectly studied the literature of India to arrive at such a conclusion. Nanda Lal Ghose, a Barrister, undertakes to state, that the Demon of Drink was introduced by a Christian Government. I must refer him to a closer study of the esteemed writings of his own countrymen. Another person states (as the result of six months' tour in India) that the natives, if left to themselves, would not have *licensed* shops for the sale of the vile alcoholic compounds, which come from Europe. No doubt, that, if the State-control and tax were removed, there would be an unlimited amount of *unlicensed* shops. And, with all deference to the same person's opinion, formed in the Railway-train, or the Hotel, or Resthouses, and unassisted by the least knowledge of the Vernacular, I do not think, that in matters of morality the Government of India falls behind the Ethical Code of the people, as unquestionably the slaughter of kine was prohibited, while the slaughter of widows, female children, aged relations, and lepers, was considered to be a religious duty, and the practice has been only abandoned, or checked, under the pressure of severe penalties, without any assistance from the moral consciousness of the Nation. During the Mutinies the Emperor Napoleon III received a petition from India, praying for assistance to drive out the British, who had forbidden their time-honoured customs, among which these were enumerated!

But another movement had been made, with less sound of the trumpet, perhaps with more soberness of statement, by Missionary Societies, to stem, if possible, the stream of liquor, which was flowing from European ports into the Rivers of West Africa. In December, 1884, while the Berlin Conference was sitting to arrange the affairs of the Dominion of the Kongo, at my suggestion a Deputation of the Church Missionary Society was received by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to lay before him the state of the case, and urge the introduction into the Treaty of some clause, restricting by a system of Excise the importation of European liquor into the Basin of the Niger. The Bishop of Sierra Leone made an impressive speech, and I was permitted to follow him, and I ventured to remark, that the Missionaries were not seeking their own personal interests, but those of the people, who could not speak for themselves, and that they did not ask for impossibilities, such as the absolute prohibition of the import of spirits, but only for the regulation by means of Excise, and licenses of Liquor-Shops. Great credit should be given to the representatives of Great Britain and of the United States, for their gallant attempt to introduce a clause, but it was necessary to make a compromise with Germany and France, and the clause was abandoned. In October, 1885, the German Missionaries, assembled at Bremen in North Germany, brought to notice the lamentable consequences to

the people of Africa of the uncontrolled import of spirituous liquors, chiefly from Hamburg, and Dr. Zahn, the Director of the North German Missionary Society, published a powerful German pamphlet on the subject, and was good enough to make communications to me, which enabled me on January 20, 1886, to bring before an assembly of representatives of all the great Missionary Societies at the Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopsgate Street, the following resolutions.

A That the Protestant Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland should send a Deputation to the Foreign Office to point out the ruin, which threatens the Negro populations of West Africa generally, and of the Basin of the Niger in particular, by the unrestricted importation of spirituous liquors from Northern Europe, and to inform the Foreign Secretary, that the German and German Swiss Missionary Societies, assembled at Bremen, last October, have brought the subject before the notice of the Imperial Government at Berlin with the same object, admitting frankly that the town of Hamburg is one of the greatest offenders in this matter

B The Deputation should impress upon Her Majesty's Government, that the present state of affairs will not only prevent the development of legitimate trade in the Manufactures and Products of Europe, but will destroy, physically as well as morally, the population of a country, rescued from the Slave Trade by the expenditure of British lives and resources.

C. The remedies, suggested as feasible, in which the German Societies agree, are .

(I) The imposition of a substantial Import-duty, fixed at a scale just low enough as not to make smuggling profitable

(II) The introduction of a system of Licenses, by which the sale would be restricted to certain shops, maintained by responsible parties A substantial Fee to be levied for each license.

(III) The forbidding of any British person, or British Company, remunerating labour, or bartering for native produce, in spirituous liquors

(IV) The discontinuance on the part of the British Authorities of making presents of cases and bottles of spirits to Natives, or offering, or receiving, entertainment in spirits on the occasion of public ceremonies

The Revenue collected from the Import-Duty and License-Fee will suffice to maintain ample Government Establishments for the purpose of enforcing the Regulation of Customs and Excise now proposed.

D The leading secular organs of Public Opinion should be invited to bring home to the public conscience the lamentable consequence of the neglect of remedial measures *before the evil exceeds the possibility of control and remedy* A promising market, both of Export of Native Produce, and the Import of European Manufactures, will be destroyed by the short-sightedness of the first generation of Merchants, who

would literally kill the goose to get at the golden eggs this point of view concerns the Manufacturer and Merchant, but the Missionary Societies have their thoughts ever solely fixed upon the awful crime of ruining Millions of a race in a low state of culture, and unable to protect themselves, by the introduction of Rum, Gin, and Alcohol, *of the very existence of which the Negroes never heard before, and with which they could not supply themselves, except by the Agency of European Merchants*

It was agreed, after discussion, that the subject should be referred to a Committee delegated by each Society, who should confer, and make a collective Report to their several Committees, and that final action should then be taken. This eventuated in an able and comprehensive Pamphlet, entitled "Trafficking in Liquor with the Natives of Africa," from the pen of the Rev. Horace Waller, so well known as the companion of Livingstone, stating the whole case, and published in the beginning of the year 1887. I have alluded to these proceedings in detail, as no doubt those, who disagree with me in my argument, defending the Government of India against the unjust aspersions thrown upon it, may be tempted to cry out, that I am a kind of Philistine, and one who cares little for the welfare of native races: on the contrary, it is the leading object of my life, and I was up in arms for the people of West Africa long before the Church of England Temperance Society unfortunately lent an ear to the exaggerations and downright falsehoods, which have for the present arrested its useful and benevolent career.

On March 30 of the year 1887 a Meeting was held in Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, of all persons interested in this great subject, "The Demoralization of Native Races by the Drink Traffic" The Bishop of London was in the Chair. The practical object of the Meeting was to appoint a Committee to collect information, and I among others was requested to attend, and to allow my name to be placed on the General Committee, to which I gladly assented, believing, in the innocence of my heart, that the term "Native Races" was meant to include those unfortunate races of Africa, and Oceania, which, being under no settled form of Government able to protect them, were at the mercy of the unprincipled European importers of European spirituous liquors, as described in Mr. Horace Waller's pamphlet.

The Bishop of London made an admirable opening address, carrying everyone with him. He was followed by Archdeacon Farrar, who proposed the first Resolution, and astonished many of his hearers (and among them most particularly myself) by stating, that his portion of the task related to British India. Now India is a great dependency of the British Crown, with a Constitution of its own, a Budget of its own, owing nothing to Great Britain, and paying no tribute to Great Britain, governed

under a system of Law by able and high-minded men, sent out from time to time by both of the great parties of the State, who are assisted in the subordinate administration, political, fiscal, and judicial, by the great Civil Service of India, which is elected by competition from the youth of each year, restrained by Covenants, controlled by Rules, guaranteed by Law, and upheld in the high and steadfast path of Honour and Duty by feelings of Self-respect, and the consciousness of integrity never questioned, and purity of motive, upon which no shadow during this century had ever been cast. In a book which I published in 1887, "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," when reviewing the miserable state of Egypt, I contrasted with it the state of affairs in British India, remarking: "That the British official, wherever he goes, carries with him in his office-box the dignity of a gentleman and a Christian: under no circumstances, or in any place, and in any environment, would he condescend to do or say what is false and mean: he would shrink from what is cruel and treacherous: he would proudly turn away from what is wanton or sordid."

And yet Archdeacon Farrar, with knowledge or without knowledge (it matters not which), that the administration of British India is entirely in the hands of the Covenanted Civil Service, with the exception of the post of Viceroy, and the Governors of Bombay and Madras, in strong, slow, and measured words, dared to say,

"We found India sober, and left it drunken."

As the Head Master of a great public school, he could not resist a quotation:

*"Pudet hæc opprobria nobis
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refelli."*

The indignation, which several members of the Indian Services felt, with myself, when we listened to this speech, can scarcely be described: the feeling was to interrupt the meeting by loud protests, but the kind and wise address of the Bishop of London held me back, for to disturb the meeting would be to vex him: my chief desire was to get away from a Hall, where such things were uttered and applauded.

He was followed by Mr Samuel Smith, M P., who, freed from the restraint of the presence of Under-Secretaries of State for India, and ex-Governors of Bangál and Bombay, who had to a certain degree kept him in order in the House of Commons, mounted his hobby; and in order that full justice may be done to his eloquence and accuracy of statement, I quote his remarks from the Report in the *Rock* Newspaper: "During his recent

"visit to India he found a complete unanimity of opinion as to the rapid increase of intemperance. The natives imitate English-men in drinking with disastrous effects, for they have not the same power of self-control, and their constitution is not so strong. Before the English were in India the sale of strong drink was unknown. By Religion and custom the people of India were total abstainers."

Mr. Smith is reported to have produced a profound impression by his calm and clear statements. He gave some items from a letter, which he had received from an English Missionary, which created a painful impression. "No one would say, or think, that the Government desires to foster the vice of drunkenness in its Indian subjects."

Whereupon Mr. Smith remarked, amid cheers, "That is a charitable statement," and continuing the reading of the Missionary's letter, said: "But Government wants money, and the Board of Revenue has found out, that one way to get it is to encourage the drink-trade, and to put facilities before the people generally to take to the habit of drinking, in order to push on the trade, and get in a larger Revenue, so that really the Indian Government is guilty of the crime of pushing a trade for fiscal objects, which is fast spreading the terrible evil of drinking and drunkenness throughout the country."

The speaker went on to describe how this had been effected by the "out-still" system: "Formerly certain central distillers were alone permitted. Instead of this, under the new system, native distillers were at liberty to open their own stills, and manufacture as much as they liked, and what they pleased, by paying a monthly rent to the Government for permission to manufacture and sell. This brought the liquor down from about two shillings or so a bottle to about twopence, and the stills multiplied a hundredfold. The consequence was, that there was a regular rush for the drink from all classes, the very beggars and boys and women taking to it. There are two facts of importance, which should not be lost sight of in native drinking. First, natives have no idea of moderation in the use of strong drinks. They try to get drunk, and therefore they imbibe by the bottle, not by the glass. Moreover, while many Europeans reform and give up the drink, the native goes on to the bitter end. Once a Native becomes a hard drinker, he seldom or never can give it up, for want of moral courage. The Revenue in India is chronically short. The mass of people are poor beyond any standard of poverty known at home. We hold India by prestige, but in the long run, we shall only hold India by the prestige of Righteousness."

He thought, that the greatest kindness an audience can do to the Government of India, is to elevate their standard of Righteousness,

a sentiment which elicited warm approval. Mr. Smith quoted the testimony of a native doctor to the effect, that 90 per cent. is the proportion of deaths from drink, and, making every allowance for Orientalism, the statement is terribly appalling.

I quite admit, that the throne of the Empress of India is founded on Righteousness, and that the British Nation is only permitted to rule over that great country on the condition, that their Rule should be righteous; but Truth is usually coupled with Righteousness, and here it appeared to be entirely dissociated. A French downright hater of Great Britain would have carefully collected his facts and marshalled his authorities. A Member of the British Parliament seemed under no such necessity. A line of Juvenal came to my recollection :

“ Quid Romæ faciam ? Mentiri nescio.”

I left the Hall, feeling, with many others, that the Liquor Merchants had effected a great triumph. Truth was the only weapon, with which we could meet them: with carefully collected facts, and tested statistics, the Committee of the Missionary Societies had prepared for a direct attack on the common enemy, the Merchants of Great Britain, Germany, France, and America. Some of the Missionary Societies of the last-mentioned Country had expressed to me their entire concurrence in the attempt that was to be made. By the speeches of the Archdeacon, and Mr Samuel Smith, the whole character of the struggle was altered: the attack was now upon the constitutional Government of British India, or rather on the Covenanted servants of that Government: it was a charge of a character worse than that made by Cicero upon Verres, inasmuch as the plunder of Provinces from personal greed is a less heinous offence than the systematic poisoning of the bodies and souls of a great and historic Nation for the miserable object of adding a few Lakhs of Rupees to the Revenue of the State. Moreover, if the speakers only understood their brief, they must have felt that the line of Juvenal applied to them :

“ Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.”

The British Merchant, who brought the Brandy and Whisky and Gin and choice wines in such abundance to India, the British Planters of the Mauritius, who flooded Bombay with Rum, were the real offenders, if any tangible offence existed. With singular inconsistency, after Sir Charles Warren and the Negro Pastor, James Johnson, had pleaded earnestly and truly for Africa, after Mr. Came, M.P., had made a speech about Egypt, which had no bearing upon the subject, after Mr. Horace Waller had vainly

striven to bring back the Meeting to the region of common-sense and calm judgment, the following Resolutions were passed, which bear no relation whatever to the false and libellous statements of the chief speakers, and which clearly indicate, that this attack upon the Government of India was not contemplated by the Director and Secretaries of the Church of England Temperance Society, for no one can hesitate for a moment in giving their hearty consent to these Resolutions :

1. That the traffic in strong drink, as now carried on by merchants belonging to Christian nations in India, Africa, and most of the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, has become the source of wholesale demoralization and ruin to the Native races, and is proving a fatal stumblingblock to the progress of the Gospel among them

2. That in the interests of Christianity and Humanity the facts bearing on the traffic and its results should be made more generally known to the people of England and other countries, with a view to the formation of a sound public opinion, and eventually to the passing of legislative enactments for the repression of such traffic.

3. That for this purpose a Committee be formed, to include, besides members of the Executive of the Church of England Temperance Society, representatives of the leading Missionary and Temperance Societies.

But the mischief did not end with the Meeting. No one would have troubled themselves with the platform speeches of a travelling Member of Parliament, the creature of the hour : we have known the genus in India for the last forty years, the man who asks questions, makes copious notes, and looks, as if he could see through a millstone. King Solomon remarks, that there were three things, which were too wonderful for him, and four which he knew not ; but in modern time there is a fifth, which is beyond the comprehension of the most wise : it is the way, in which the travelling Member of Parliament is gulled, and the plausibility, with which he tries on his return to England to gull others. He meets an intelligent-looking man in the Railway carriage, or passes a night at the house of the most crotchety man of the Station, and he stuffs his travelling-bag with crude undigested facts, and then gives it out on a Manchester or Liverpool platform with the air of a Prophet, who has just come down from the Mountain, forgetting that the Science of Rule of subject Millions is the greatest and noblest of Sciences, only mastered by a few after the study and practice of decades, and not during the excited tour of six weeks. But the chief orator on this occasion was a man of different stamp, a real man, one of the greatest of the Metropolitan Clergy, one who has done for the young men of London more than any living man, one whose written works are read by thousands, and whose spoken

words are listened to by hundreds; in fact, one of the great Workers and Speakers of the period.

What was to be done? It was clear to me what I must do, viz., at once to resign my seat on the proposed Committee, and to decline any joint action with the Society, until these speeches were as openly disallowed, as they were openly applauded. Canon Ellison, in his reply to my letter, stated that: "As far as he knew, no attempt had been made to disprove the statements contained in the Pamphlet: he further stated, that the object of the Committee was to sift and test such assertions; to disprove if truth should require it, quite as much as to prove, and in some cases to vindicate the character of Governments unjustly assailed. He assured me, that the Committee could be in no way responsible for the statements made at the Meeting; he begged me finally to continue on the General and Executive Committees."

At a subsequent date I was invited to join the Sub-Committee, appointed to consider the reply of the Viceroy of India, which will be noticed below. From the first I felt, that Canon Ellison, and the Church of England Temperance Society, were not responsible for the indiscreet utterances made in Prince's Hall, but I felt also, that I could serve the cause, the great cause, which we all had in common, by standing aloof, waging my own battle, and trying to clear the air of these clouds of ignorance, and make the way open to an advance, based on facts and the Truth, not on sensational and inaccurate statements.

Mr Horace Waller entirely agreed with me: as he was one of the Speakers at the Prince's Hall meeting, he was stout-hearted enough to speak out his mind, and tell the audience: "That a man, who is intemperate in his facts, is just as much a dram-drinker to his own harm, as any dram-drinker of the ordinary kind, and that figures could be brought together and presented to a meeting, which *were a great many degrees above proof.*"

These honest remarks were hooted by an excited audience, who only cared to listen to Prophets, who prophesied according to their own views. It was determined not to dissolve, but only suspend the action of, the representative Committee of the Missionary Societies; it would not have been wise to allow this great subject to fall exclusively into the power of the Committee of the Church of England Temperance Society, which was clearly under the temporary influence of Fanatics, but which in a short time would recover its equilibrium, and become the centre of renewed efforts in the great cause.

I lost no time in forwarding a copy of the Report of the speeches of the Meeting to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, praying, that means should be at once adopted to disprove the assertion: "That it is the policy of Government to

encourage drunkenness in India with a view of increasing the Revenue."

And I was assured that the charge was groundless: that the consumption of spirits was repressed by a repressively high duty, and that since 1872, in consequence of improved Excise administration, the number of liquor-shops had steadily and appreciably decreased, notwithstanding the increase of the population during that period. I addressed the Under-Secretary of State for India privately at his house, pointing out the extreme gravity of the statements made, and the receipt of my letter was acknowledged. A dispatch was expected in a few weeks from the Viceroy of India in reply to the Pamphlet of the Church of England Temperance Society, sent out in the previous Autumn. The task, which I set before myself, divided itself into three heads:

I. Did the British in very deed find the people of India total abstainers from the use of spirituous liquors and drugs, or even temperate users of the same?

II. Has it been the policy of the State, and of the Servants of the State, to enhance the Revenue of the Excise at the expense of the morals of the people?

III. Has the Revenue of the Excise increased beyond what was to be expected from a people doubled in population, quadrupled in wealth, and exposed to the insidious dangers, which accompany an advance in Civilization, and increased intercourse with other Nations, those Nations famous for wholesale export of spirituous liquors?

The first point was historical, and my proofs had to be collected from a long list of Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, and Hindustáni writers; extending over more than two thousand years. Fortunately for my argument, just as the use of wine for purposes of intoxication can be traced back to the time of Noah, so in India the use of intoxicating liquor is vouched for in the Veda, the most ancient and sacred of Hindu Books, and can be traced, as I will proceed to show, from generation to generation to the present time in the Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan, and Sikh annals. The second point, and the third, would rest upon the expected dispatch of the Viceroy, upon the Report of the Bangál Commission of 1883, 1884, and the annual Administration-Reports of British India, presented each year to Parliament. Things in British India are fortunately not done in a corner, and the Government of India is famous for its outspokenness, for the naked way in which it exposes both the successes, and the failures, of its administration: the quinquennial change of every high Officer of State alone renders this possible. There is no desire of an hereditary blockhead

to screen the errors of his scoundrel ancestor. Each Viceroy, and each Governor, knows well, that he leaves his character behind him. Lord Dufferin's dispatch, dated June 25, 1887, was published on August 4, but did not reach me until September 10, just as I was starting on a long journey to Morocco: so I contented myself for the time with a letter to the *Times*, which appeared on the 16th of that month, as a cartel thrown down to my antagonists, and on my return I proceed to make my reply to Archdeacon Farrer's thesis in detail. I deal first with the first part:

“ *We found India sober* ”

It so happened, that in 1873 a very distinguished Hindu Scholar of Calcutta, Lala Rajendra Lala Mitra, President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, published in the Journal of that Society an essay on the use of spirituous liquors by the Hindu, tracing the practice by quotations from the most esteemed Sanskrit authors from the earliest ages. To me it seemed, when I first read this essay, in exceedingly bad taste thus to parade the weaknesses of his countrymen, and I should think poorly of an English literary man, who out of pure malice traced back by quotations from Shakespeare, Chaucer, and Cædmon, the drunkenness of the Anglo-Saxon up to the time of the origin of the race; yet this great Sanskrit scholar took the trouble to do so in 1873, and in 1881 republished it with other of his learned essays in his collective volumes, “Indo-Aryans, Contributions towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediaeval History.” As in the foot-notes of his essay, he gives the original Sanskrit quotations from each author quoted *in extenso*, anyone, who knows Sanskrit, can satisfy himself of their accuracy. The quotations are easily accessible from the great Epic and Dramatic Authors, and the Veda, and I have them in my private library: it is indeed a most astonishing revelation! perhaps I ought to have expected it, but I certainly did not do so. I attributed the deplorable habits of intoxication, so notorious among certain races and tribes, to a decadence from a higher standard, rather than an uninterrupted continuance from the cradle of the National life.

Rajendra Lala remarks, that drinks have a peculiar charm, which enable them to hold their ground against the deductions of Science, and mandates of Religion; that the history of Mahometan Civilization illustrated this assertion, for no one condemned more emphatically the use of wine than Mahomet, and yet that there is no Mahometan country, where the consumption is not considerable. Gibbon remarked cynically last century, that the vines of Shiráz have always prevailed over the law of Mahomet. When the Arian immigrants from the West crossed the Hindu-Kush at some remote period into the Panjáb,

the earliest Brahman settlers indulged largely in "Soma"-beer, and strong spirits. To the Gods the most acceptable offering was "Soma"-beer, and wine or spirits, which in India are identical, was sold in the shops. In the Rig-Veda Sanhita (Wilson, vol. ii, p. 204) occurs a hymn, which shows, that wine was kept in leather bottles, and freely sold to all comers. A minority of authorities doubt, whether "Soma" was intoxicating, but all admit that "Sarā," or Arrack, manufactured from rice-meal, and also alluded to in the Rig-Veda, was highly so: and this clearly shows, that the Vedic Hindu of a period long anterior to the Christian era did countenance the use of spirits: but Professor Whitney clearly proves, that "Soma" was intoxicating: it is supposed to have been the juice of a climbing plant, the *Asclepias acida*, which was extracted, fermented, and produced exhilaration grateful to the Priests. The liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which an individual was prompted to do, and found capable of doing, deeds beyond his natural powers. Soma was therefore deemed divine, and became a Deity, the Myth running on parallel lines to that of Dionysus or Bacchus, who came from India into Hellas.

As time went on, the later Veda forbade the use of spirits for the purposes of animal gratification, and said, that drinking was as bad as the murder of a Brahman. The Smṛiti included winebibbing among the five capital crimes, and ordered the severest punishment. Manu, 500 B.C., and others, denounced the use, and fortified their dicta by legendary tales of frightful punishments; yet it is clear, that at no period in their history has the Hindu Nation abstained. Priests and respectable and pious householders did so, but they were but a fraction of the community, and there was at all times, as there is now, a considerable amount of hypocrisy on the subject. Sanskrit literature, both ancient and mediæval, leaves no doubt, by its casual allusions, and unpremeditated admission, that wine was extensively used by all classes at all times with rare exceptions of individuals. Manu found the public feeling so strong, that he remarks, that there is no turpitude in drinking, but that abstinence produces a signal compensation. The Soldier and the Merchant (or in other words the Kṣatriya Rājapūt, and the Vaiśya, or Trader, both of whom belonged to the order of the Dwija or Twice-born) must not drink Arrack, but were allowed the choice of all other liquors, whose name was legion; the Sudra, or lower class, might indulge freely without restraint; the Brahman, or highest class, must totally abstain.

Some of the Rules or aphorisms known as the "Sūtra" are credited to a date anterior to Manu, and some later: the Brahmana are of various dates, but no date is certain: in them we find, that not only the Soma and Sarā retained their firm hold of

the people, but we read of new candidates for the public taste, the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia*, so popular as a drink to this day, the Gandi or Sugar-rum, the Tari, or Toddy, from the Palm: so the drinks of the Hindu, as well as their Castes, and Religious rites, and magnificent literature, have an unbroken lineage of at least twenty centuries.

In the fascinating Epic Poem of the Ramáyana by Valmíki, which has been my delight for more than forty years, we find frequent notices of wine and drinking. The great Sage Visvámitra, himself the reputed author of some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, entertained the great sage Vasishtha with Mairaya (or Rum) and Sará (or Arrack). Bharadwája, another great Sage, offered wine to Bhárata, King of Ayodya, and his soldiers, who stayed one night with him during their search for Rama. Sita, the beautiful and faithful wife of Rama (himself an Incarnation of the Supreme Deity), promised to offer to the River Goddess, Jamna, in the event of her safe return, one thousand jars of Arrack. Nor was she herself, nor her husband, the Incarnation of Vishnu, averse from the cheering cup, for we read in the last book of the noble Epic, how Rama, embracing Sita with both his hands, made her drink pure Maucya wine or Rum, even as the God Indra makes Sachi partake of nectar. Nor was the practice confined to the Court, for it is incidentally mentioned, that King Bhárata found his city Ayodya plunged in grief for the loss of Rama, one symptom of grief being the absence of the exhilarating aroma of Arrack. Moreover, in the palaces of Sugriva, the King of the Monkeys, and of Ravana, the King of the Rakhsa, the greatest glory was the smell of Arrack, as the Poets could not conceive the notion of luxury, joy, and splendour, without the presence of intoxicating liquor in ample abundance.

In the Máha Bhárata, another magnificent Epic, of a later date than the Ramáyana, the leading characters, whether Heroes, or Demigods, or Krishna, himself the Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, are described as indulging in strong drinks, and no pleasure-party was complete without them: we read of Krishna and Arjuna, with their wives and sisters and daughters, indulging in drink. Queen Sudeshna is described as sending her maid to get a flagon of good drink for her use: the Yádava, of whose race Krishna was born in the flesh, are described as being so overcome with drink at a seaside watering-place, that they destroyed each other in sheer drunkenness.

The doctrines of Buddha must have contributed much to check drunkenness, and the use of wine, as well as of flesh, but could not suppress either. The Játaka and Avadána abound with stories of drunkenness: it must be recollected, that the Játaka are the narratives of the former births of Buddha himself:

whether they are historical, or fanciful tales, they reflect the notions of their compilers on this subject. In the sculptures of Sanchi are figures of ladies of high rank, and their attendants holding cups and flagons. In a Buddhist drama, the *Nāgananda*, the plot turns upon the vagaries of a drunkard, who had for his love one of the attendants of the Queen. In other love-scenes the lover is described as offering overflowing goblets to his lady-love. We may look at the subject from another point of view. Mr. Spence Hardy, in his "*Manual of Buddhism*," tells us, how the use of intoxicating liquors is forbidden: when only as much tairi, or toddy, is drunk, as can be held in the palm of the hand, it is a minor offence; it is greater, when the amount can be held in both hands; and greater still, when so much is drunk, that all things turn round. To constitute the crime of drinking there must be (1) intoxicating liquors made from flour, bread, or other kind of food: (2) actual intoxication produced by these liquors: (3) they must be taken with the intention of producing the effect: (4) they must be taken of free will. Many a regular toper would escape punishment by an ingenious application of these rules. Moreover, the Christian Moralist would scarcely think the Buddhist motive for temperance sufficient, being only to avoid the six evil consequences: (1) loss of wealth, (2) arising of quarrels; (3) production of diseases, like sore eyes, (4) bringing down the disgrace of rebuke from Parents or Superiors; (5) exposure to shame for going about naked; (6) loss of judgment for carrying on the affairs of the world. It is clear, that the use of liquor taken moderately was not deemed wrong, and that worldly advantage was the only incentive to induce a man not to degrade himself to the position of a beast by getting drunk.

The great Dramatist Kalidāsa probably lived after the Christian era; the latest date assigned is 600 A.D.: in the famous drama of the *Sakóntala*, the Superintendent of the Police, who is also brother of the King, proposes to spend the present, which he had received, in a glass of good liquor at the next wine-shop. An English Policeman could not have been more pronounced in his taste for strong drink. In the fine Heroic Poem, the *Raghúvansa*, by the same Poet, one of the grandest of Poems, drinking-booths are described as being set up at Rajamandri by the soldiers of Raghu, an ancestor of Rama, to drink the famous cocoanut liquor of that place. It is clear also, that women of quality drank in their husband's society; for in the great Poem by Kalidāsa, the Kumāra Sāmbhava, Rati, the Indian Venus, the wife of Kama, the God of Love, mourning the loss of her husband, says: "Rice-liquor [*alias* arrack], which causes the reddened eyes to roll, and speech to get disjointed at every step, has in thy absence become a torture to poor women."

In the same Poem it is described, how the ladies rushed to the

window to see a procession, and evolved the odour of arrack, which they had drunk.

The Purána vary in date: the oldest has been placed in the sixth century of the Christian era; the latest in the thirteenth, or even the sixteenth century: they abound in descriptions of wine and drinking, and, although the object of many of them is to condemn the use of wine, the inference is clear, that there was a widespread malady, which they proposed to overcome. The Bhagávata Purána enjoins the use of spirit by the Brahmans at one particular rite. In another Purána the great Goddess Dúrga is represented as particularly addicted to strong drinks.

Other quotations from later authors could be made *ad libitum*, more particularly from the poetical literature, to show how frequently references are made to drinking among the higher classes. The Tantra are books of a later date than the Purána, and are of extreme importance with reference to the life of the modern Hindu: the Saiva Tantra gives full liberty to their votaries to indulge in drinking spirits. No worship to the Devi can be complete without wine, and the worshippers sit round a jar of arrack, and drink, and drink, till they fall to the ground in utter helplessness. The most appropriate way of dunking liquor is in the mystic circle, but, as this cannot be got every day, the devotee takes the bulk of his potations *after his evening prayer*.

Pulastya, an ancient sage, and author of one of the Smriti, of a remote and uncertain age, enumerates twelve different kinds of liquor besides the Soma-beer: they are (1) the Jack, (2) the grape, (3) the honey, (4) the date, (5) the palm, (6) the sugar-cane, (7) the Mohwa, (8) the long-pepper, (9) the soap-berry, (10) the rum, (11) the cocoanut, (12) the arrack or rice. The mode of preparing all these liquors is described in one of the Tantra, and they were all taken neat, and it was necessary to eat a wine-biscuit with them, to remove the smarting in the mouth caused by raw spirit. These wine-biscuits had many technical names, and one of the names of the great God Siva, the third of the Triad, is "Lord of wine-biscuits." No drinking party was complete without these titbits.

We learn from Arrian's "Perplus of the Erythraean Sea," that quantities of foreign wine were regularly imported into India two thousand years ago, and met a ready sale. The varieties mentioned are from Laodicea, Italy, and Arabia: they were more costly than the Native wines, and only used by the rich. History seems to repeat itself; and the British Shipper, Distiller, and Brewer, had his prototype, and is but a servile imitator of the astute Greeks!

Medical works of the Hindu tell us of the diseases, which were the sure punishment of intemperance: we find in Sanskrit the word wine-horror, suggesting delirium tremens; wine-disease,

suggesting gout; wine-death, suggesting the well-known phrase "drank himself to death." The description of the diseases is given in Sanskrit words. Such names could not have come into existence, had there not been immoderate drinking in many instances to give rise to the complaint. In medical works there are a number of recipes for removing the odour of wine from the mouth. We have seen, how in elder days the aroma of spirits was not concealed, but welcomed, even from the mouths of ladies: a more hypocritical age tried to hunt with total abstainers, and run with the drunkards: there was clearly a class of rich men who drank in secret, and wished to pass among their neighbours as total abstainers, like the women in Europe, who in this generation drink liquor sent in from the Grocers' stores, and get rid of the smell with peppermint lozenges.

I feel a sort of compunction in thus exposing the venerable Veda, and the charming Epics, and Dramas of the Hindu to scorn: they have been the delight of my life. No one, who had read Horace or Juvenal can doubt, that the Romans drank more than was good for them. Homer tells us in the "Odyssey," iii, 139:

ὄνῳ βεβαρήοτες ὕλοι Ἀχαιῶν,

and he himself is said never to have prosecuted his labour as a poet until he was well drunk. We cannot doubt that the Greeks drank. The great catena of Greek authors could be quoted to show, that they drank, and drank to excess: they attributed to their Gods the same weaknesses as their own: otherwise what occasion had Jupiter for Hebe and Ganymede as cupbearers! When Mercury visited Calypso, she served him with drink. Minerva was the only one of the Immortals who never drank. If it be argued, that this was only the fancy of the Poets, I reply: "Just so: their writings reflect the feelings of their own age, "whether in India or Hellas: they do not allude to Railways and "Telegraphs, but they do to drink, because they and their hearers "knew what it was."

When Peter with the Apostles were charged with being full of new wine, he did not repel the insinuation as a gross insult, but remarked that it was not the third hour of the day, or, as Dean Alford puts it, "He showed the improbability of intoxication at that hour of the morning." Hence a fair inference that some of the Jews at that period drank. We cannot admit, that the Hindu Nation were a good innocent people, who did not know how to make fermented beverages, how to distil, how to import from Europe, how to drink to intoxication like brute beasts, how to acquire frightful diseases, how to get rid of the odour of wine from their mouths, and to play the part of sanctified total abstainers, until they had been taught all these tricks by the

British Collector of Revenue, anxious to increase the Excise: and yet it is necessary to place these facts on record.

But perhaps the Pagan tribes of India, who lie outside of the Hindu and Mahometan Civilization and Religion, according to the Poets and popular fancy leading rude and simple pastoral lives in secluded valleys, or on the slopes of the Himaláya, had escaped this contamination. Up to this day many of them have scarcely seen a European, or visited a City. Forty years ago Mr. Brian Hodgson thus wrote of the Bodo and Dhimal on the confines of Assam: "They use abundance of fermented liquor made of rice, or millet: it is not unpleasant. Biewing, and not distilling, seems the characteristic of all non-Arian races, all of whom make beer, and not spirits. The process is very simple: the grain is boiled: a plant is mixed with it, and it is left to ferment: in four days the liquor is ready: the plant for fermenting is grown at home: this tribe use tobacco, but no opium or distilled liquor. I do not brand them with the name of drunkards, though they certainly love a merry cup in *honour of their gods* at the high festivals of their Religion: among my own servants the Bodo have never been drunk; the Mahometan and Hindu several times excessively so."

The aborigines, the Santál, are notorious for their fondness for beer.

The Mahometans conquered India about 800 A.D.: many aliens settled in India: some Hindu were converted by force, or fraud, or for desire of gain: thousands of wild non-Arian tribes have accepted a veneer of Mahometanism, but are Pagan still. Even the converted Hindu retain the Caste-names, and the Hindu Law with regard to Marriage and Succession. We have fortunately full accounts of the way of living of the Emperors and Nobles, but scant notice of the ways of the lower class. History is generally silent about them.

Here is a contemporary's peep into the life of Mahmúd of Ghazni, the first invader of India: "The Amir said to Abd-ur-Razzak: 'Shall we drink a little wine?' Accordingly much wine was brought into the garden, and fifty goblets placed in the middle of a small tent. The Amir said: 'Let us drink fair measure, and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no unfairness.' They began to get jolly. Bu-ı Hasan drank five goblets; his head was affected at the sixth; he lost his senses at the seventh; and began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried him off. Bu-ala, the physician, dropped his head at the fifth cup, and was carried off. Khalil Daud drank ten; Suja Biruz nine: and both were borne away. Bu-Nam drank twelve and ran off. When the Khwaja had drunk twelve cups, he made his obeisance and said to the Amir: 'If you give your slave any more, he will lose his respect to your

"Majesty, as well as his own wits.' The Amir laughed, and went "on drinking. He drank twenty-seven goblets. he then arose, "and called for a basin of water, and his praying-carpet, washed "his face, and recited *the midday prayers as well as the afternoon ones*, and he so acquitted himself, that you would not have said "that he had drunk a single cup. he then returned to the Palace "on an elephant. I witnessed the whole scene with my eyes."—*Tarikh Subuktegin*, Elliot's "Historians of India," vol. ii, p. 145.

"Sultan Muizzu-d-dunya plunged at once into dissipation: his "companions all joined him: the example spread, and all ranks, "high and low, learned and unlearned, acquired a taste for wine- "drinking. Night and day the Sultan gave himself up entirely to "dissipation and enjoyment. One of the nobles said: 'Suppose "you kill the drunken, insensate king by some villanous con- "trivance."—Elliot's "Historians," vol. iii, pp. 126-129.

"Sultan Alá-ud-dín prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, "and also the use of beer and drugs. Jars and casks of wine "were brought up from the royal cellars, and emptied into the "streets in such quantities, that mud and mire was formed. The "dissolute used to make and distil wine clandestinely, and drink "at a great price: they put it into leather bags and conveyed it "in hay and firewood. By hundreds of devices it was brought "into the city: when seized, the wine was given to the elephants "to drink: the sellers were flogged and sent to prison, but the "numbers increased so, that holes for their incarceration were dug "outside the gate: the severity of this confinement caused many "to die: those, who could not give up the habit, went out to the "fords of the river, and procured liquor; the horror of confinement "deterred others. Desperate men still drank, and even sold "liquor: seeing this difficulty, the Sultan ordered, that, if the "liquor were distilled in private houses, and consumed in secret, "and no parties were found drunk, it might go on."—*Ibid*.

Baber, the great conqueror of India, the founder of the Moghul dynasty, was a constant and jovial toper: many a drunken party is recorded in his Memoirs: even in the middle of a campaign there is no interruption of his excessive jollity. Ex. grat.: "We "continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline: "those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Saiyad "Khan was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put "him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with difficulty. "Dost Mahommed Bakur was so far gone, that they could not get "him on horseback: they poured a quantity of water over him, "but to no purpose. A body of the Afghans (the enemy) appeared "in sight, and they threw him on a horse, and brought him off."—*Ibid*.

On some occasions they contrived to be drunk four times in twenty-four hours: they began to drink and kept up the party *until evening prayers* (they were strict Mahometans).

Baber writes himself: "I now want something less than one year of forty years, and I drink wine most copiously."

In 1527 A.D. he began a course of rigorous reform, and there is something picturesque in the very solemn and remarkable account of this great revolution in his habits: however, his indulgence had shortened his days. He was a truly great man, in spite of all his weaknesses, and showed his greatness in his manly struggle against his habits of intemperance: "*Hostium victor et sui.*"

I had collected the above quotations before I started on my late expedition to Morocco: on my return I find upon my table additional evidence of the gross intemperance of the Mahometans in India collected for a totally different purpose in the columns of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of December, 1887, p. 727. This is the Society, to whose service I have devoted myself for many years, and by an odd chance the father of Archdeacon Farrar was of this Society an honoured Missionary, and his Maráthi hymns are still sung in the Native Churches of Western India. The statements, which I quote, were made by a writer, who knew what he was about, having been many years a Chaplain in India, and they were made in reply to one of the greatest paradoxes of modern time, an attempt on the part of a beneficed Clergyman of the Church of England to prove, that Mahometanism to certain races was a more suitable religion than Christianity, and that Mahometans were total abstainers. "On this supposed abolition " of drunkenness, a much bewildered correspondent of the "*Guardian* (October 19) recalls the memory of Selim the Sot, " the temporal and spiritual head of Islam, and that drink cut " short the splendid career of Amurath IV. We read in *Mount-* " *stuart Elphinstone* (vol. ii, p. 49) that Alá-ud-dín's constitution " had yielded to a long course of intemperance. When he was " beset with conspiracies, his counsellors traced his troubles to " convivial meetings, where men opened their thoughts to each " other. The Emperor Baber tried to persuade a friend to leave " off wine, but he admitted that drinking was a very pleasant " thing with old friends and companions. Elphinstone remarks, " that it would have been fortunate, if Baber had left off drinking " wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence " in it tended to shorten his days. Many a drinking party is " recorded in his Memoirs. Akbar's third son, Dániál, when " debarred by his father's order from wine, had liquor conveyed " to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece, and thus, having free " access to indulgence, brought his life to a close in the thirtieth " year of his age. Akbar himself, in his youth, indulged in wine " and good living. Sir Thomas Roe tells us, that Jehangír never " left off drinking till he fell asleep, scarcely one of the party " remaining sober. In his drunkenness he talked with great

"liberality of all religions; then he fell to weeping and to various passions which kept them till midnight. It was when he was recovering from a fit of drunkenness that he was seized and deposed. Shah Shuja, the son of Shah Jehan, was given up to wine and pleasure: he was a mere drunkard. His brother Morad was seized when in a helpless state of intoxication, and imprisoned and murdered by Aurangzib. It would be easy to extend this bead-roll of Mahometan monarchs, who have been amongst the most conspicuous drunkards of their times." And another writer tells us: "So far as abstinence from strong drink is concerned, Moslems do show how much may be accomplished by repressive measures, and we may take a lesson from them; but with regard to inebriating drugs their example is quite the other way, and of the two their vice is the worse. The tendency of intoxication through drink is to delirium tremens, which is a suicidal mania; but the tendency of inebriation through bhang is to homicidal mania. The delirious Mahometan 'runs amuck'; armed with daggers and other life-destroying weapons, he runs through town or country stabbing, maiming, and killing every man, woman, or child whom he meets. I well remember the suffering and terror, that were caused on one occasion, when four such maniacs 'ran amuck' in one day, with such violence, that the Authorities turned out a company of soldiers and shot them down. It was summary vengeance, but the only way of saving innocent lives. I do not think that such cases are now as frequent in India and Ceylon as they were forty years since, and I think that the indirect influence of Christianity has caused the decrease."

Nor is it peculiar to India: the Odes of the celebrated Poet Hafiz tells us how: "My spiritual guide went from the Mosque to the Wine-shop." And he makes an appeal to the Cupbearer, to "Pass on good wine, for he would not find in Paradise such charms as the world bestowed."

I quote from the Missionary Periodicals: "'Islám,' says one defender of Islám, 'has abolished drunkenness.' Has it? Night after night we took up dozens, I may say, of drunkards in the streets of Zanzibár. Many high-class natives were drunkards on the sly; and when a Moslem does drink, he will pawn his last rag for liquor, or, as was frequently the case with the men we apprehended, would commit robbery solely for the purpose of gratifying their love for liquor. But enough: the man, who has not travelled in Mahometan countries, may never have seen drunken Mahometans, but we have."

There is a famous story in Mahometan books, how a Kádi, whose duty it was to punish drinkers, privately indulged in drink at night, and was in the early morning caught in the act by his Sovereign, who was about to decapitate him, when he begged,

that the shutters of the windows open to the East might be opened, and he be informed from which quarter of the horizon the Sun was rising. When told, that it was from the East, he quoted from the Korán: "So long as the Sun rises from the East, so long will God have mercy on His children." He then knelt down submissive to his fate: he had learned something from the Korán better than Temperance, viz., Faith and Submission to the Divine Decree. This is Islám.

In the time of the Emperor Baber, a new Sect of the Hindu Religion came into existence, founded by Baba Nának, and became so influential, that its tenets are often talked of as a separate Religion: it was an upheaval of the lower classes, and a war against Caste. All fanatics and lawgivers must forbid something. Moses and Mahomet forbade swine's flesh: the Popes of Rome forbade a large and influential portion of the community, male and female, to marry: the Total Abstinence Society forbids liquor: Baba Nának forbade tobacco. Smoking is a nasty habit, but it scarcely amounts to a sin. The day will come, when an Anti-Smoking Society will arise: all such prohibitions are limitations of Christian liberty, and I protest against Total Abstinence being made anything more than a very proper moral inculcation to youth. Baba Nának forbade tobacco: the Sikhs took it out in another quarter:

"Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret":

they became terrible consumers of opium, decoction of poppy-heads, and spirituous liquors generally. I lived many happy years in their midst. I was present at the taking of Lahór, and the conquest of the country, and I found liquor-shops in abundance, and decoction of poppy-heads, called *post*, set out in brass cups for free sale, like gingerbeer in London; and, as I was placed in charge of one of the newly-conquered districts, one of my first duties was to regulate the number of shops for sale of liquors, take the sale of opium entirely into the control of the State, and impose a heavy tax on intoxicating liquors. The Sikhs are a magnificent race in stature, living long lives, and having large families, and yet they habitually take their daily opium-pill, and lay like logs on the ground, until the narcotic had worked itself off.

In the History of the Panjáb, published in two volumes by Messrs. Allen in 1846, I find it noted, that the famous Mahárája Ranjit Singh, the putative father of the well-known Dulip Singh, was unreserved in all his habits, and his diet consisted of high stimulants, of which he partook sparingly. At his interview with Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, in 1838, Ranjit Singh, after pressing his Lordship to take part in the drinking, drained the cup of fiery liquid to the dregs. This excess produced upon the Mahárája such a severe fit of apoplexy, that Lord Auckland took

leave of him lying on his couch, scarcely able to articulate. His wine was extracted from raisins, a quantity of pearls being ground to powder and mixed with it: it was made for Ranjít Singh alone: he sometimes gave a few bottles to his chiefs. It was as strong as Brandy: the only food allowed at his drinking feasts was fat quails, stuffed with sage, and this abominable liquid fire. His sensual indulgences were the vices of his country.

His grandson Mahárája Nou Nihál Singh in his moral habits was an example to the corrupt Court, being sober, and comparatively temperate amidst the debauchery around him. He was killed at the age of twenty-two. Mahárája Shír Singh, son of Ranjít Singh, was a good-natured sensualist, and solaced himself with an unrestrained indulgence in every species of intemperance. He was killed and succeeded by his half-brother, a supposititious child of Ranjít Singh, named Dulíp Singh, so well known in England. The officers of the Army proceeded to the Palace and remonstrated against the brother of the Mahárája's mother continuing as Chief Minister, reproaching him to his face with drunkenness. He was so drunk, that he could not hold a Durbar, and the mother of Mahárája Dulíp Singh, besides her unbridled profligacy with her paramour, indulged in similar excesses, and in August, 1845, her faculties became seriously impaired by these indulgences: she used to sink into a state of stupor, from which she could only be raised by the stimulus of strong drink. On one occasion a letter from the Governor-General awaited a reply, but none could be sent because the mother and uncle of the Mahárája Dulíp Singh, *and the boy himself*, aged six, were all drunk: on the following day there was no Durbar, because the Wazir, and the Members of the Council, were intoxicated.

It is not pleasant to me thus to expose the weaknesses of any class of Her Majesty's subjects, whether in Westminster or Lahór; but, since it has been distinctly laid down by Archdeacon Farrar at a public meeting, that the British Government found India sober, it is necessary, distinctly, and by quotations, to show, that that statement is not exact. I could have added indefinitely to the number of quotations: there is scarcely a battle, which we have fought in India, in which it is not recorded, that the soldiers of the enemy were encouraged to the fight by copious libations of Arrack. It is an unquestionable fact, that a large number of the classes, of which the Indian population is composed, habitually drink; that weddings are always accompanied by additional supplies of wine, specially got in for the purpose, as, indeed, was the marriage of Cana in Galilee, and a modern wedding in any part of Europe; that there is a special Caste, called the Kulál, or wine-seller, and that it might as well be said, that the British introduced the use of gunpowder and calico garments, as of liquor and drugs.

I now proceed to the second part of the Thesis :

“ *And we left India drunken.*”

Nature has supplied the people of India with an abundance and variety of intoxicating liquors, and stupefying drugs, beyond the lot of any other nation. There is, indeed, a lack of grape wine, and the brewing of European beer has only been introduced for the benefit of the European community, but sugar to make rum, hemp to produce charas, and bhang, rice to produce Arrack, the palm-tree to produce the Tari or Toddy, the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* to produce the celebrated liquor, the Poppy to produce the opium, and the poppy-decoction, called Post in the North of India, and Kusumbha in the South, the Cereals ready for the preparation of Gin in any form; all these deadly ingredients and many others, grow spontaneously with the smallest amount of culture: the process of brewing, or distilling, is of the simplest character. the price is ridiculously low, and the wild character of a great part of the country is all in favour of the smuggler, and illicit distiller, or the still in the privacy of the secluded house. In the memory of man the British troops used to be employed in Ireland to hunt for illicit stills in the mountainous tracts, and the smuggler on the Coast of Great Britain has only been got rid of by an entire change of the financial system. The problem presented to the Government of India was one of the most complicated and difficult. But it was clearly the duty of the Government, and the Government did not shrink from the discharge of that duty, at a time, when its power was not so overwhelming and undisputed as it is now.

In the “*Ayîn Akbari*” there is a list of taxes remitted by Akbar: among them is a tax on spirituous liquors, but it was reimposed, as it appears in later fiscal statements. In the Province of Bangál in 1722, under the Nawabs, this tax existed, and the British found it, when they assumed the Government in 1763 A.D., but it was exceedingly light, and in 1785 a bottle of spirituous liquor could be purchased for one pice, about a halfpenny, sufficient in amount to make a man drunk. Complaints were then rife of the spread of drunkenness among the lower classes, and just one century ago, 1789, the matter was taken up by Mr John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, and President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, one of the most high minded, pious, and benevolent of men, and the ablest of Indian Statesmen. Lord Cornwallis was then Governor-General, and in 1790 by his orders a notification was issued, that no person should hereafter make or vend spirituous liquors, except on the part of Government, and the collectors of Land Revenue were charged with the duty of carrying out details. The grounds, which led to this decision, were *moral*, and one of the

conditions of each license was, that the holder should prevent drunkenness, and not receive any goods in barter for liquor, and close his shop at 9 p.m. Regulations were enacted in 1793 and 1800, and in the preamble it is stated, that one of the reasons for passing the rules was the *inordinate use of liquors and drugs*, which had become prevalent owing to the very inconsiderable price, at which they were sold previous to 1790 A.D. In 1802 the great Governor-General, the Marquess of Wellesley, circulated interrogatories, regarding the operation of the system, and inquired, whether the tax had rendered the vice of drunkenness more prevalent. The Court of Appeal at Morshedabad replied in the negative, adding, however, *that it had not decreased*, but that it was not general, and the labouring poor never touched liquor: other authorities replied in different strains, that the Regulations had been beneficial, and suggested still more stringent repressive measures.

Dr. Buchanan published a remarkable book, the account of his survey of certain districts in 1807 and 1814. He remarks, that the use of liquor was very common, but that actual drunkenness was less prevalent. He mentions, that in one district the Mahometans were in the habit of drinking: he mentions that women used spirituous liquor, and that on the frontier of the Company's territory liquor was smuggled in from the Native States free from duty, and therefore sold cheaper. It will be gathered from the above, that the habit was anterior to, independent of, and in defiance of, the Regulations of the early British administrators, and it must be remembered, that since 1790 the population has doubled, the area of cultivation has been enormously extended, roads opened out, new products introduced, and the great *Pax Britannica* has made Bangál one of the most thickly populous, wealthy, and flourishing countries in the world. The great Provinces of the North-West Provinces, and the Panjáb, naturally followed the Bangál system. the minor Provinces of Assam, the Central Provinces, and Barma followed in the same track, while Madras and Bombay developed their system in their own way, but on the same lines, following the same principles, having the same object in view, not the enhancement of the Revenue of the State by pandering to the base passions of the people, but by the steady system of repression and control, and an enhancement of the duty up to that point, which would make smuggling with all its risks profitable.

I must here make a remark, that the speakers have forgotten one element in the discussion, an element, however, of the greatest importance, that is, the existence of the Covenanted Civil Service, with entire control over every part of the Administrative Machine, in every part of British India, from the highest to the lowest. Every five years a statesman of the highest mark has been sent out

as Governor-General, and since 1858 as Viceroy, and two eminent men are sent out as Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Military men as Commanders-in-Chief, and a lawyer for the Legislative Council of the Viceroy; but with these exceptions every post is held by a Member of the Covenanted Civil Service, supplemented in some parts of the country by Military men, who for the time being become Civilians. the real power, and the entire knowledge of Revenue subjects, rest with them: and the Councillors, who sit by the side of the Viceroy, have risen up step by step in every grade of the Service, and know every detail: there is no room for half-knowledge with them; if there be a blot in the working of the Excise-system, they know it. if the measures of Government lead to increased consumption of liquor either by express design, or by the unfortunate nature of the case, they know it. Now one feature of this great Covenanted Service is its independence of character, sense of responsibility, and outspokenness: there have been Civilians, who in times past have refused to obey the orders of Government to pay the Brahmans to pray for rain during a drought, have refused to administer the affairs of a Heathen Temple, have asserted their right to attend the Baptisms of Native Converts, and justified it in such a way, when called upon for explanation, that the Viceroy has admitted the right. By the practice of the Indian Administration a remonstrance against an order is permitted, and it is notorious, how difficult some men have proved themselves to be, till at last it has come to the alternative of obeying or resigning: but I do assert, that, if the Viceroy or Council had ordered, as suggested by Mr Samuel Smith, that, to make up a deficiency in the Budget, encouragement should be given to the sale of liquors and drugs, *he could not have been obeyed: such an order never has been, and never could be, issued.* I have myself filled the post of Collector of a District, Revenue Commissioner of a Division, and Provincial Head of the Revenue Department, both in the North-West Provinces, and the Panjáb, and I unhesitatingly say that, had such an order reached me, I should have had the courage of my convictions, and *not have conveyed it to my subordinates*, but should have recorded such a protest, as would have compelled its rescission. I learned my earliest lesson from James Thomason, the pupil of Simeon, and matured my knowledge under John Lawrence, and I served under men of the type of Robert Montgomery and Donald Macleod. Does Mr Samuel Smith, when he makes such assertions, consider what kind of men have controlled the affairs of India since the beginning of this century from the time of Lord Teignmouth, the President of the Bible Society, down to Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere?

Nor has the management of the Excise been one unchangeable system, which no one dared to touch, like a Perpetual

Settlement of the Land Revenue, or the Capitulations, by which the independence of Turkey is crippled. On the contrary, Governor after Governor has had his eye upon it, and the practice has varied from time to time, and Province to Province, between the Central State-Distillery at the Headquarters, and a lease of a certain area to a responsible person, who could only open out stalls at spots approved by the Collector. The first system has the obvious disadvantage, that it casts an odium upon the Collector, as being *de facto* the head Distiller of his district. Many weak, and imperfectly informed, critics in England see in the Opium Monopoly an aggravation of the offence, in that the State becomes *de facto* the Manufacturer of the Drug. This is one of the dilemmas, in the horns of which the imperfectly informed fanatical abstainers find themselves: they desire vehemently the abolition of the Monopoly of the Manufacture of Opium, while they blame the Government of India for not rigorously maintaining the Monopoly of the Manufacture of Spirits. *Damnant quod non intelligunt* There is the obvious advantage, that by both the Central Liquor Distillery, and the Opium Monopoly, the State officials have efficient means of repression, and can control the working of the machine. The second system has the obvious disadvantage of imperfect control, and therefore loss of Excise, and promotion of undue and illicit sale. In 1859 the Government of India, in its Imperial capacity, pointed out that on *moral, as well as fiscal* grounds, the establishment of Central State-Distilleries was advisable. In 1883 a Commission was appointed for the Province of Bangál, under the sanction of the Government of India, to consider the whole subject on the Order constituting the Commission occur the following expressions: "It is impossible for Government to allow this increase of drinking "to continue, without making every effort to ascertain those "causes, and, if possible, remove them. No considerations of "Revenue can be allowed to outweigh the paramount duty of "Government to prevent the spread of intemperance, so far as it "may be possible to do so."

These words were penned by a Governor, who knew what he was about, at a date antecedent to Canon Ellison's Pamphlet of 1886, and Archdeacon Farrar's famous thesis of 1887. The result was a Report dated April, 1884, in which the system, adopted in the whole of British India, is reviewed, and certain recommendations are made for Bangál. The Report was published at Calcutta in 1884, in two large folio volumes, and I recommend it as profitable reading to those, who desire to be something more than Platform-Orators, and wish to make a serious and solemn study of the difficulty of administering the affairs of a great subject Nation, uniting the maximum of wise and gentle control, with the minimum of vexatious interferences with their family

customs, their weddings, and their gatherings, their feastings and their weaknesses. Let us try the high moral problem of Total Abstinence by Act of Parliament, or Local Option, first in the Borough of Westminster under the shadow of the Abbey, before we introduce it in Bangál. let us teach the Christian to be sober, and then press the subject on the Hindu and Mahometan. We at least in our Religion have the highest motives, and the power of the Holy Spirit to help us in our endeavours. the Non-Christian world has nothing but the prospect of Earthly advantage, and the unaided energy of Poor Humanity.

I now come to the Dispatch of the Government of British India signed August 4, 1887, presented to Parliament August 9, 1887, and printed. it is signed by the Earl of Dufferin, the Viceroy, Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief, and five members of Council, one of whom is an English Barrister. it contains reports from the eight Provinces, into which British India is divided. it is a document of the greatest importance, and based on the latest information, being up to date. If we do not place faith in this, it is as much as to say, "all Anglo-Saxons are liars". on this matter I have spoken to one Viceroy, several ex-Governors, and ex-Councillors, and a large body of Anglo Indians, who have retired, and there is but one opinion on the subject. Some of the most earnest Members of the Temperance Society admit in 1887 the sufficiency of this reply to the Pamphlet issued by the Temperance Society in 1886.

Lord Dufferin summarizes the allegations of that Pamphlet as follows:

A. The Excise-Revenue of India is due to a system which directly leads to the establishment of liquor-shops, where until recently such things were unknown.

B. The fiscal system of India, by affording facilities for drinking, *in defiance of native opinion*, is unhappily spreading misery and ruin among many families of the industrial class.

C. The use of intoxicating drinks, which they believe to have been practically unknown in the greater part of India, was introduced under British Rule.

The reply is.

A. The principle laid down and accepted by all is, that liquor should be taxed, and consumption restricted, as far as it is possible to do so, without imposing positive hardship on the people, and driving them to illicit manufactures.

B. The measures taken have been completely successful: the great increase of the Excise in recent years really represents much less liquor sold, and an infinitely better regulated consumption, than the smaller Revenue of former years.

C. It is an error to suppose, that the population of India were universally abstemious, and if left alone, knew nothing of Intoxicating Liquor, and have been introduced to it by the British Government. Both the Hindu and Mahometan Religions indeed denounce the use of Spirits, but the classes, whose habits of life are framed with a strict regard to Religion, and social restrictions, form in India no larger proportion of the population than in other countries.

D. Nature produces in great abundance the material for distillation of Spirit, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing, that in the days of Native administration the Indian Population refrained from indulgence in a practice, which it requires the constant watchfulness of the British administration now to restrain.

E. The Reports from the Central Provinces and Assam show, that it is those tribes and races, which are least accessible to the influence of British Rule, which are most addicted to intoxicating liquors and drugs.

F. Our Excise-system breaks down on the frontiers of Native States, which are often exceedingly irregular, the villages being intermixed, and not separated by a River or chain of mountains: in those States there is no restriction on the manufacture and sale, and the great difficulty is, to exclude untaxed or lightly taxed liquor. In the Bombay Province the Excise-rights of Native States have been bought up in some cases, in order that, by imposing on the population of Native States the same restriction they may maintain, or rather not violate, and render nugatory, our restrictive system.

G. The great increase in the Revenue, which is unquestionable, does not mark the extension of drinking habits, but is the result of a great and general increase of the rate of tax, which it would have been entirely impossible to realize but for the great improvement in the preventive measures. The ability of the Excise-Department to prevent illicit distillation is the only limit, which is imposed in practice to increase the rate of taxation.

H. The object of the Excise-Department is to tax every gallon of spirits, first by a fixed still-head duty, which is regulated at the discretion of the Government, and secondly, by a license-fee for retail sale, which is usually determined by competition for the privilege of sale. The system of out-stills is obsolete, except in scantily inhabited tracts, and the borders of Native States, where the Collector has no alternative betwixt letting liquor be distilled untaxed, or making this kind of arrangement.

I doubt whether many persons in England know what an out-still is. I can only lay before them an analogy from Great Britain. Supposing that the State were to undertake the manufacture of Beer and Spirits in great central places, and to license

Public-houses for the Sale of the State-Monopoly liquors, there would be still wild corners in England, Ireland, and Scotland, where the facility of smuggling would be such, that the only possible check would be the establishment of private distilleries under all possible safeguards in such places. It would be a measure of control and restriction, not of expansion. Moreover, the out-still in India (as in the above analogy in Great Britain, the private distillery) is not allowed to manufacture as much liquor as its owner likes, and to sell it wherever he likes. "The duty is levied upon a strict calculation of the number of gallons, which the still can produce and the conditions both of distillation and sale are carefully regulated with reference to the *existing*" (not the prospective or possible) "demand." Shops are established in the localities chosen by the Collector, and not at the discretion of the Distiller, and the Police and the Municipal authorities are consulted on the subject. I am in the habit of assisting annually in the grant of licenses in Westminster and Kensington to Publicans, and I doubt, whether so much power of control and restraint of undue opportunities for the sale of liquor exists in London as in Lahór and Allahabad.

The average consumption in India is only one bottle, or one bottle and a half, of spirits a year for each adult male, and in some provinces less than that; it is clear that the terms "drunkenness," "drinking classes," and "spread of drinking," bear a meaning wholly different in India to what they do in Great Britain. Could we but reduce the consumption of London to that standard, how glad would be the hearts of the Temperance-Societies!

The vast increase of the population of British India is one of the great administrative problems of the age. The sword, the famine, and the pestilence, have been the usual depletors of Oriental countries. The first has ceased absolutely. the last two are guarded against in every way, that Science and Benevolence can suggest; and can it enter into the minds of good men to suppose, that a Government, which spends Millions to stay a famine, the results of operations beyond its control, would insidiously and deliberately for a smaller amount of Revenue poison the bodies and souls of its subjects? Would any free honest man wish to be enrolled in Her Majesty the Empress of India's Civil Service, if it were as infamous as Mr. Samuel Smith describes it? I quote his very words. "The wants of the *Exchequer* in that country are so urgent, and it is so easy to bring in Revenue from the increased sale of drink, that the temptation is irresistible to go on licensing more drink-shops. Native opinion is *utterly* opposed to it. The leading Castes of the Hindu and all the Mahometans are by custom and religion total abstainers, but many of them have been corrupted by our influence and example, and not a few of the princes and leading natives of India have drunk themselves to death."

Another class of imperfectly informed critics run wild on the idea, that the famines of India are caused by the large area given over to the production of drugs, and liquor, and on which cereals could be grown: are they aware that, owing to the enormous additional area of cultivation during the great *Pax Britannica*, the price of cereals has fallen to such an extent, that wheat can be exported from Central or Northern India with profit to Great Britain, to compete with the cereals of the Black Sea, and America?

The problem is a much more difficult one than imperfectly informed critics at home think: if it be supposed, that a mere legal Order of an alien Government to a vast native population can change their moral habits, it is a wild dream. We can put down the burning of widows, or the burying alive of lepers, because such isolated facts become notorious; but we wage an unequal war against the practice of daughter-killing, as the Police cannot prepare lists of pregnant women, and assist at every birth in the recesses of the Native House. We could not absolutely suppress the use of private stills, when Nature has been so prolific in her gifts of inebriating materials: the only way is to regulate the manufacture, tax the produce, and license the distributors, and I do conscientiously maintain, that for the last century the intelligence of three generations of honest and upright men has been taxed to effect this. The Native Army is proverbially sober. I wish that I could say the same of the British soldier; and yet one of Mr. Caine's most bitter sarcasms is, that the "Indian Government will not allow liquor to be sold to European Soldiers, but it may be sold to a child thirteen years of age."

Does Mr. Caine reflect, that it costs many hundred Pounds to deliver each of our brave soldiers at their Cantonments in the Panjáb, that it has cost many thousand pounds to house him, and keep him comfortable, well, happy, and ready: and yet Tommy Atkins is more thoughtless of his own life and his own precious soul than any Native child aged thirteen, who probably at that age, if a female, would be a wife and a mother, and care very little for strong drink, or have any chance of getting it. On the borders of our large Cantonments hover scoundrels with jars of illicit drink, and immodest women, to tempt the soldier to disobey the orders of his Captain, and the Great Captain of his Salvation: and is the Government to be sneered at, because it provides for its brave but thoughtless soldiers a protection, which is not needed for the gamun of the streets, who has neither a pipe in his pocket, nor a pocket to put it in, if he had it? It is lamentable to hear such statements cheered by a fanatical audience. Do they wish our soldiers to be exposed to temptations, from which we can protect them partially? Can Mr. Caine's fertile imagination suggest any Police organization, by which a juvenile population, male and female, exceeding thirty Millions, can be protected from

a danger, to which they are not exposed? for among all the exaggerated statements it is not alleged, that children of tender years have taken to drunkenness. Dulip Singh was indeed drunk at six years old, but he was an independent Sovereign. Nor do I read in the Police-returns of India of any number of men and women brought up for being drunk in the streets as in London. Are the Lunatic Asylums of India crowded with the insane, of whom twenty per cent brought on their malady by drink, as in Middlesex? Are the Indian Bankruptcy Courts, or the Indian Registrars' Annals, stained with the words, so frequent in Great Britain, "Drank himself, or herself, to death." But that the subject is so awfully serious, it would seem to be an indecorous pleasantry on the part of the Prince's Hall orators, to put forward charges so ridiculous, and so unfounded, and thus draw a false scent across the path of the earnest Missionary Societies, who were planning to protect Africa from European liquors. From the day of those ill-omened speeches, a Committee, in which British, German, and American, Missionaries were united in a truthful and holy work, has been suspended, as it was impossible to carry on operations with those, who neither weighed their words, nor tested their facts.

I now proceed to quote from the Reports of each of the eight Provinces of British India. Bombay is first on the list. "In consequence of the relaxation of Religious and Caste rule, it is probable that intoxicating liquor is now often used in secret by classes, who formerly abstained. Habitual drunkenness in the English sense of the word is rare.

"A strike took place in the Districts of Thana and Kolāba. It was quoted in the House of Commons as a movement among the population in favour of total abstinence from strong drink. As a matter of fact, it was a strike of the drinking classes, made with the sole object of inducing the Government to reduce the tax on the Tari Palm, and thus make liquor cheaper. The strikers were not able to *maintain their resolutions of abstinence.*"

As far back as 1838 the Government of Bombay issued the following order. "It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Collectors, that the object, which the Government has in view, is to restrict, and if possible correct, and diminish, the total actual consumption of spirituous liquors, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded, that any amount of Revenue, that may be lost by the efficiency of the system for this end, will be repaid a hundredfold in the preservation and advancement of moral feeling and industrious habits among the people."

In 1843 we find the following Resolution of the Government of Bombay. "The Governor in Council entirely concurs in the views, expressed by the Collector on the subject of the Revenue derived from the sale of spirituous liquors. Were it possible altogether

“ to abolish the use of spirits, the loss to the Revenue would be
 “ a matter of trifling consideration, but this is obviously impossible,
 “ and the object of Government must be, by enhancing the price, and
 “ imposing salutary restrictions on the sale, to check the evil as far
 “ as is in its power, while at the same time it draws a Revenue
 “ from the use of a luxury, which it cannot prohibit. The regulation
 “ of this Branch cannot be effected but by the agency of farmers, and
 “ the farmers should be carefully selected, not from those, who may
 “ bid the highest, and thus be induced to resort to every possible
 “ means of increasing the consumption, but from those who,
 “ though they may offer less for the farms, bear good characters
 “ and will content themselves with a fair profit without adopting
 “ undue methods of attracting customers to their shops. New
 “ shops should not be established without express permission, and
 “ then only in places, where clandestine sale may be carried on,
 “ which open and authorized sale will tend to check. The
 “ Collector should bear these remarks in mind in all his arrange-
 “ ments relative to the Excise.”

In 1884 the Government of Bombay recorded the following resolution. “ Government would willingly relinquish all Revenue
 “ from this source, could it thereby abate the increasing vice of
 “ drunkenness. this, however, being impracticable, the next
 “ object of Government is to check it by enhancing the price
 “ of intoxicating liquors ”

In the Report of the Customs administration of 1884-5 we come face to face with the real *bête noire*, viz., the import of Spirits by sea through the agency of European and American Merchants. Under the principles of Free Trade such wares cannot be excluded. the total import amounted at this one Port to 210,119 Proof Gallons; 53 per cent. of Brandy, 32 per cent. of Whisky, 6 per cent. of Old Tom, and 9 per cent. of Rum. the Brandy was both in wood and bottles. No licensee of Native liquor is allowed to sell foreign liquor, and *vice versa*. The licensee of foreign liquors, finding that the superior and costly Spirit was too expensive for the natives of the lower classes, who frequent their shops, had to seek for a foreign liquor, which might prove as attractive, while cheaper than Spirit. They tried Spirits of wine, which, though of country manufacture, was allowed to be sold with foreign liquors, the duty being the same. it was found, that its strength could not be reduced sufficiently to lower its price to the extent necessary, and at the same time satisfy the consumer. Rum was therefore tried, and has been found to suit the tastes and pockets of the consumer. The whole is imported from Mauritius, a British Colony, but the strength is reduced. Here is indeed a frightful evil, which has lately come into existence; but it is difficult to blame the Government of India: the sin lies at the door of the British Merchant and Manufacturer, and it is a grievous sin.

Let us see what the Government of Madras says: "The sale of intoxicating liquors is just as much a trade as that of any other kind of commodity, but there is this great difference, that, while the sale of a necessary of life, like bread, need not be interfered with or regulated in any way, the sale of intoxicating liquors, if left to the unfettered operation of free trade, involves an enormous amount of drunkenness and crime, and therefore calls for regulation at the hands of any Government with any pretence to civilization. The policy, which the Government has announced, of endeavouring to realize the *maximum* Revenue from a *minimum* consumption, though perhaps involving, in its strict interpretation, a verbal contradiction in terms, yet expresses with sufficient force and clearness what we consider the right course to pursue. It is, however, to be observed, that, while all taxation becomes Revenue, as soon as it reaches the public exchequer, yet it should always be borne in mind in connection with the taxation derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, that it is imposed primarily in order to restrain the consumption of such liquors, and not for the purpose of making money out of their sale, and that the fact of the Revenue so derived being large is merely an incident arising from two causes: (1) the determination of the Government to do all that lies in its power to repress a baneful trade in what is not a necessary of life; (2) the general prosperity of the people, which enables them to spend on the indulgence of a vicious propensity money, which might be better expended or invested. It follows, that every right-feeling Government will do all that it can to increase the taxation up to that point, when the people, rather than pay for the high-price liquor, which alone can be had in licensed shops, will take to illicit smuggling and distillation."

Such to the best of my belief have ever been the principles of the Government of India. Such they were, when I learned my first lesson forty years ago, and such it is still.

The great Province of Bangál, with its sixty-six million inhabitants, twenty of whom are Mahometan, comes next. A Commission had been appointed to go into the subject in 1883, and on March 10, the orders of Government were issued.

A. The introduction, whenever opportunities of supervision existed, of the Central Distillery, and Still head Duty. B. The regulation in other places of the out-stalls, so that the minimum license price should be the amount of duty calculated upon the capacity of production. C. Reduction in the number of shops, and certain restrictions on sales. In the year 1885-6 the nett Revenue from liquor and drugs of all kinds amounted to £927,000, less than a million. In the same year Great Britain levied from a population of Christians of less than half the amount a very much larger sum with their own consent, in a country, where the laws are passed by a Democratic Parliament.

The printed Report of this Commission gives us some sidelights on this state of affairs. In 1874 the Government was petitioned on the subject of the increase of drinking, more particularly of the upper class, by Christians and Hindus, and Babu Keshab Chandra Sen, the celebrated leader of the Brahmoists. The minute, which was recorded by a Member of the Board of Revenue upon that petition, contains much that is worthy of remark. "He agrees "with the petitioners, that drinking has increased, especially in "towns and among the higher class, but he disputes the assertion, "that the action of Government can arrest it. he denies that "Government has ever wilfully preferred considerations of Revenue "to the welfare of the people, but admits administrative failure, "and mistaken zeal of native officials. There is no manner of "doubt, that intemperance among the higher classes radiates from "Calcutta, as from a central focus; the habit is most prevalent "in Districts nearest to the Metropolis, and the opinion is "prevalent, *that intemperance naturally follows an English Education.* "The restraint of Caste-Rules, and dictates of the Hindu and "Mahometan Religious Books, lose their hold on the conscience "of those, who come under Education, and the sad result must be "debited to the Schoolmaster rather than the Excise-Officer. "A medical man records his opinion, that the demoralizing habit "of private drinking is indulged in by nearly nine-tenths of the "Bangál students. A vendor of Brandy remarked, that native "gentlemen, who could speak English, acquire a taste for brandy "with the Language. The quantity of intoxicating liquor drunk "on holidays is incredible. Patients describe to their Doctor their "powers of drinking. A Mahometan member of the writer Caste "stated, that he had finished a bottle of brandy, and three bottles "of beer, at an evening sitting. A Hindu member of the writer "Caste stated, that he had swallowed a bottle of brandy almost at "a draught."

It is distinctly recorded, that the upper classes do not resort to the shops licensed by the Excise, nor do they consume Native spirit; but they drink in the privacy of their homes liquor imported from Europe. Against this evil the Government is impotent: the duty cannot be raised high enough on imported spirits so as to be prohibitory without raising an outcry on the part of the European residents all over British India, who with very rare exceptions are exceedingly temperate as a class, and yet would not submit to be debarred from the use of liquor, to which they are accustomed. It is added, that the native spirit of Bangál is a weak spirit drunkenness is exceptional: and there is no necessary connection betwixt drunkenness and crime. Dacoits, or hereditary robbers, usually drink but moderately, and in the course of worship to their patron Deity: the most celebrated Dacoit, whom the Head of the Police ever knew, was a total abstainer: on

the other hand, common burglars, and petty thieves, were in a constant state of half-stupefaction from drugs. It is mere foolishness to expect, that a certain proportion of the population will not contrive to use stimulants, or that the Excise-Revenue will not increase. As the upper classes adopt more and more European habits, we must expect to see them take the bad with the good, and probably more of the bad than the good. all that the Government can do is to supply the demand, *but not create it*, and to act on a honest recognition of the truth, that the Excise-Revenue is a very small matter in comparison with the comfort and well-being of the people.

There is little doubt, that in this Province there was a short period of mistakes and retrograde policy adopted, but it has been promptly corrected, and is not likely to recur after the close investigation made by the Commission, and the scorching light now thrown upon the whole subject.

I treat my own dear country the North-West Provinces and the Panjáb together. A friend drew my attention to a passage in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, dated March 30, 1887, with a view of consoling my spirit and stopping my mouth: "It is not an indispensable part of our Imperial System. Proof is afforded by the fact, that the corrupt system of Excise has not been adopted in the North-West Provinces and the Panjab, and the temptation to increase the Revenue has not yet constrained the Local Government to sacrifice the morality of the people to the interests of the Exchequer."

These were my two Provinces, in which I commenced and finished my service, having been chief Revenue-Officer in both, and I maintain, that the quotations made from the Records of the Government of Bombay and Madras, of which Provinces I know personally nothing, represent exactly the great principles, upon which we have always acted in the two Northern Provinces of India, which teem with Sugar and Hemp, and in one of which the Mohwa or *Bassia latifolia* drops its insidious leaves into the very Courtyards of the houses: there is less of rice, and palm-trees, and a very slight growth of poppy, but cereals to any amount.

A Mr. J. Gregson, a Temperance Missionary, whose statements with regard to events in Kolába, in the Bombay Province, have been (page 151) shown not to be entirely exact (to state the case mildly), tells a startling fact with regard to the Panjáb: "That there was one Rája in the Panjáb, who built and endowed Churches, and Mission buildings, and died of *delirium tremens*: the man was but an exaggerated type of what a Christianized Indian threatens to become."

This is a frightful statement, and involves the character of Missionary Societies, as well as the Rája. I have had personal

acquaintance with all the Rájás of the Panjáb, and their Fathers and Grandfathers, but the statement seems incredible. As this paper has been reprinted in the *Calcutta Review*, the name of this Church-building and intoxicated Rája will transpire. In justice to the two Provinces, the population of which is very dear to me, as I have visited every District of this vast Region, and lived for many years in personal contact with people of every class from the Rája down to the village-watchman, I am glad to record the following facts. The population of the North-West Provinces exceeds twenty-two Millions, both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption averages *one pint for every adult male*. The population of the Panjáb amounts to nearly nineteen Millions, both Hindu and Mahometan, and their annual consumption gives only a *quarter of a pint for every adult male*.

O noctes coenaeque Deum!

This is a most beggarly allowance for races, who supply nearly all our Sepáhis, and are as tall and strong as Englishmen: and no allowance is made for the possible, though improbable, consumption of liquors by one single woman, or those lads of thirteen years old, round whose tendencies Mr Caine rails at the Government for having placed no protection; and it is within this vast Region, that the bulk of the British Army is cantoned, and their quota of drink must be allowed for in the average. Fortunately for these happy races, the European trader with his liquid poison of Whisky, Rum, Brandy, and Old Tom, has not as yet got a firm footing; but the march of Civilization and English Education will surely bring this evil, and corrupt the moderate habits of my dear Panjáb friends, who are content with an annual quarter of a pint of Native liquor. Oh! that I were back in their midst to tell them, how that Henry and John Lawrence, and Montgomery, Macleod, Herbert Edwardes, and myself, were charged in England with having introduced (for we were the very first Europeans whom they saw) among them such vicious and intemperate habits - habits not alluded to in the Veda, the Ramáyana, and the Mahábhárata, and all their ancient books, habits never practised by Ranjít Singh, and his Courtiers, and the great Chiefs of the Khalsa. How the honest old citizens and greybeards would laugh to think, that their old friends had led them so far down the abyss of intemperance, and misery, as to drink an annual quarter of a pint of their nasty decoction of hemp sugar, or poppy-juice, while at that period old Clergymen of the Church of England drank daily three glasses of port. Moreover, the Panjáb is a Province thoroughly in hand, with every acre of land surveyed, and every man, woman, and child counted in the Census, and has the inestimable advantage of being one thousand miles from the nearest seaport. But a Missionary of the

Panjab informs me, that in Lahór, and some large towns, liquor-shops for European liquors have largely increased. so the deadly poison is spreading

In addition to the five great Provinces of British India, with their teeming populations, and independent Constitutions, there are three smaller Provinces, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Barma: they have been less influenced by British Civilization: the population is chiefly Non-Arian, backward in culture, difficult of access. In Barma we find ourselves in entirely different environments: the people are Buddhists: in some of the remote valleys the practice of opium-smoking, so entirely unknown in India, prevails. Lower Barma has been under British control for many years: the kingdom of Barma is a new annexation: the whole state of affairs is abnormal, and there was clearly a few years ago a great neglect of the established principles of the Indian Government in the Excise arrangements. There are no roads, and the means of communication are difficult: the population is sparse, and heavy jungles facilitate illicit stills. In the Seaports, on the other hand, European strong drinks are easily to be obtained. On the whole, this Province will be for years to come an anxious charge. In the Administration Report for 1885-6 it is noted, that the Excise-Revenue is declining, that there are only seventeen shops in the whole of the Province for the sale of opium, and that increased smuggling was the result.

In the Central Provinces the Chief Commissioner reports, that he has always been careful not to countenance any measures calculated to create or foster a taste for spirits. I quote the following: "As to the habits of the people in the matter of drinking, it is of course true, that, in accordance with their Religious sentiments, the Hindu of certain of the higher Castes, and Mahometans, do, as a body, abjure drink, but in these Provinces these classes form but a small portion of the total population. We have here, in a country, much of which is wild and hilly and covered with long stretches of forest, a large aboriginal population, and in certain parts of the Province large numbers of persons of the lowest Castes, who with their forefathers have always been accustomed to the use of liquor made from the flower of the Mohwa-tree. This tree grows abundantly all over the Central Provinces, and the process, by which spirit is distilled from the Mohwa flower in the wilder parts of the country, is of the simplest character; a couple of earthen pots, and a piece of hollow bambú to form a tube, constituting the distiller's apparatus. There is not a district, in some portion of which spirit cannot under these circumstances be distilled illicitly without much fear of detection; and experience has proved most convincingly, that unless the inherited taste of these people for this stimulant is satisfied by the establishment within their reach

“ of shops, where they can buy taxed spirit, they will resort to
 “ illicit distillation, and render themselves liable to the penalties of
 “ the Revenue-law. It would be useless, even if it were expedient,
 “ to attempt to suppress consumption by refusing to license shops.
 “ Smuggling and its demoralizing effects, prosecutions and heavy
 “ penalties, would, under the conditions of these Provinces, be the
 “ inevitable result. The wisest policy is to adopt such measures,
 “ as will operate as a check on excessive drinking, and this is the
 “ policy which is followed here. It may be added, that in the
 “ malarious tracts which abound in the Central Provinces, it is
 “ quite possible, that the moderate consumption of a weak spirit,
 “ such as that ordinarily consumed in these Provinces, has its
 “ beneficial effects in protecting the people from chills and fevers.
 “ But, however that may be, there is the fact, that the use of
 “ liquor in this part of the country has no connection with the
 “ advent of British rule, and that steps were first taken upwards of
 “ twenty years ago to restrict its consumption.”

In Assam we read of the state of affairs, as it was when the British occupied Assam, when almost every cultivator of land grew a patch of poppy in the cold weather, and as the use of the drug was adopted in its most fascinating form by smoking, the householder, as well as his women and children, were confirmed opium-consumers, for the drug was collected by wiping off the juice of the poppy-heads on rags, which, on being dried, were quite prepared for smoking. The cultivation of the Poppy was forbidden, and the only opium introduced into the valley came from the State-Monopoly, and was sold to men only at an enhanced price. In the meantime the people increased in number, and all the elements of comfort, and other forms of intoxicating liquors have come into fashion, quite independent of any European or British contact or influence. The following remarks of a District Officer of an independent tribe are worthy of notice: “ As regards
 “ the district of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills the remarks hardly
 “ apply, as outside of Shillong Excise-rules cannot properly be said
 “ to apply. On the broad question, my opinion is, that, were
 “ there no Excise-system in India, drunkenness would vastly
 “ increase with the increase of prosperity, which this country
 “ enjoys. The Jaintia are, perhaps, the most drunken race in the
 “ Province, if not in India, and they pay no Excise-duties. Several
 “ times respectable Jaintia have implored me and my predecessors
 “ to introduce the Excise-system with the express view of lessening
 “ intemperance, but for various reasons this measure has not yet
 “ been adopted. Of course it would be idle to deny, that the
 “ establishment of a shop at a place, where one was not in existence
 “ before, tends to increase the drunkenness of that particular
 “ locality. But this to my mind only shows, that the desire to
 “ drunk is omnipresent, and that, if the demand now creates

“ a supply in spite of the heavy taxes raised as Excise-duty, and, “ in spite of all the vexatious rules and checks, regulating the “ traffic, in the absence of these taxes, rules, and checks, for “ every one shop now in existence, there would be a score, if “ the Excise-Department were abolished, unless, indeed, the “ manufacture of liquor was altogether prohibited throughout “ India. I should imagine that this is a measure, which not even “ the Temperance Society would advocate; but, if they would do “ so, I would oppose it on the grounds, that it would be an “ intolerable interference with the liberty of the subject; that “ India cannot afford to lose any Revenue at all just now; that “ the Excise-tax is the least burdensome of all taxes, since no one “ need drink unless he likes; that all civilized nations drink, and “ apparently in exact proportion to the extent of their Civilization “ and general progress (England taking the lead).”

In the Administration Reports presented to Parliament annually by a succession of Governors, who have no connection with their predecessors, but are often in antagonism to them, we find a faithful picture of the progress of each Province, such as no Nation in the world, past or present, has ever received from its subject Empires. If Cicero during his Proconsulate in Cilicia, or Pontius Pilate at Jerusalem, had sent to Rome such reports, and they had survived to our times, many obscure points would be cleared up. These reports must be true, because they are exposed to the lynx eyes of readers, who know the circumstances as well as the Reporter. In the Reports of the Excise we find how the amount fluctuates, because the particular year was not auspicious to Hindu marriages, and there were fewer marriages, and less feasting. The presence of large gangs of labourers collected for great Public Works is a cause for the increase of the Excise quite intelligible. In Barma we read, that Rum imported from Penang is driving out the locally distilled liquor. In Bangál it is noticed, that foreign rums and cheap brandy are superseding rum of local manufacture. The consumption of opium seems to be decreasing everywhere: but the income of British India from the Excise is steadily increasing, and it is considered to be indicative of growing prosperity among the people.

I did not take up the pen to justify, or even palliate, the use of intoxicating liquors, and stupefying drugs: on one occasion years ago, during a discussion in a Missionary Committee on the subject of the opium-question, I expressed my regret, that our Heavenly Father had in His wisdom created the Poppy to be the cause of ruin to millions, and a root of bitterness among good men. I can only add my regret, that the same All-wise Power had created Sugar and Hemp, and Rice, and Grain, and the Palm-tree, and the Mohwa tree, and allowed these poor ignorant races, from whom so much knowledge had been shut out, to discover, as the first of Nature's discovered secrets, the mysterious trick of fermentation. Still, in

the cause of truth I protest against the view taken on the subject by the orators of Prince's Hall I quote some words: "Hindu and Mahometans have listened to the voices of their Prophets, as the Rechabites, and been blessed thereby.

"We have made money out of the misery of the Indian people, and grown rich out of their degradation.

"If we were to give local self-government for twelve months to the ten Millions of the North-west Provinces (the population amounts to twenty-two), we are assured (by whom?), that at the end of that period drunkenness would have disappeared, because Mahometans would be ashamed to defile their fingers with Rupees for the sale of 'Shame-water,' as it is called (by whom?), and the Hindu would boycott with indignation any publican, who bore a license to demoralize his fellow-subjects.

"Instead of wells, we have plenty of grog-shops.

"We derive from that source a perfect river of gold, flowing into our Exchequer, but the River flows from the fountain of Shame-water."

Some of these points require special reply. What is "Shame-water"? It looks as if an imperfectly instructed linguist had confused the word "sharāb," which means "wine," and lives on in the English word "sharbat," with the word "shāram," which means "shame." I have heard liquors called by many bad names in Hindustani, and respectable people (perhaps secret drinkers) would make wry faces, and signs of disgust, if the word "sharāb" were used in their hearing: but I never heard the word "Shame-water" in general native parlance. It implies a knowledge of English, as well as Hindustani, which is rare among Natives of Upper India. And does any sensible person really recommend such a breach of the peace as is implied in "boycotting"? Does he dare boycott a Public-house in Westminster? Why then propose to a Hindu to do an act in Upper India, which would most certainly lodge him in the Gaol? Are the weak Municipalities of India able to dispose of the Liquor-question in such a trenchant way, while the ancient Municipalities of Great Britain have failed? It is difficult to get any meaning out of the blessing, which the Hindu and Mahometan are said to have got from their false Prophets. What blessing can come from the hideous idolatry of the Hindu, or the Christ-dishonouring tenets of Mahomet? How have we become rich out of the degradation of the people of India? Not a Rupee of tribute comes to Great Britain from India. The balance of advantage of the Union of the Empires is enormously on the side of India, which has obtained everything from Great Britain except Political and Commercial Liberty. Reflect upon the treatment, which the South Africans, the Australians, the New Zealanders and North American indigenous population, despoiled of their lands, and turned into serfs, have received at the hands of the British settler, and contrast it

with that of the people of India, where Rája and Citizen, landholder and tenant, enjoy their ancestral land and houses, as they were at the beginning of the Rule of the Company, transmitting them to their children, whether Hindu or Mahometan, according to their own law of Marriage and Inheritance, and where in the Courts of Justice there is no distinction of white or black, Christian or non-Christian.

A certain English Missionary addressed a letter to Mr Samuel Smith, which has been published. Now I am well acquainted with all the Missionary Societies of India, and I should like to know the name of this gentleman: it is he who tells us that "The Board of Revenue encourages the drink trade, puts facilities before the people in order to push on the trade and gets in a large revenue: there was a grand triumph for the Excise, but it was at the cost of fearful misery and demoralization of the people of India. No less than half a dozen Rájás have died at a comparatively young age within the last few years from indulgence freely in kegs (*sic*) of champagne (not soda) and brandy. Europeans may reform and give up drink, but a Native goes on to the end: he seldom or never can give it up."

I call on Mr. Samuel Smith to let us know the name of this Missionary, that he may be cross-examined as to the truth of his statements. It ill becomes a Christian Minister to make such a statement to a chance traveller, and not to bring it before the notice of a Conference of Missionaries, or report it to his own Committee. As a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, I can certify, that we hear news from every part of India about Famines, and Pestilences, and the condition of the people of India, and the Manufacture of opium, and Secular Education, but I have no recollection of the subject of the misery of the people brought on by drunkenness, encouraged by the Government. In a Committee, containing at least a dozen retired Anglo-Indian Civilians and Soldiers, this would have produced a startling sensation, and would have led to inquiries, and remonstrances to the Secretary of State for India.

It is the European Distillers, and Exporters, who are rendering nugatory all the endeavours of a wise and benevolent Government to control a fearful evil, which appears to accompany Education and Civilization, when unsanctified by the Christian Religion, which inculcates the only real Morality.

I place on record the rate of annual consumption in each of the five great Provinces:

Bangál, a quarter of a gallon for every adult male.

Madras, less than a quarter.

Bombay, less than a gallon.

North-West Provinces, one pint.

The Panjáb, a quarter of a pint

The whole of India, one bottle or a bottle and a half.

If the women are taken into calculation, and the boys and girls up to thirteen, for whose unprotected state Mr. Caine expressed such anxiety, the average will fall still lower. The numbers are so enormous, it is not easy for those, who are only accustomed to the small populations of Europe, to grasp the idea of a single Province with a population of Sixty-six Millions, and an Empire of two hundred and fifty: the amount of liquor, which would drench England, is only a sprinkling when scattered over India.

Sir Richard Temple, M.P., made the following statement in the House of Commons in 1887: if anyone knows India, he does, and he is in no respect the paid defender, or in the least dependent on the Government of India: "With regard to the civil administration, it had been said that in order to stimulate the Excise, they were driving the people into intemperance. He gave that statement the most emphatic denial. If there was any tendency to intemperance, the Government of India would soon take steps to stop that danger. Anything further from the mind of the Government of India than the idea he referred to could not be imagined, and, indeed, very few populations were less liable to intemperance than the people of India."

I have very little to thank the Government of India for, not even a Retiring Pension: but I love the people of India very dearly, and after a careful examination of the systems of administration of subject-countries by any Nation in ancient or modern times, I have come to the conviction, that the much-abused Government of India is the most sympathetic, the most just, the most tolerant, and the most influenced by Christian wisdom, liberality, and conscientiousness, that the world has ever seen; it is not then a matter of surprise, that, as I hold such sentiments, such speeches could not be overlooked: there were but two alternatives, to admit the truth of their statements, and join them in the Crusade, or to combat them, as I do now. The Government of India has to submit to much contumely, but it appears to affect it very little in the consciousness of Right it is strong; the Indian Press is free, and the Records of the State are freely published: there is nothing to conceal.

What can be done?

It should be impressed upon the Government of India, that there should be triennial reviews of the Excise-system, and the greatest watchfulness maintained over the working of the system, as carried out by Native subordinates, who cannot be trusted: there should be some special officer in each Province: his salary can be provided from the ever-increasing Excise. A stop at once should be placed on the use of intoxicating liquors in any College, or Office of the State. Intoxication should be punished by instant dismissal. Bands of Hope, Temperance Societies, and a Temperance Literature in all the Languages of India, should be encouraged. A Missionary tells me, that they are already formed in the Panjáb, and no doubt in

other Provinces, as there is a strong feeling in its favour amidst a large section of the Community: it is not like introducing a new Religion. it is an attempt to enforce a Rule of Morality, in which all agree, whether Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Parsi, Jew, Nature-worshipper, Mahometan, or Brahmoist. The unwarranted attacks of Missionaries on Caste have been very prejudicial, as Caste-Rules are great preservatives of the decencies of life, and should be respected. A confirmed drunkard would be turned out of a respectable Caste.

Sensational abuse should cease: the matter is too solemn for platform eloquence. Fanaticism does no good. Henry V of England, a reformed rake, intended to root the vine out of France, if he had lived had he done so, he would have been equally intemperate in his manhood, as in his youth. The existence of human tendencies in every race of mankind must be recognized as a fact: this is part of our physical constitution. The abundant supply of intoxicating materials in India is a fact also: this was part of Nature's mysterious plan. We should try so to restrain the use by practical Laws, that the weak may be held back from the abuse of what, if moderately used, is lawful. Centuries ago an Abbey was built on Thorney Island, which became the most illustrious in the world: within a radius of five miles round this Abbey a larger amount of drink is consumed than in any other equal area: is the Abbey to blame? The liquor consumed is both indigenous, and foreign import. The Empire of India is the most illustrious in the world in wealth, population, products and arts: the Indian Nation were foremost in Science, Commerce, Manufacture, and Literature, when the British were still savages clad in skins and yet I have conclusively shown, that at all periods of their ancient history they had among them a section of the community, who abused the good gifts of Nature: and since the connection of India with Europe the evil has *been intensified by the import of the liquid poison of Europe*: is the Government of India to blame?

And how can the British Nation throw stones in this particular at the Indian? "Physician, heal thyself!" would be the reply from India, if it were as free as Australia. The so-called Indo-European, or Arian, Race, in its vast expansion from India to Ireland, has been for many centuries great in Arms, Arts, Science, and Legislation, and everything that can render the Human Race illustrious, but it has in all its branches, Kelt, Teuton, Slav, Italo-Greek, Iranic, and Indic, been always famous, in spite of the Priest and Moralist, for its passion for intoxicating liquors, and at this day the Teuton has become the great Poisoner of the World. Their footsteps have been dyed in blood, and their hands steeped in drink, in their grand march over Continent and Island: they talk of Civilization and Religion, but what they have given to Africa and Oceania is one gram of Bible-teaching, drowned in tons of

Drink. The wages of the day-labourer have been paid in demijohns of gin: the exchange of compliments with a Chieftain has been in a "dash" of brandy. Unless the conscience of Christian Nations is roused, nothing can be done. The legislature of British India could in some way protect itself, if the iron hand of Manchester were lifted up, and India had the same independence of taxation of Imports as the Dominion of Canada and the Colonies of South Africa and Australia. Some arrangements might be made for the interior distribution of European liquor among European residents in British India, if a prohibitory Import-Duty could be placed upon all liquors imported *beyond Sea for the use of the Natives of India, their consent having been obtained to this arrangement*: until this is done, there is no hope for the People of India.

This Paper has been published in India and England, and will probably be quoted into some of the Vernacular newspapers: copies have been sent to the Missionary Societies of North America, and the Continent. The false charge has gone forth: the reply has followed. The Press of Europe, America, and India can bring to the test the accuracy of my quotations from Indian Authors, and the correctness of the facts stated in the Dispatch of the Viceroy. As soon as this stumblingblock has been removed, the Committee of the Church of England Temperance-Society can resume its benevolent labours, and the Committee of the Missionary Societies can be raised from the state of suspended life caused by the speeches of the orators of Prince's Hall of March, 1887. I am sorry to have come into collision with them, but

Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed major amicus est Veritas.

London, January 1, 1888.

The darkest hour of the night is the one before dawn. Can we hope that something will be done? I add a quotation from an American Missionary Journal just received. Deep calls to Deep: "A debate took place in the British Parliament, April 24, "on the question of the liquor-traffic and native races. The "disastrous results of the liquor-traffic were universally admitted "and deplored. The necessity for prompt and energetic action, if "the natives are to be saved from extermination, was clearly set "forth. It was urged, that a convention be called for united "action on the part of the Powers of Europe. A statement was "made by the Secretary of the Colonies, that the United States "Government had not responded favourably to proposals for an "international agreement on this subject, and that Secretary "Bayard had declared, that while his Government recognized the "moral force and general propriety of the proposed regulations, it

“ does not feel entirely prepared to join in the international understanding proposed. This is a humiliating statement to be made by the U S Government, and publicly announced in the British Parliament. It is for Americans to see to it, that our Government and our people *are* prepared for such co-operation. This debate indicates a purpose to take hold of this great problem with vigour, and the following motion was agreed to without a division: ‘ That this House, having regard to the disastrous physical and moral effects of the liquor traffic among uncivilized races, as well as the injury it inflicts on legitimate commerce, will cordially support the Imperial and Colonial governments in endeavours to suppress the traffic in all the native territories and governments under their influence and control.’ ”

July 20, 1888.

XXVI.

ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN NATIVE TROOPS IN EUROPEAN WARS.

IN a recent issue of the *Times* is an able protest by one of the most gifted of the Anglo-Indian political writers against the injustice of employing Indian troops on service, where the interests of British India are in no manner concerned, and then charging the additional cost entailed by foreign service to the Indian Exchequer. Some things are done by the English people with regard to British India, which make the blood of Anglo-Indians boil; they indicate, that the public feeling of Great Britain, where its own interests are concerned, has lost all sense of national equity. A notable instance is the attempt of the Lancashire manufacturers to enrich themselves at the expense of the people of India: another is the denial to British India of the right to regulate the taxation of imports according to its own financial requirement, a right which every petty British Colony exercises.

But there is a question of high policy, which lies still deeper: it is very unwise to employ Indian *native* Troops on foreign service Westward of India at all. That occasionally they may be sent Eastward to China or Japan, may not signify, as their experience there makes no impression upon their character.

The modern opinion of the Military authorities in India is, that class Regiments are better fitted for war than Regiments composed of several classes: we will not discuss this question: those who had personally to do with the great Mutiny of 1857 may have

a different opinion. Sixteen mixed battalions have been reconstituted into class Regiments of Brahmins, Rajputs, Jats, and Mahometans: there already existed class battalions of Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Panjabis. The old principle was "*Divide et impera*" The separation of Castes into vertical strata prevented the existence in India of those secret Societies, which have proved to be the bane of China.

Now a Regiment, sent to West Asia, or North Africa, comes into contact with Nations, of whose existence it previously knew nothing, and the soldier enters an environment of new ideas, and new aspirations. In India he knows experimentally of the one great Sirkar, the Sun of his Universe: he may hear vaguely of such persons as the Emperor of China, or the Kingdom of the Russias, but into personal contact he never comes with representatives of those Powers. Not knowing much of History, or Geography, he hears with surprise of Turks, and Arabs, and Egyptians, and French, and Germans: he sees *few* English soldiers, still *fewer* English officers: he hears that England is a little island, a great way off, and that its military power is not to be compared in numbers with those of other Nations, even of the Egyptian. When stationed a considerable period at Suákim, or elsewhere, he comes into contact with some residents, either sent there with an insidious purpose, or there by chance, with whom he can by some mutually understood Language communicate, or he hears portions of the Native Egyptian papers, as edited by French English-hating Editors, read to him with comments. he thus has his first lesson in European Politics: wonder is expressed how such a great warlike race as the people of India, with 250 Millions, can tamely submit to such a petty Nation as Great Britain; he is invited to count up the number of all the English in India, and the number of the Native Army, and the Contingents of the Native Princes. The young soldier, full of military aspirations, has notions put into his head, which may develop hereafter. After a sojourn of two years in Suákim on garrison-duty, or after accomplishing a march to Berber on the Nile and back, his eyes are considerably opened. If the regiment is composed entirely of Mahometans, Religious, as well as political and military, notions are suggested. The regiment returns to its quarters in India considerably changed, and much is talked about of what it saw and heard in Egypt. When the time for the next Mutiny arrives, he effect of the poison there imbibed by our troops will be felt.

The policy also is not worthy of the British Government. It raises and maintains a Native Army in India because of local necessities, not for Imperial purposes. The British Soldier may be credited with readiness to shed his blood for the British Flag, wherever in the world it is hoisted: he was prepared to do so when he enlisted; he has the names of foreign countries on the insignia of his regiment. But under no such circumstances was the Indian Sepoy enlisted:

he is a mere handler of lethal weapons in return for pay, and pension. The contingents of the Native States may have national, or rather provincial, aspirations, and under Holkar or Scindia, one of their own people, might go out to conquest. But this is the last thing that the British Government can desire: its armed force is only a Police-force organized on a military scale for the defence of the frontier, and the maintenance of order. To hire them out to an ambitious British Ministry for service in North Africa against the Mahdi, in South Africa against President Kruger, in Russia and Turkey to checkmate the Russian Cossacks, will only be inserting another nail in the coffin of the British Dominion in India.

Asiatic Quarterly Review, October, 1896.

XXVII.

THE FRENCH COURTS OF JUSTICE AS APPLIED TO INDIA.

1. Les Codes Français (Paris, 1857.)
2. Éléments d'Organisation Judiciaire. Par EDWARD BONNIER.
(Paris, 1853.)
3. Manuel de Juge de Paix. (Paris, 1854.)
4. Compte General de l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle
en France, pendant l'année 1855.
5. Compte General de l'Administration de la Justice Civile et
Commerciale, pendant l'année 1855.

Whenever we hear the shortcoming of our administration denounced, and with a sigh we are obliged to admit it, the thought passes through our minds, "How do they manage these things elsewhere?" Given a great people to be governed, and the best intentions on the part of the Rulers, what is the best combination of men and material, of theory and practice, to effect the purpose? Looking inwards for assistance and example, we find nothing but the bitterest prejudices and most selfish class-interests on one side, and the most apathetic indifference or virulent opposition on the other. The great mother-country, disfigured by insular eccentricities, vaunting absurd customs which nothing but the lapse of centuries would render tolerable, incapable of organic reforms, and intolerant of alien races and Religions, is no more an example for administrations than is London in an architectural point of view for cities elsewhere. Looking outwards, our attention

is attracted by the institutions of Turkey, the most degraded but the most orientalized of European monarchies, and those of France, the most recently and most highly organized. With these thoughts in our mind, in 1852 we visited Turkey, and in Number XXXVIII of the *Calcutta Review* we gave our reasons for believing, that British India was *not* the *most* misgoverned country in Asia; and in 1856 and 1857, we visited France, sat in her Courts of Justice, considered her systems, and now throw together a sketch of her Judicial organization.

Everything in France dates from the Revolution. All her ancient institutions were swept away in that deluge, but she rose invigorated and with new life from her bloody baptism, and set about reforming her Laws on the most approved models. Chaos had preceded that Deluge. There had been originally three Courts, the Royal, the Feudal, and the Ecclesiastical. The power of the great nobles had rendered the authority of the Sovereign a mere byword, till one by one, through the process of marriage, of conquest, or of treaty, they were absorbed. The subinfeudation of feuds had on the other hand reduced Justice to so lamentable a state, that it was a relief to the people to have recourse to a central, though arbitrary, Royal Power, to be judged by those who could afford to pay Judges of some kind. The description given by early French writers of the results of the cutting up of fiefs into such small shares, that each gentleman, who possessed a village, a portion, or even a house, had the rights of a Sovereign, corresponds wonderfully with the state of the protected Sikh States, as it existed only a few years ago. The British Government for a long time forgot its duties, and the principle that all justice emanates from the Sovereign, was abandoned in favour of the barbarous notion that the right of dispensing justice was private property. Weak-minded politicians still weep over the injustice inflicted upon petty chieftings, in being deprived of the power of tyrannizing over others, and in being themselves subjected to Imperial Laws.

The Ecclesiastical Courts of the Middle Ages were more regular, more dignified, and more learned, but more unjust, and not sufficiently plastic to adapt themselves to the ever-shifting wants of a people. They gave way at first voluntarily, and afterwards under constraint, to the ever-increasing power of the Sovereign: still the fortuitous concurrence of such incongruous atoms, as made up the old kingdom of France, left no room for the growth of a regular judicial system. The provincial Capitals and Parliaments were jealous of Paris: two different codes of Law prevailed in different portions of the kingdom privileges, and exemptions, and local customs had grown up like thistles, which nothing but a Revolution could eradicate. Those, who have had the task of administering a newly annexed kingdom in India, know well

that the waters of a deluge must pass over the soil, destroying much perhaps that is valuable, with a great deal more, that is worthless, before the foundation, broad and deep, of new institutions, can be planted. Attempts were made under the vigorous despotism of Louis XIV by the deputation of Judges on circuit, to do something in the way of reform without previous destruction, and the narrative of the "Grands Jours d'Auvergne" gives a living picture of the proceedings of such Courts. A deputation of Indian Judges on circuit in the Provinces of an independent Indian Chief would have the same results, which just amount to nothing.

The Revolution passed over the country, sweeping away all feudal traces, all institutions good or bad, welding together in one mass all the heterogeneous elements: the old Provinces and landmarks vanished from the map, and new France came out, divided into departments, arrondissements, and cantons, according to local and practical requirements. So have we seen more than once in the last decade the old landmarks of a native kingdom, old names, old associations, vanish away, and a new Province come forth with its divisions, districts, and Parganahs on the universal type of Anglo-Indian Government.

Eminently practical was the French Assembly, which, newly created by the free election of the people, discussed the question of their new institutions. The subjects were not unfamiliar ones to an Indian statesman.

- I. Shall we establish Juries?
- II. In Civil, as well as Criminal, matters?
- III. Shall the Courts be sedentary or migratory?
- IV. Shall there be grades of Courts of Justice, and a power of appeal?
- V. Shall the Judges be for life, or elected for a period?
- VI. Shall they be chosen by the people, or the Sovereign?
- VII. Shall the Ministry of Justice be appointed by the people, or the Sovereign?
- VIII. Shall there be a central Court of Cassation, fixed at the Metropolis, or migratory Judges of appeal?
- IX. Shall the same Courts adjudicate on all matters, or shall there be separate tribunals for commerce, administration, revenue, and police?

In all these questions do we not catch the echo of discussions which still vibrate among us? Who can at once decide on any of these points, when so much is to be said on both sides? The French Assembly did decide, and gave very good reasons for their decision, and on the second point most convincing, for a more unsatisfactory tribunal for settling a civil action than a jury, made

up of chance members, cannot be imagined, when so much turns upon the value of proofs, and nature of evidence. The French Assembly laid the foundation of a judicial hierarchy, which flourishes to this day; and under Imperial France came into existence that Code, which has crowned with a more enduring laurel than that of bloody victories, the temples of the First Napoleon.

What a comfort it is to a Frenchman, or a stranger sojourning in France, if, driven into the Courts, he wishes to satisfy himself as to the Laws of the country, that he can purchase for a few francs a goodly volume containing the following Codes :

- I. Code Civil.
- II. Code de Procédure Civile.
- III. Code de Commerce.
- IV. Code d'Instruction Criminelle.
- V. Code Pénal.
- VI. Code Forestier.

He would moreover find the matter so arranged as to be readily accessible, and so worded as to be intelligible to ordinary intellects. The unhappy Englishman, or stranger sojourning in England, would be referred to countless volumes of statutes often conflicting, countless cases of Judge-made law, and numerous textbooks of greater or less estimation. The still more unhappy native of India, or stranger sojourning in India, would, in the Regulation Provinces, be referred to Note Books, Circulars, Regulations, Acts, and Constructions; and in the Non-Regulation Provinces the inquirer would receive the significant information, that a great deal depended on the blessed will of the Hakim. Still it has been truly remarked centuries ago, that no tyranny is so intolerable as that where the Law is vague and uncertain.

We have commenced to doubt as to the excellence of our institutions in India. We know that our Judges are very untrained, and generally very ignorant. There are now two great parties in the State, one upholding a rigid system, where the Judge is but part of a machine, and often the tool of the litigant; the other asserting the merits of a rough-and-ready system, where form is nothing, but where justice is often missed more from the want of skill than the want of will of the Judge. We find ourselves hopelessly dissociated from the Courts of the Home country, and the Royal Courts of the Presidencies. Let us consider then the complete and elaborate organization of the French Courts, which not only unites the whole Mother-country in one judicial net, but through the agency of affiliated Courts extends to Algiers and the Colonies, where tribunals, fewer in number yet co-ordinate in grade, act in harmony, and without conflict of jurisdiction or uncertainty

of practice. At the head of all presides the Keeper of the Seals, one of the Ministry, and responsible for the administration of justice. We admit that France by such a centralized organization has sacrificed her constitutional liberty, but that does not render her institutions less an example for India, where, say what you will, no constitutional liberty does or can be allowed to exist either for Asiatic or European.

The highest Court is the Court of Cassation, which is fixed at Paris. It possesses supreme appellate and disciplinary powers over all the lower tribunals. It is divided into three Chambers. The first is employed in receiving petitions of appeal, and deciding whether there is any legal point to submit to the second Chamber, which decides on the construction of Law only. The third Chamber decides on criminal appeals. The number of Judges is very numerous, no less than forty-seven, and every judgment must be given by eleven members or a majority of votes. In settling legal points it is their duty to look to the spirit, and not the dead letter of the Law.

Next in rank come the Courts, which change their names on each change of Government, and have been designated Royal, National, and now for a time Imperial, during the last ten years. They have both Criminal and Civil powers, and are located in the twenty-seven most notable cities of the Empire, including Paris. In that city the number of Judges is no less than sixty-six divided into five Chambers, three for the dispatch of Civil appeals, two for Criminal cases. The smallest Court of this rank has two Chambers, and twenty Judges, for seven are required for the disposal of every Civil and for every Criminal trial. A deputation of this body also forms periodically Courts of Assize, to try serious offences with the aid of a Jury at the headquarters of each department. Within the jurisdiction of each Imperial Court is included one or more departments, and there is no unit of the administrative system, which corresponds precisely with these limits. As each grade of Courts has a certain limit of final jurisdiction, it follows that a large class of cases allow of no appeal, and the litigants are always at liberty by mutual consent to bind themselves to agree to the decision of the lower Courts. There is a certain limited class of cases, in which the Imperial Courts have primary jurisdiction.

Next in rank come the Courts of first instance, which are located in each *arrondissement*, exercising jurisdiction over the same extent of country as the *Sous-Prefet* or Deputy-Commissioner. The department, presided over by the *Prefet* or Commissioner, as stated above, has no separate legal tribunal. The *tribunals of the arrondissement* have both Civil and Criminal power, and are divided into Chambers, according to the extent of business. At Paris there are eight, of which six dispose of Civil, and two of Criminal cases. Three Judges compose a Court. There are three hundred and

sixty-three of these Courts, and by them the great mass of the legal work of the whole country is disposed of.

But it is at this point of the French institutions, that we discover that the men who planted the foundation of the legal system, were not lawyers who looked on Courts as preserves for their sport and profit, but citizens and statesmen. The great curse of all Courts is the delays, the expenses and the distance to be travelled by litigants and witnesses. So much also depends upon local inspection, and special knowledge: so much may be done to stay a suit *in initio* by a few words of conciliation, by a correct expounding of the Law, or a mild reasoning with wrong-headed persons. Parties, once committed to a struggle, forget the origin of the affair in the excitement of the struggle. The pugnacious feelings of a man are excited, and he unblushingly exposes the secrets of his family, he makes disingenuous suppressions of the truth, or hazards through a hireling spokesman downright falsehood. Cases of an entangled nature arise, which none but those whose daily life is spent on them can satisfactorily decide. The Assembly recognized these wants, and instituted:

- I. Juges des Paix.
- II. Conseil des Prud'hommes.
- III. Tribunal de Commerce.
- IV. Conseil de Famille.

It is to these, that the attention of the Indian Legislature requires more particularly to be drawn, for in all attempts at "conciliation" in all effective use of "experts," "municipal institutions," or "family organizations," we are sadly deficient. It may be replied that the Sudder Courts, the Courts of Civil and Sessions Judges, and the Moonsiff's Court fairly represent the Court of Cassation, the Imperial Court, and the Tribunal of first instance; but what have we to represent the four characteristics on the examination of which we now proceed to enter? Yet if Law be made for every degree, if the interests of the poor, of the villagers, who happily live remote from the local Courts, are to be considered, we have still before us in the greater part of India the task of constituting popular Courts, or of working those in existence in an efficient manner.

The "Juges de Paix" are located in every canton, and they amount to 2,849 in number. A canton is the smallest unit in the system of aggregation of villages for administrative purposes. It corresponds to the Parganah of India, and the powers vested in the Juge de Paix correspond very much to those entrusted by the Panjáb Government to the Tuhseeldars. The object is to bring home justice within a reasonable distance of the doors of every subject. They occupy the lowest grade of the judicial hierarchy, and are not necessarily trained lawyers, but are required to possess some legal knowledge, as the tendency of modern French Legislation is to

widen the jurisdiction of these popular Courts. On the Criminal side they are Courts of simple Police, and dispose summarily of petty cases, adjudging a sentence of imprisonment of from one to five days, and a fine not exceeding fifteen francs. They assist also the higher Courts in conducting local inquiries, and in supplying links of evidence. On the Civil side they play a most important game: their vocation is triple.

- I. To conciliate litigants, if possible: they are forbidden to issue a citation, until they have sent a private notice, and tried to arrange matters.
- II. To decide finally in cases below 100 francs, and liable to appeal above 100 francs.
- III. Certain extra-judicial functions, such as attending at opening of wills, presiding at family councils, giving validity to certain legal acts, such as adoption, majority, etc.

Certain other special matters are entrusted to this important local officer for the convenience of the parties.

- I. All quarrels of travellers with innkeepers, and persons, who let for hire horses and other means of conveyance.
- II. All questions as to the amount of indemnity to be paid by landlord or tenant.
- III. Suits for rents, repairs, hire of servants and labourers, injury to property by man and beast, defamation by word of mouth, personal quarrels: in all these cases a final decision can be given up to 100 francs, and subject to appeal indefinitely.
- IV. Suits with regard to possession, or rights of vicinage, where the possession is not contested, claims for maintenance on the part of relatives: such matters require local knowledge, and often local inspection, but the decisions are open to appeal.

Moreover, if the litigants agree to waive the appeal, and abide by the decision of the local Judge. they are at liberty to do so by signing a previous declaration to that effect. This is an old maxim of Roman law: "*Judex, qui ad certam summam judicare jussus est, etiam de re majori judicare potest, si inter litigatores conveniat.*" Men are not so bad as we paint them: they are often desirous of arriving at a peaceful solution of a struggle, though not inclined to surrender, until a competent Judge has explained the Law, ascertained the facts, and declared his view. It is a mercy therefore to attempt to conciliate before expenses are incurred, to give a power of final decision up to a certain extent, and to allow the parties in cases naturally open to appeal, to bind themselves to

abide by the decision of the Court. France is indebted to England for the name of the "Juge de Paix," for in the first dawn of their Revolution they looked to their free neighbour for example; but the office is expanded far beyond the attributes of that singularly inefficient, and unqualified, functionary, called "Justice of the Peace" in England, and we should do well in British India to adopt as much of the French models as suit our other institutions. On this line the Panjáb-Government is marching: in the Perganah-Court, though confessedly crude and faulty, we still see the germ of a tribunal, which will supply cheap and ready advice, protection, and justice to the circle of villages, which lie around it. And until we effect this, we have done nothing.

To give some idea of the extent, to which conciliation will work, we may state, that in one year more than three million notices *without charge* were issued, calling upon the parties to attend to hear reason. More than one million cases were disposed of in this amicable way: in half a million the attempts failed; of the remainder no tidings were received, as no notice was taken of the friendly summonses. In all these cases the preliminary of conciliation was optional, but in a large class of cases the attempt *must* precede a formal citation. In 44,000 cases, where parties were summoned and appeared in person, about 20,000 were arranged by the Juge de Paix without having occasion to proceed to Law. There is a large class of cases, which come before Indian Courts, which would be disposed of in this way, especially the quarrels about marriage and betrothal-contracts. But when once money has been spent in Law-expenses, and the parties have been committed to the struggle, the question is, who can lie the most cleverly, and dissemble most cunningly.

We come now to the "Conseil des Prud'hommes," the Court of Industrial Judges, which is established in every Commercial town to settle quarrels betwixt workmen and their masters. Through this institution also that vein of sound wisdom develops itself, which teaches that a difference composed by advice is better than a strife decided by a judgment. These Courts occupy precisely in Commercial matters the same position that the Juge de Paix occupies in Civil. The Council is elective and composed of masters and workmen, and is divided into two chambers. The former assembles in private for the purpose of conciliation, the latter in public to adjudicate in those cases, where the friendly attempts of the first chamber have failed. Five is the number of the public, and two of the private Court; their jurisdiction is final up to the value of 200 francs, and, subject to appeal to the Tribunal of Commerce, unlimited. Of the value of these Courts an idea may be formed from the fact, that 28,000 disputes were brought before them, and no less than 26,800 decided without litigation by the Conciliation-Chamber. In many of the remaining cases the terms,

fixed by that Chamber, but refused at first, were eventually accepted. No wonder that the veteran legal reformer, Lord Brougham, has persistently urged this measure, and more especially during the last Session, in consequence of the great Strike of workmen. As long as the sword is the only arbiter of external, and strikes of internal quarrels, we doubt whether the European world is really advancing in the path of actual Civilization. The year 1859 has effectually shown, that Europe and England are little advanced beyond the state of savages still.

In great Commercial towns the necessity is soon experienced for Judges with special qualifications, a knowledge of trade-customs and trade-names, a grasp for accounts, and a particular turn of mind, to dispose of the numerous cases, which hourly arise in the ordinary current of business. This necessity has given birth in France to the existence of "*Tribunals of Commerce*" They do not exist in a separate individuality in every *arrondissement*, and in some more than one exists. where no separate Court has been formed, the Civil tribunal disposes of such few cases as may arise, but with a summary procedure. Where they are separately constituted, they consist of not less than two, and not more than fourteen Judges. A list of notables is prepared by the Prefect according to the number of the population, who elect the members of the Court. the qualification is, that they have conducted their Commercial business with honour and distinction, of which fact the electors are moral judges. The appointment lasts two years, and is unremunerated; the parties may be once re-elected, and after an interval for a third time: they are immovable, and are at liberty to continue their particular trade, but, should they have relations in a great number, that is an objection. Three Judges form a Court, and their forms are simple and procedure rapid. Extrajudicially they have complete jurisdiction in all cases of bankruptcy, in affairs relating to notes of exchange lost or protested, and other mercantile contingencies. Judicially they adjudicate in every case, which is legally defined to be an "*Act of Commerce*," by whomsoever performed. The consequences are more than merely formal, for a sentence of a fine of 200 Rs. carries with it always personal imprisonment. Neither the producing nor the consuming classes are liable to this Court, but only those, who by way of speculation make a profit of the differences betwixt the price charged by the producer and that paid by the consumer. Real property also is not affected. We may define the jurisdiction as mixed, affecting certain relations of certain men, with a finality within the value of 1,500 francs, and liable to appeal to the Imperial Courts indefinitely. Although these Courts have an absolute incompetence further than special cases and special parties, yet, when a quarrel arises regarding a cheque signed by a non-commercial party, it may by consent of parties be made over to the Commercial Tribunal.

Numerous are the cases of discord in a family, which should never see the light, but which under the unfeeling policy of the Anglo-Indian Courts are brought at once into the broad glare of the Court amidst the shame of the litigants, and the derision of the bystanders. Numerous are the cases of doubt and difficulty, especially in the family of the widow, the minor, and the issue of double or ill-assorted marriages, where the voice of legitimate authority is required to compose the strife, and arrange for the future. The sudden death of the head of the house sets rival wives, the mothers of rival families, by the ears. Stepson is rancorous against stepmother. Each demands more, and gets less, than his own right. The village, or quarter of the town, is scandalized at the curtain being thus raised, that screened the privacy of a respectable citizen, whose body, if a Mahometan, is still feasting the jackals in the adjoining cemetery, or whose ashes, if a Hindu, are still tied up in a napkin preparatory to their transport to the Ganges. Respectable men with tears in their eyes have sought our advice in such hard cases. Is there no alternative betwixt dragging into Court the wife of their father, and submitting to being deprived of the jewels and paraphernalia of their own deceased mother? Must the accounts of the firm be laid open in full Court before half-brothers can relax the gripe on each other's throat, which commenced on the death of their parent? Must the minor be plundered for want of some system in his household? Is not dowry to be given to the orphan girl? For the settlement of such like difficulties the admirable institution of the "*Conseil de Famille*" presents a ready remedy. Composed of the agnates and cognates of the parties, they are legally convened by the *Juge de Paix*: all attempt to deceive them will fall through: ordinarily they will have the credit of the family at heart, and even supposing that they could not get the litigants to agree to their award, still their recorded opinion of what is right, and their discovery of the value of the property, will furnish the regular Courts with materials for a safe decree.

We have thus passed under review the different Courts of Justice, and for the sake of clearly defining their particular Civil and Criminal powers we recapitulate them. On the Civil side there is the Court of Cassation for all France, the 27 Imperial Courts, the 363 Civil Tribunals of *arrondissements*, the Commercial Tribunals, sometimes identical with but generally separate from the Civil Tribunals, the 2,849 *Juges de Paix* in each canton, the *Conseil des Prud'hommes*, and the *Conseil de Famille*, which last partakes more of the character of a domestic institution than an actual Court, and by the nature of things has no fixed *personnel*. On the Criminal side we have the same Judges employed, with the exception of the Commercial Tribunal, and *Conseil des Prud'hommes*, but in a different way. In the Court of Cassation there is no change: but

from the Courts Imperial a deputation is formed to hold a quarterly assize at the chief town of each one of the departments within their jurisdiction, and an extraordinary Session occasionally. This Court disposes, with the help of a Jury, of all crimes, as defined in the Penal Code: in the case of the absence of the offender the Court passes sentence "*par contumace*" without a Jury. The Court is composed of one President, chosen by the Government, and ten assessors delegated from the Court Imperial, or the Civil Tribunal of the *arrondissement*: but before a case can be committed to this Court of assize, it has to pass before the "*Chambre d'Accusation*," which is composed of five members of the Imperial Court.

To each Civil Tribunal, located in each *arrondissement*, is attached a Correctional Chamber, which composed of three members disposes, without a Jury, of all cases, which come under the head of "*délits*" in the Penal Code, and the punishment of which amounts to fine or imprisonment only. But one Judge is specially told off, as Juge d'Instruction, to conduct investigations and preliminary inquiry, so as to bring the matter to a focus, before it is sent to the competent Court for final disposal. The Procureur-General may, if he like, make up his own case by help of the Juge de Paix, or otherwise, and send it before the proper Court; but, where a party is arrested, the case must go before the Juge d'Instruction.

The mention of the awful name of the Procureur-General opens out a new feature of the French system, known as the "*Ministère Publique*," and technically the "*Parquet*." It is too often forgotten, that in every Criminal trial and in the majority of Civil trials, society has an interest, a deep interest, that the Laws should not be misinterpreted, that criminals should not escape, that public morality should not be scandalized, that nuisances should be put down. To expect that the Judge should attend to such things, as in India, often diminishes from his independent and impartial bearing: to leave it to the individual prosecutor, or the neighbourhood, or some busybody, is to let matters take their chance. It has therefore been the practice of the French Courts for three centuries, that there should be a paid Agent of the Executive Government, attached to the Court of Cassation and to each of the twenty-seven Imperial Courts, and three hundred and sixty-three Civil Tribunals, to represent the Government and protect the interests of society. The whole of this vast body is under the orders of the Keeper of the Seals, and they are possessed of great powers, and exercise an enormous influence on the actions of the Courts. Destructive as such a system no doubt is to constitutional independence, on the other hand, a wonderful uniformity and energy is secured in the administrative machine. The measure has often been agitated in England, but with little success, and the idea of a public prosecutor in each Court, and a Minister of Justice at the head of the whole

judicial hierarchy, but himself a member of the Executive Government, has been repeatedly ventilated. It is one of those questions, on which a great deal can be said on both sides, and in India the great expense which it would entail, and the indifferent machinery which offers itself, render the scheme hopeless.

This leads us on to the consideration of one of the radical differences betwixt the English and French Judicial systems. Criminal Law has two views.

- I. The inquisitorial, where a public investigation is held with the object of ascertaining the truth, and inflicting a punishment.
- II. The litigious, where a private litigation is being conducted betwixt two persons, one of whom tries to persuade the Judge, that the other falls within a class, against whom the Law has denounced certain punishments.

Both these views have been pushed to an extravagant length, and in France the prisoner is browbeaten, questioned, entangled in traps, the object being to discover the truth. By English Law a false leniency is shown to the accused, for, if innocent, the more ample his disclosures, and the greater assistance, which he renders the Judge, the more certain and honourable his acquittal; while, if guilty, society is injured, and the Judge condemned, by his acquittal. In the Anglo-Indian Courts a just medium is sought for, and while threats or promises are forbidden, the accused is questioned fully, and, although the wicked folly of forced confessions has long since been admitted, sources of more trustworthy evidence are often indicated by the statements of the prisoner on close examination.

As may be gathered from the above narrative, the number of Judges in France is very great, the salaries are very small: the appointments are for life, and this privilege appears to be abused, as the present Emperor of the French is most unjustly charged with the *shameful* tyranny of declaring that at the age of seventy-five, Judges of the Court of Cassation, and at the age of seventy, Judges of the lower Court, are to be superannuated on a pension. To give an idea of the number of Judges we add the following statement:

				Judges.
1	Court of Cassation	...	...	24
27	Imperial Courts	...	...	900
363	Civil Tribunals	...	...	1,576
<hr/>				
391				2,500
	Juges de Paix	...	...	3,000
<hr/>				
	Grand Total	...	...	<u>5,500</u>

The total charge to the State is about £600,000 per annum. The pay of a Juge de Paix is only £40 per annum with some fees, and the pay of the higher Judges is ridiculously small, but in France the aspiration of all is to be in Government-employ. In England one and sixty Judges absorb £300,000 annually. In India we should be afraid to say how much was spent, though we know with how little result. One consequence of the vast number of Judges, in spite of their death-grasp on Office, is that the Bar cannot supply sufficient candidates, even if the slender salaries would tempt a man of ability to resign his private practice. Certain qualifications with regard to age, morals, Education-tests, relationships, are required to precede nomination, which is vested in the Executive Government, and Judges are liable to removal by the Court of Cassation for bad conduct, but the number of conflicting oaths, which they have to take to Kings, Republics, Presidents, and Emperors, on each turn of the political hourglass, must be trying to the feelings of even a septuagenarian Judge. In the arrangements for supplying vacancies in case of illness by supplementary Judges, for partitioning the work into tribunals, securing the tour of service, keeping up urgent work during vacation, preventing partiality and indifference; in all these matters the arrangements of the Legislature are above praise.

The organization of departments, and the centralization of the judicial and executive functions, which France wrought for herself at the Revolution, have hopelessly destroyed her fitness for constitutional liberty. When to this is added the cloud of petty placemen, the 500,000 Military, the 600,000 Civil employés, who depend for their bread on a fiat from Paris, what wonder if the new Prefect, who arrives by rail, and the new order which is conveyed by telegraph, should be quietly obeyed? There are no ramparts of Provincial customs, local magnates, or antiquated formalities, to stay the stream. Anglo-India thoroughly resembles France in these particulars. There is an infinity of small places revocable at pleasure, and the general feeling among the better classes is, that, to be thoroughly a gentleman, a post under Government must be obtained. The division of the power of the State into three elements, Executive, Legislative, and Judicial, in theory may be true, but under a strong and despotic Government all merges in the Executive. If the Judges are not liable to removal except for misconduct, they have always the temptation of promotion before them, and the same hands are now by popular consent entrusted with judicial and executive powers. *In the best administered Provinces the rule is the most despotic:* the best check in abuse is the firm hand of the Governor: posts are neither hereditary, nor freeholds, nor, as in France, to be bought and sold by private arrangement, which is a more fatal abuse than patronage and nepotism. Such for many a year, if we continue to hold the country, must be the constitution of India.

We have ourselves sat in the French Courts, both in Paris and the Provinces, listened to eloquent pleadings, and watched with interest the details of trials, both civil and criminal; with India always in our thoughts; for we have sate, and may sit again, many a weary hour in the Cutcherries of Anglo-India. We may say with safety, that we have visited every variety of Court in England from the Queen's Bench to the County-Magistrates' weekly meeting, and therefore in forming an opinion we have brought knowledge of other Courts to bear on the subject. All the French Courts are well located, generally in handsome new buildings, for a rage for architectural extravagance has lately seized the country. Paris is, however, the model of the rest. The famous "Chambre des Pas Perdus" looks small, when Westminster Hall is thought of, over which many a weary foot treads, waiting till the abundant nonsense of each Counsel has exhausted itself. The same kind of people hang about the purheus of all Courts, whether in Europe or Asia, the half-witted old woman, the emaciated hatchet-faced man, always waiting for somebody, the bristling attorney, the puckered-forehead Barrister, the petition-writer with his inkhorn, the touter with his keen scent for an unsatisfied wrong. The interiors of the French Courts have a speciality of their own: the bust of the Emperor is now seen upon the bracket over the door, which lately held the bust of France, and before that the bust of Louis Philippe, and before that, of Charles X. What becomes of the banished plaster-casts when their original is smashed, is not known. Opposite to the bust is a picture of the Crucifixion: in France Religion does not change, so this instance of a most unjust sentence stands as a warning to all Judges. Both these ornaments appear to us to be objectionable and uncalled-for. The row of Judges in black gowns and little square hats is imposing: the Bar, and the Government officers, occupy their proper place, and the public are provided with convenient seats, and take a keen interest in what is going on. One old woman in our hearing spoke out, but was mildly repressed by the Court-officer. The presence of the everlasting *gens d'arme* is odious, but it seems to be the fatality of France. The plaintiff and defendant had separate seats assigned to them, and each Counsel was armed with a portfolio, containing the papers of his case written in an ordinary manner, and not in the English technically *brief* style, or in as tedious and lengthy a way as possible. The witnesses were not sworn in the English or Anglo-Indian fashion. They had not to gabble unutterable nonsense after the Sheriff's officer, or to have a wordy skirmish with the Nazir, before they could be prevailed upon to make their affirmation, but, having been asked their name, age, parentage, and place of residence, they were directed to hold up their hands, and charged or admonished to speak the truth. This appears to

be a very sensible practice.¹ In each Court were notices and proclamations tabled on screens for public reference. Over the door of each Court was set up in large letters the name of the Court, and for the convenience of the public directions were printed on the walls. At the close of each assizes a list of parties sentenced for disgraceful offences was stuck up, and a separate placard for absconders, who were sentenced "*par contumace*" to a term of years, and deprived of property and citizenship. Cases of punishment for cheating, such as watering milk, were published in the *Gazette*, and a placard by order of Court affixed to the door of offender, all at the expense of the culprit, who was fined and imprisoned also, but he had the singular privilege of paying his fine, and taking his term in prison, whenever he liked, during the course of the year.

In their proper place at the close of the statistics of France Proper comes the notice of French Algeria, subject to the same Laws, which are administered by members of the same hierarchy. The settler, in moving from one part of the French dominions to the other, finds no conflict of jurisdictions, no diversity of Codes. Where the French flags fly, there is the Code Napoleon in force: the same Court of Cassation, and the same Minister of Justice, as at Paris, see that the Laws are properly administered, and that the affiliated Courts in the Colony obey the Law of the Mother country. For the wild and unsettled tribes the "*Bureau Arabe*," presided over by a gallant officer, occupies somewhat of the position of a Political Officer's Court in India.

And nowhere in the French institutions do we find the black spot, which disgraces our own, the distinction betwixt man and man, the enactment of one Law for one class of British subjects, and a second for one less favoured. The French have introduced the best systems in their power, and enforce it alike on all, circumcised or uncircumcised, whether a citizen or a stranger. It is taking the very lowest view of our position in India to have such a care for the Anglo-Saxon only amidst the great family of Nations. Let the free American citizen, the French, the German settler, take his chance, let the Yorkshireman and Irishman be protected.

¹ In India in the matter of oaths we appear to be working round in a circle, and to come back to the point, whence we originally started. We hardly believe our eyes, when we find the reintroduction proposed, of the Korán, and Gungajul, the Pandit, and the Moulavi again. Do those, who advocate such measures, recollect, that, when they appeal to a man's Religious feelings, they invoke considerations, which, if outraged, it rests with a higher power to vindicate. Jupiter reserves to himself the discharge of his own thunderbolts. If a Hindu believes, that there is a sanctity in the Ganges, which he outrages by perjury, the Ganges must vindicate the insult: if there be a value in the Koran, it is not for us to support it. What the earthly Judge should do, is to warn the witness to speak the truth, and perjury should be punished as a gross contempt of Court, and conspiracy to injure an individual, or thwart the ends of justice.

It is a low view to care only for the white faces (including some very yellow ones, by courtesy European British subjects), and not to remember, that this country was given to us, that we might deal justly with the vast indigenous population, and give them the very best, cheapest, and simplest, forms of justice, that science can suggest, or energy work out.

We have thus seen how the French Courts, constructed on a harmonious system, are capable of expansion. Let us look to India, and consider how different a position the Courts founded by Royal Charter in the Presidency have occupied, and still continue to occupy. Have they contributed anything towards improving the Courts of the Mofussil by example or precept? Have they not done their worst to degrade them? Highly paid are the Judges, though by no means of the second or third rank in their profession at home: highly paid are the Barrister, the attorney, and the official hve: the question is, whether justice is worth buying at such a price, and whether any country could support such a charge. In France so numerous are the Judges, that the Bar cannot supply the ranks, and in India so highly paid are the Royal Judges, that no country could support a multiplication of such cormorants. And how unedifying is the position of the Judge in his own Court, where he cannot understand one word uttered by a witness, nor can the Bar help him; yet it is generally supposed, that there is much in the tone and expression, and the rapidity with which the cross-questioner follows up the hint, and drives an equivocator into a corner. All this is lost, when the evidence has to be drily doled out by the oily interpreter. No one can witness a trial in the Supreme Court without a certain degree of shame for the institutions of Anglo-India.

As we stated above, we need not look to the English Courts for examples: there are as many varieties, but all of a hopelessly inflexible Anglo-Saxon stamp. What a sad sight is the assembly in the Sessions-Court! What! all that ermine and puckered forehead on the Bench, all those bold brazen foreheads in horse-hair wigs at the Bar, all those hungry attorneys crouching beneath, those pikes, javelin-men, Sheriffs, Jailers, great Jury, little Jury, ladies in the gallery, and women with babies crushed in the passages, is all that machinery brought periodically into action to try that shock-headed poacher, or that downcast child-murderess? In truth, what with the smell, the irregularity of their meals, the novelty of the scene, the threats of the Counsel, and the awfully wise look of the Judge, the petty farmer, who has left his homestead, knowing that his hay is out and that there is a chance of rain, is in anything but a judicial frame of mind, but he is called upon to give minute evidence as a witness, or to agree with eleven other rural tradesmen on a verdict. No wonder that there are contradictions in evidence, and compromises in the verdicts of juries.

Still more unsatisfactory was the sight which we had of the Quarter Sessions. A motley party of County-Magistrates drop in, country-squires, clergy, private individuals, under the guidance of a knowing individual, perhaps a Barrister, as Chairman. In one case on the civil side relating to a poor-rate on a railroad nearly the whole Court was disqualified, as shareholders, and the decision of a most difficult question had to be entrusted to a most inferior Court, selected because they had no shares. On the criminal side the depositions were not forthcoming, and the Clerk of the Court pleaded as an excuse, that he could not get quarters at the Hotel owing to the County-Ball, and threw back the blame on the Magistrate's clerk. Nor was the mode of conducting the trial, or the mode, in which the Committals had been prepared by the unpaid agency of the County Magistrate, in any way edifying. But the climax of all is the weekly gathering of the county Magistrates in their own jurisdiction, the summary fining of rows of citizens for allowing their chimneys to smoke, the discussion of the merits of the case, while bread and cheese is being handed round, the oily suggestion of the Clerk, who is generally an attorney, and who possesses the legal conscience of the Court, and the sapient resolution of the Bench. These things baffle all description, but it is the glory of England, and the constitutional safeguard, that all should be done by the country through its own agency, ill paid or unpaid, and as regards England, who would wish to change it, and accept the evils which must accompany centralization?

One word on the Bar and the officials of the French Courts. The "Avocats" correspond to our Barristers, and have the monopoly of the ear of the Court with some trifling exceptions. It would be idle to say aught in praise of that illustrious body. Beneath them, and in some respects jostling with them, come the class of "Avoués," who do not, except in exceptional cases, open their mouth in Court, but have the monopoly of the formalities and the procedure of the Court. Suitors must go to one of them, they are considered a part of the Ministerial officers of the Court, and their offices, I regret to say, are bought and sold. The history of this custom is traced back to the Roman Law, by which the defendant was hauled into Court "*abtor to collo*" Gradually procurators were allowed. In France a license was first required to admit a representative, but this rigour was relaxed, and for 300 years the practice has prevailed, though at the Revolution the name of Procureur, which like the name of Vakîl stunk in the nostrils of mankind, was abolished, and the new class of "Avoués" formed, who have the privilege of making appearances, and drawing pleadings for suitors, while the Avocats have the privilege of the argument. This is the old story of two people being employed to do one man's work, and the lawyers are too strong to be put down. The question of appearing by person,

or representative, is one of those which are under discussion at this moment in India. If we could presume, that all cases were simple and capable of decision on the spot, personal presence would be desirable, but in no phase of society, least of all in India, is that possible. Time is an element in the Judicial system. It is clear, that the rule for personal attendance cannot be made absolute, as in the case of women, children, invalids, soldiers on service, absentees, and parties of high rank, it would amount to a denial of justice. Moreover, in many commercial and agricultural matters the principal is not so well informed as his manager. It is desirable, that the principals should, if possible, attend, and a full discovery be made from their examinations; but it often happens, that the unskilled litigant knows not his own strong points, has no power of drawing out the facts from witnesses, he remains impassive in the hands of the Judge, and the suit falls through from sheer stupidity, or reticence; or wearied by necessary delays, he goes home, and abandons his case. On the other hand the professional Vakil is the curse of the Court, as he delights in prolonging the case, in suggesting falsehood, and suppressing truth. Will then this middle way, adopted in the French Courts, answer in India, according to which there is a certain body of men under the order of the Judge, whose duty it is to assist the litigants in the disposal of their suits without unduly encouraging or procrastinating litigation?

An annual Report on the conduct of Civil and Criminal Justice is submitted by the Keeper of the Seals to the Emperor: it is accompanied by statements statistical, and tabulated figures, far more elaborate and numerous than anything known in England or India. We unjustly suppose, that Anglo-India is the only country overwhelmed with returns, forms, and officials. France, the most advanced and refined administration in Europe, is ten times more oppressed by over-government, appeals, formalities, and returns. *Let us not imitate these blemishes.* We are bound to do our best to shake off the yoke of the Regulations, and the bondage of red-tape, having neither time nor taste for the infatuated craze for "Nakshahs" which, like a blight, has settled on even the most advanced and enlightened Governments. Let the mass be analyzed: they must be either statistical or administrative; there is room for extensive pruning; and let those, which are absolutely necessary, be brief, few, expressive, and exact. If the Head of the Government does not know the detail of every village, he is spared a great deal of unpleasant knowledge. We remark, that the Keeper of the Seals complains of the insufficient number of Judges, the deplorable arrears, the increase of miscellaneous work, and the delay arising from the multiplicity of formality: these are evidently a common affliction over all the world. Most laudable also are his endeavours to reduce the number of arrests

previous to trial, and to prevent, as well as punish, crime. In late English statistics also we find, that the evil-disposed classes are accurately enumerated, for London and Paris, like the Panjáb and Oudh, have their predatory and vagrant tribes, who live like Arabs with their hands against all the world, and who must be coerced by preventive measures. It is only lately, that we have discovered in India, that punishment of crime is not sufficient, and in dealing with predatory tribes *we must anticipate by prevention.*

There was a time when we could afford to be virtuously indignant at the Special Commissions, which have been convened in France, outside the ordinary Courts, to punish political offenders. They are no more a part of the French, than of the Anglo-Indian system. We must no longer judge harshly the Russian, the Austrian, the French, or Italian, Governments, for they have all gone through the fiery baptism of revolution, massacre, plunder, and insult. In France few have not had relations killed either by the people, or the Sovereign; in the ups and downs of politics many classes have tasted power, and hope to taste it again, have had to run for their lives, have seen their houses smoking, have heard their females shrieking, and fear the same thing again. We Englishmen in the calm still water of a settled Constitution have never known this, and we wonder why Sovereigns imprison, execute, banish, and confiscate. We wonder why peoples writhe, revolt, massacre, and plunder. *The iron has now entered into our own souls.* The Austrian Haynau and Radetsky do but represent Nicholson and Havelock. Metternich is but another Dalhousie, and Gurchakoff on the Caucasus did but act as John Lawrence in the Panjáb. We inconsistently sympathize with Schamyl, Kossuth, and Abdúl Kadir, while we execrate the Emperor of Delhi, Tantia Topí, and Díwan Múlraj, forgetting that private crime always accompanies public excitement, for the passions of men become then uncontrolled.

We can never in India criticize Special Commissions again. In the moment of triumph after an internecine struggle, in the hour of revenge (God forgive the word), the Anglo-Indian and the Creole, forgot the moderation of the Christian, and the cry was for judicial massacre. It was hard for those, who arrived in each ship from England with feelings less keenly strung, to restrain the evil passions, which invoked the name of justice, and blended the name of Christianity, with the most wholesale destruction. For these who fell by the sword, in the siege, on the battlefield, or in the skirmish, we have not one word to say. For those mutinous soldiers, who, foiled in their mutiny, were brought to that stake, on which they wished to impale their officers and the European population, we have nothing to urge: they had ceased to be men, and became wild beasts, and were drowned in rivers, hunted across the country, hung in tens and twenties, disposed of by scores at evening-shooting

parties, and got rid of : for every one that perished a hundred lives of the peaceful community were saved, for with arms in their hands murder and rapine had become their only business. But sad is the story of the dreary Reign of Terror, while the Special Commissions lasted, the imperfect investigation, the prejudiced Court, the indecent haste, no confronting of the accused with the witnesses, no time for exculpation, for the gallows were opposite the window. We were indeed struggling not only for power, but for life, and atrocious crimes were being committed, and many came under condemnation justly. But for the simple herd, the ferrymen, who plied their boat at the wrong time; the peasants, who had newly coined copper coins on their person, the dishonest chuprassi, who appropriated the Government cash, the unhappy "suspected" whose witnesses were afraid to come to clear him; for these, and many like them, when the great Book of Judgment is unrolled, it will only *then* be known, why they were sentenced, and for what crime they died.

Calcutta Review, December, 1859.

XXVIII.

EYRE-DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

THERE does not as yet seem much disposition on the part of English residents in other parts of India to follow the example set by those at Lahór a week or two ago, in passing resolutions, and voting subscriptions in support of the Eyre-Defence Committee. Although, as we have before said, we are by no means prepared to endorse the opinions of the zealous partisans of the ex-Governor of Jamaica, there are, it cannot be denied, many circumstances in the case, calculated to arouse for him lively sympathy among Anglo-Indians. It is very well for smug philanthropists, who have never gone beyond the limits of tranquil England, to descant on the atrocity of Mr. Eyre's conduct, and boiling over with righteous indignation to take the place of accuser, so nobly declined by the widow, and urge on a prosecution, which, if it does not break down in an acquittal, will certainly end in a free pardon from the Crown. We do not say that they are much to blame. We could have wished, that their zeal were tempered with prudence, and knowledge, and experience; but we rejoice that there is in the heart of the British people a love of right and Justice, a horror of injustice and cruelty, a jealousy of all tyranny, and a determination

to bring anyone charged with a crime to the bar of the great tribunal of the Nation.

But many of us in India, who have seen our homes burned, our women and our children massacred, our gaols set open, our Civilization trodden down, our countrymen hunted through villages, and flying for their lives, have a strong temptation to view the question, which is involved in Mr. Eyre's trial, from another point of view; and though we regret the details of the transaction, though we deplore the mode of the death of the victim, would still stand by the person who was charged with the murder.

It is the fate of England, one hardly coveted by a peace-loving and commercial Nation, to rule subject-races, and to hold under a mild and regulated dominion conquered Provinces. We are numerically the weakest, and are at all times liable to surprise, to assassination, to some sudden outbreak of the deceitful embers, which glow beneath our feet. In time of peace we are jealous of the life of the meanest of our Indian subjects, and the English soldier, who, a few years ago in a moment of irritation shot down a shepherd in the distant hills of Peshawar, expiated his offences on the gallows in Calcutta, whither I had sent him for trial by the Supreme Court, as he was an English British subject.

But no sooner has the calm been disturbed, no sooner has the well recognized limit of order been transgressed, no sooner has the blood of our countrymen been shed, than the English Official, who would withhold his hand, and not nip the rebellion in the bud by well-timed severity, must be deemed unequal to his post, and answerable for the frightful additional slaughter, which his ill-timed clemency has caused, both of his countrymen, and the unfortunates, who are concerned in the rebellion. The timely death of such a man as Gordon of Jamaica, it is urged by many here, and we admit the argument has weight, however technically illegal were the steps taken to bring about such death, saved rivers of slaughter, and the official who bravely took upon himself the awful responsibility, should be regarded with feelings of gratitude and honour. Sir John Lawrence nobly remarked in 1857, that he was the first to strike, but the first also to leave off striking. If a stern, strong Magistrate (it was said to us the other day), early in June, 1857, had ridden over with a party of horsemen to Bithór, and capturing Nana Dadú Panth, had then and there hanged him, thus rendering impossible the horrors of Cawnpúr, he would not have deserved a prosecution in London got up by Quakers and Baptists, and prejudiced Humanitarians. The death of Gordon put a stop to a rebellion and massacre, and no one doubts his guilt. The life of Nana Dadú Panth led on to the loss of thousands and tens of thousands of native lives. Let the British public be just.

Pioneer, Allahabad, 1866.

“NE QUID NIMIS.”

WHAT a deep thought was struck out of the wise old heathen, who, two thousand years ago, before the greatest truth of all in the fulness of time had reached us, reduced to words this heartfelt truism, which has so often to be impressed upon each generation of neophytes, for whom history has written in vain “Too much of nothing.” It should be wrung in the ears of the Official, who cannot get his thoughts beyond the groove of his office; of the merchant and speculator, whose existence is entangled and intellect stupefied, in the coining of money; of the over-fond mother, whose ideas cannot get beyond the area and atmosphere of her nursery; of the young man, who cannot get the pipe out of his mouth, or himself out of the scene of reckless amusement, of the young lady, whose thoughts never soar beyond the croquet-ground; of the Doctor, who gives to all patients the same mild prescription; and it should be thundered in the ears of the arch-offender of all, who abuses the longsuffering good nature of his audience by an overdose from the pulpit:

“Too much of nothing!” How do we feel in this vain age the necessity of moderation, moderation in matters Religious, moderation in matters civil, moderation in pursuits, moderation in avoidings, moderation in spending, moderation in saving, moderation in pleasure, moderation, alas! even in sorrow. Send a messenger up and down the streets of the station, advertise in the columns of every local paper, *Ne Quid Nimis*—“Too much of nothing.” We are weary of unmerited praise, we are sick at heart from undeserved oppressions. Everything is laid on with too much of a dash, too little of discrimination.

In India how inconsistent is everything! A change of incumbent converts a Church from an uncleanly barn into a room done up for private theatricals. A Province is first torn to pieces by a party, who would enrich the cultivators at the expense of the landowner, and then by another party, who would reimburse the landowner by spoliation of the tenantry. In some stations there are no services, in others all but daily; in some stations no attention is paid to conservancy, in others the untimely domiciliary visits of the scavenger render life a burden. An insane rage for one thing is followed by an equally insane discontinuance *in toto*. The *roué* who has taken an overdose of pleasure in his teens goes in for undue sanctimony in his thirties. However, *Ne Quid Nimis*—“Not too much of anything.”

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1867.

MEMORIES OF THE MUTINIES.

THERE are some stories connected with the troublous days in 1857, which we would not wish to be forgotten.

In the station of Gorakhpúr there is a little Church, built by the piety of former Civil Officers. A bell swings in an open cupola, supported by pillars. When the station was occupied by the Rebels, they proposed to destroy the Church, and appropriate the bell: as they were letting it down, it fell, and killed two of the plunderers. This awed the remainder, and they left the building unmolested.

In the station of Banda a large copy of the Holy Scriptures and Common Prayer had been presented by me to the Church. The Rebels destroyed the Church, but these books were appropriated by the Rebel Nawab and escaped destruction, when temple and tower went to the ground, and now occupy their old place.

Two ladies were in the power of the Rebels at Lakhnau, and their escape was despaired of by their friends and themselves. At the period, when their future appeared the darkest, they asked their guard to let them have some medicine from the Native Doctor: it came wrapped up in a sheet of a mutilated Bible. Their wondering eyes read the following prophetic message from Isaiah (li, 12-14):

"I, even I, am He, that comforteth you: who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the Son of Man, which shall be made as grass?

"And forgettest the Lord Thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor, as if He were ready to destroy? And where is the fury of the oppressor?

"The captive exile hasteneth, that he may be loosed, and that he should not die in the pit, nor that his bread should fail."

A few days afterwards they were rescued in a wonderful manner.

In the station of Allahabad an incident occurred of interest, connected with the death of one of the poor boys, unposted Ensigns, who were attacked and murdered in the Bungalow situated on the spot now occupied by the Bank of Bangál. I extract the following from one of my own contributions to the *Calcutta Review*, 1858: "One "of them, mortally wounded, crept down to a neighbouring ravine, "and there prepared to make his solitary moan and meet his Creator. "He was found by some peasants, who conveyed him to the Ma- "hometan fanatics in the town. In the place, where he was con- "fined, was a Native Christian Minister and his wife, converted "Hindu, the former a good excellent Christian, whom I have

“ long loved and honoured. But human flesh is weak ; the Mahometans were urging him with threats, and tempting him with promises, to deny his Saviour ; indignities offered to his wife were added to threats of mutilation to himself. He might have fallen, but God was watching over him ; as an angel from Heaven, the dying youth was brought in, and hearing and seeing the good man’s struggle, he exhorted him not to buy his life at the price of his soul. Past all hopes of earthly honour, past, alas ! all dishonour, pierced to the heart by the missiles of his enemies, dying among pitiless strangers, this young St. Sebastian made before God his Christian confession. He was still in the sacred innocence of boyhood ; not as yet had the sweet unction of the blessing of his parents been swept away from his brow by the rude contact of his fellows. Not as yet had he forgotten, or learned to be ashamed of, the prayers, which he had lisped kneeling at the side of his sister. Hard reason had not yet tempted him to doubt ; indulged passions had not compelled him to abandon the precepts of Revelation. Other parents may hear of their sons in India having climbed to the proud pinnacle of popular favour, of having saved great Provinces, taken great cities, and having produced as with an enchanter’s wand, great armies ; others may think tearfully and proudly of those, who fell nobly for their country ; but the parents of this boy may say with old Ormonde, and thank God for being able to do so, that they would not exchange their dead child for a thousand living ones.”

Southern Cross, Allahabad, 1867.

XXXI.

RULES FOR BURIAL-GROUNDS.

A copy of the rules for burial-grounds in the Diocese of Calcutta is forwarded for the information of yourself and the Local Committee.

These rules are based on the idea, that there is a Chaplain in each place, where there is a cemetery. In the Panjáb there are a great many small stations, civil out-stations, sanitary, and abandoned stations, where cemeteries exist, and there is no Chaplain. Unless, therefore, the Local Committees are charged with the duty, and authorized to make the necessary expenditure, the rules will not be carried out.

Moreover, on the march, or in the camps, formed during

a protracted campaign, or in a time of pestilence, it happens constantly, that Christians are buried by the roadside. It is notorious, that in many parts of the Panjáb, there exist solitary tombs and graves of the kind described. The whole of these are now placed under charge of the Committee. Where repairs are necessary, they should be made; graves should be protected by a mound, the planting of trees, the erection of a wall, the heaping of stones, or some other mode to preserve the remains from the desecration by the villagers, or wild beasts.

The abandoned cemeteries should be particularly looked after. In some instances a plot of revenue free-land has been granted conditionally on its being kept free from weeds and vegetation; and this arrangement might generally be managed. Repairs of extensive monuments, at the cost of the Committee, are out of the question, but the friends of the deceased may possibly be willing to supply funds to the Committee; and at any rate, such repairs can be incurred as will prevent the remains being exposed. The walls and gates should always be kept in good order.

Lists of all such cemeteries and detached graves, should be kept in the office of the Committee. The native officers of Revenue and Police should be specially charged to look after them; plans, where feasible, should be made, at any rate some record of the name of the deceased, should be preserved, either by inscriptions on the tomb, or an entry in the plan. There is little doubt, that in each district someone will be found, who will take special interest in the subject. It will argue ill for the good feelings of the living, if in a foreign country they allow the graves and tombs of their countrymen to be desecrated or neglected.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, at the time of sanctioning this circular, has requested, that in the course of the next six months you report what has been done to carry out these instructions.

Official Circular, Lahór, 1862.

XXXII.

"SUNT ET SUA FATA SEPULCRIS."

IN India nothing is of very long duration, and every spot in the country, in which the English congregate, is subject to such constant and entire change, that the memory of the oldest inhabitants rarely extends beyond a quarter of a century, and there are no local traditions as in England, handed down in resident

households from father to son in one locality. Thus it is in vain, that the inquirer asks the name of the builder of many a decaying house, or of the tenant of many a dilapidated tomb, and, sadder still! friends and children returning after a lapse of years, often seek in vain for the precise spot, where in their imagination at least rest the remains of those whose memory they love or revere.

Much has been done of late years to protect and improve our cemeteries; they are carefully kept, and friends willing to have tombs repaired, can always find the opportunity of having this work of pious love properly done. Moreover, the style of monumental structures has greatly improved. The presumptuous column, the unmeaning obelisk, the Greek temple, and the Hindu shrine, have given way to simple and modest tombs, with a sufficiency of appropriate decoration, to mark their object, and the name of the deceased carved in the stone, and not a separate marble slab, destined in a few years to be stolen by the native statuary, to be utilized in monuments to another generation.

Still there is one thing wanting. In one district only is there a map of the cemetery, in which every grave is delineated with a number, which can be found in the index, and thus the spot can always be traced in spite of the ravages of time, and the felonies of those who live by robbing the dead. This is a measure which we would earnestly recommend to every Chaplain and Magistrate. Since the Mutiny a large majority of tombs are nameless; their case is hopeless: let our precautions be for the future. The inclosure should be surveyed professionally, the area should be marked off into squares of moderate size, and the letter of the alphabet attached to it in the map and on the walls of the cemetery. In each square, the graves, or spaces for graves, in unoccupied squares, should be numbered from the right in regular rotation.

We deposit our dead in their resting-place, in the hope of a glorious Resurrection, and we know that, in a few months after we have left them, all trace of them must, in this climate, have passed away: still, as long as the heart has passions, long as this life has woes, will the memory of those, who are bereaved, cling to one spot, never perhaps to be revisited, but never to be forgotten. The feeling, if indeed only a human one, is still one that deserves respect. The world must and will relentlessly go on, our places are filled up in the busy throng as soon as we drop, and the memory of us must soon be forgotten; but there is one small space, which each of us is entitled, by the charity of our survivors, to call our own, until our memory as a Nation passes away also.

Allahabad Southern Cross, 1867.

XXXIII.

INDIA AND LANCASHIRE.

INDIA is an enormous country, occupied by industrious and intelligent races for nearly three thousand years: it is a garden of cotton, and the people were in the habit of weaving and wearing cotton garments, at a time, when Julius Caesar found the Britons wearing skins: the product of India's looms was well known. Patna was famous for its muslins; calico, the common name for cotton-cloth, was so named from Calicut, a seaport of South India, whence it was exported. In Upper India the cotton is grown in the cultivator's field, the cotton is picked off the pod by his wife and children, it is spun by them into thread, woven by them into cloth, and thus converted into garments, or sold to their neighbours for that purpose. Carriage, brokerage, profits of the middlemen, cost of conveyance, are thus saved, and for all purposes the stuff is quite suitable to the requirements of the peasantry.

Lancashire may be said to have come into existence as a Manufacturing Power last century, and would like to exert and perpetuate a tyranny over the world. The Lancashire Manufacturer looks upon the people of India in their hundreds of cities, their thousands of villages, and their hundreds of millions of individuals, as mere naked barbarians, whom he is good enough to clothe; he forgets, or never knew, that men like himself have in past years trodden down the indigenous Native Industry of British India, which is now trying to recover itself by the means of Native Manufactures, and that the imposition of a customs due of five per cent for the sole purpose of Revenue upon imported Cotton-Manufactures is not a breach of Free Trade, but a perfectly legitimate exercise of Financial Wisdom, such as the Colonies of Australia and Canada do not hesitate to practise.

Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1895.

XXXIV.

INFANT-MARRIAGE IN BRITISH INDIA.

A GREAT many good and benevolent people, who have plenty of idle hours, faddists as they are called in the Nineteenth century, and busybodies in other men's matters (I Peter, iv, 15), in the First, worry themselves about the customs of Oriental races, contrasting them with their own middle-class customs in some British or North American town, and wish to try their prentice

hands in the work of reforming them. In nothing is the failing of the British philanthropist more conspicuous. Associations are formed of male and female old women to put a stop to the Infant-Marriages of the great Hindu Nation, and to enable a Hindu woman to find a second husband. They form their idea of domestic life exactly on the model of a home of the Middle-Classes of Evangelical type, forgetting how different is the picture presented by the Scriptures, and volumes of Oriental Travel. There is no subject, on which every Nation in the world is so jealous of interference as that of Matrimony, and the Government of British India has solemnly promised their subjects never to interfere by Law or force with the customs of Marriage and Inheritance. It is true that as time went on a Law was passed that no one should forfeit any right on account of change of his Religion, and another that the issue of a Hindu widow, who had remarried, should be legitimate, but there the matter ends. No widows, as a fact, do remarry: there is a prejudice against widows, which is felt in other countries besides India. A boy can take a horse to the pond; a hundred men cannot make it drink. So it has proved with regard to the remarriage of widows. The Government dares not, and desires not, to go further. Before the British Rule the widows were burned by the side of their husband's bodies. Thus has arisen a new complication. The Census of 1891 shows that there are twenty-two Millions of widows in India: some virgin-widows, whose husbands died in childhood; some groups of widows, the derelicts of a polygamous husband; some childless; some mothers of families; some in extreme old age; some under ten years.

As a set-off *there are no old maids: not one.* This may or may not be deemed an advantage: every Hindu girl above four years of age belongs to somebody by betrothal. At about six or seven the ceremony of marriage takes place. About eleven or twelve, when the signs of puberty arise, the boy-husband is summoned to fetch his girl-bride away from her parental home. About twelve or thirteen, in most cases, she is a happy mother. She has never seen her husband face to face until she arrives in his home. None the less the average domestic life is a very happy one: under British Rule there can be no murders, floggings, or ill-usage. The neighbours and the woman's caste-folk would report it to the Police, and the different branches of one family crowd together in one home. The population of India increases at an enormous rate, thirty millions in the last ten years, 1881 to 1891, and is fast touching the high level of the power of the country to sustain the 280 millions.

The unhappy class of fallen women do not, as in Europe, consist of runaway wives, or girls seduced from virtue, but of dancing-girls and hereditary courtesans. Everything in Oriental countries surprises. There is little or no leakage from respectable

families. Slavery, whether domestic or field-work, has absolutely died out, not by any State-Law of Prohibition under penalty, and declared Emancipation, but by the gentle action of the principle, that the State does not recognize any proprietary right in Human bodies. In a country, where ill-usage or imprisonment are punishable *without benefit of slave-owner*, there is no room for Slavery, which is built up on lawlessness, cruelty, and the absence of legal institutions.

No class is more opposed to change than the women themselves. If an enlightened Hindu of the new school were to say to his wife: "Come along, my dear, and let us take a walk in the town: lean on my arm, dear, as the Middle-Class Feringhi bibi does in the streets of London," the wife would reply: "You may have lost all respect for me in exposing my features to the public gaze, like a dancing-girl, but I have not lost my own self-respect." Inside their home Education is spreading, and it is impossible to predict what may be the sentiment of future generations, but whatever change may happen, it must come from the independent movement of the people. The presence in the family of an unmarried girl of sixteen without a nose-ring would be deemed a disgrace, and a danger to purity of morals, and a neglect of duty on the part of parents. People must all marry within their own Caste. For instance, a member of the great Smith Caste must marry a Smith. But inside this Caste are innumerable subdivisions, which may be called the black, the white, the tall, or something else. While on the one hand a girl must marry within her own Caste, she must *not* marry within her own subdivision, and as each of the subdivisions have a relative rank to each other of higher and lower, she must marry into a subdivision higher than that of her parents, and must not marry within her own village or market-town. When I used to have cases in my Court turning on such customs having the force of Law, the litigants being small, poor, ignorant, I used to wonder whether the worms under my feet, or the rats and mice, had among themselves analogous Matrimonial Laws. These things make arrangements very difficult, give rise to actions for breach of promise, but there is no room in the transactions for love-making in the happy-go-lucky way, in which marriages are settled in England, so often to end most disastrously and unhappily. The village-barber manages it among decent people. He is instructed by the parents to look out for a healthy boy of a certain age, born of certain subdivisions of the Caste, and he goes about among the village-barbers of the neighbourhood, and carefully inspects the little boys of the neighbourhood belonging to the Caste and subdivision indicated; while the little boy's family-barber goes and inspects the little girl. When they are satisfied, that they are supplied with the proper number of limbs, and have no congenital disfigurements, they report to their principals, presents are exchanged, and the

betrothal completed. When the marriage comes off, a large ring is run into the nose of the bride, which is only removed, when she becomes a widow.

I once asked a man, whether he would not like to select his own wife: he might have tastes with regard to height, colour of hair, size, etc. He replied, that he had not had the chance given him of choosing his parents, or his brothers and sisters, or even his own children: why should he, then, bother about choosing a wife? A female complete in her chaste beauty was all that he asked for, and that was always to be had. Those who, like myself, lived long and happy years amidst a contented people, who have decided cases in the simple Law-Courts by the score, are of opinion that the people should be left alone. There are three causes of action in rural districts, Women, Money, Land, and they are difficult to settle, unless the Presiding Officer has a loving sympathy with the people. The sorrows of the widow are sung by ignorant British females, but no thought is given to the widower, although his case is a sad one. One of the head Officials of my Court, aged about fifty, lost his wife, and was childless. The fact was whispered in the Court, but it would be as great a breach of social usage to allude to a man's wife as to one of his personal defects. However, when I was alone with him, I got on the subject, and suggested that he should marry again. "Impossible," was the reply, "every girl of my Caste is married at six: I could not marry a widow: my only chance is to bribe an unprincipled father to break off some betrothal (for which he would have to pay heavy damages) and transfer a little child of four years of age to my house with her nurse. I should have to wait eight years before the child was nubile, and should be the laughing-stock of my neighbours."

This story is instructive: it shows the real value of women. If England were conquered by Arab Mahometan invaders, and came under a rule of Tyranny, the first Law, that would be passed, would be to order all the single women, old or young, to get married. If they did not do it quickly, the Officers of the State would arrange it for them. Then, perhaps, the prophecy of Isaiah, iv, 1, would come true. The Million and a half of superfluous females in Great Britain would then cry out to be left alone by unsympathizing strangers: old maids would appeal to Justice and Ancient Customs. Why cannot the faddists of Great Britain let the great Hindu Nation, about eight times as numerous as the British, with their twenty-two Millions of widows, and a population, in spite of marriage at the age of twelve, increasing with leaps and bounds, like the rabbits in Australia, the same privilege *to be left alone*? It is quite clear, that Infant Marriage does not arrest the procreation of healthy children.

Stamford Post, 1893.

MARRIAGE AN INNOVATION.

THERE is now under the consideration of the Viceroy of India and his Legislative Council, a Bill to introduce the custom and practice of Matrimony into a Province of British India, with a population exceeding one million, which apparently is only just arriving at the conviction, that the pairing of the individual members of the two sexes for the purpose of producing a legitimate family is expedient. And this is the end of the Nineteenth century A.D.

The people are called Nair, and are included in the great congeries of races called Hindu: the part of India is Malabar. All descent is traced through the female line: the descendants from one female ancestor live together, holding the property in joint-ownership. Even if an individual by industry acquires separate property, at his death it goes into the common pot; his children get nothing, as marriage in its legal aspect does not exist at all. The contact of Civilization has suggested to those, who had learned to consort with one woman only, to petition the Government to modify the Law. Special Commissioners were appointed to disclose the real state of affairs. As the customs having the force of Law regarding Marriage and inheritance were guaranteed to the people on the annexation of each Province, the Government of India, acting with great caution, determined to ascertain the sentiments of the people.

It is characteristic, that His Highness the Zamorin and the Brahmins, claim *divine* sanction for the system, and oppose the measure; their contention is that the Province was reclaimed from the sea by an Incarnation of Vishnu, and granted by him to the Brahmins. In order to keep estates together the eldest son alone was allowed to marry a Brahmin wife: the younger sons were allowed to cohabit at pleasure with females of lower Castes, who had come to the District. As the Institution of Marriage with its attendant obligation of Chastity would defeat this purpose, the Law forbade matrimony or the observation of chastity. The terms of the Law are quoted by the Commission: "As for the wives of Brahmins, let the rules of Chastity stand; but as to others, let there be no rule of Chastity. Behold, I declare the truth." Moses could not speak more distinctly. Religion thus consecrated non-Brahmin womanhood to Brahmin lust. Marriage being denied, paternity was uncertain, and the result was that the Law of succession was based on female kinship. It is now proposed to provide by legislation a form of Marriage for these races, and to make widows and children heirs to the acquisitions other than hereditary property of deceased persons.

There may have been a time when the present system worked, if not well, at least without objection: but that time is past. The influence of the Brahmins may enforce Polyandry in some obscure localities, but the people seem determined to adopt Marriage as a social institution, and are beginning to conform to paternal family-life. The husband considers it a moral obligation to give a proper Education to his sons, and to provide for his wife and children by gifts, or purchase of property in their names. Coming into contact with other races, the stern law of natural selection is proving the incapacity of the family-system to maintain its ground.

Let us consider the effect of the existing Institution on the female character. Living out of a husband's control, subject to a teaching that they are born to minister to the sensuality of the Brahmin, their moral nature is destroyed: if progress and Civilization rest on Morality, the Law should not stand in the way of those who desire to alter Institutions based on the notion that there is no sin in unchastity. Female Education under such conditions as the above is out of the question: the holy, simple, uncultured, yet honourable, life of the wife and mother in every other part of India is impossible: the home, however humble, has no existence: worse than this, the tie of mutual love and honour, which unites parents and children, is unknown. This custom having the force of Law in a portion of Her Majesty's dominions is known as the Narumakatagam. The Courts based on British Institutions cannot enforce it: let it cease.

Pall Mall Gazette, March, 1895.

XXXVI.

DR. MANNERS SMITH.

On New Year's morning the Reading Room at Anarkáli was crowded by a large assemblage of the community of Láhór, including members of the Covenanted and uncovenanted Civil Services, Military Officers in Civil employ, railway officials, and persons unconnected with Government, Missionaries and representatives of every class of Society, who had collected together in order to bid farewell to their Medical attendant, Dr. Smith, on the occasion of his departure for England, and also to assist in presenting him with a memorial of their feelings towards him.

Mr. R. N. Cust, Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb, as the representative of the Community, addressed Dr. Smith, by whose side Mrs. Smith was seated, in the following terms:

"Dr. Smith: In the absence of Mr. McLeod, I have been requested by your friends in this Station to express to you in their names their feelings towards yourself, of gratitude, admiration, and love. Your name is a household word in Anarkáli; you know every man, woman, and child among us; you have not a single enemy, and you are loved by all. We regret your departure, and pray for your speedy and prosperous return.

"As a public officer, you have never failed in your duty; whether in fair weather, or foul, you have never been absent from your post, and never been found wanting; you have been intrepid in the season of pestilence, and full of resource in the hour of difficulty.

"As a private individual, all are aware of your kindliness, generosity, and large-heartedness. In the sick-room your presence has ever been welcomed; the very look of you has half cured us, and we have learned to place, under Providence, entire trust in your skill and attention. Accept, therefore, this testimonial of our affection, and upon the object, which you select in England, we request that the inscription be engraved, which I now read:

" ' Presented to
Dr. Charles Manners Smith,
Civil Surgeon,
Anarkáli, Lahór,
By his friends,

' In token of their appreciation of the unwearying and unselfish care and successful skill, with which during a period of ten years, at all seasons, and under all difficulties, he has ministered to the medical wants of the residents of Lahór.' "

Lahór Chronicle, 1863.

XXXVII.

DEATH OF BHAI MAKHAN SINGH.

THERE died at Amritsar on September 2, in extreme old age, Bhai Makhan Singh, the chief Granthi of the great Sikh Temple, called the Durbar Sahib, at Amritsar. This old gentleman was a great favourite of the English residents, and many will hear of his death with regret. In his recollection the great city of Amritsar sprang up from a row of shops attached to the sacred tank, and expanded into the present vast entrepôt of Commerce and Manufacture. Bhai Makhan Singh was once introduced to a Governor-General as Bhaie "Butter" Singh, by a slip of the tongue of the

master of the ceremonies. The Sikh Temple at Amritsar is maintained in its glory by the liberality of the paternal Government. It has a large staff of Religious attendants. A Granthi day and night is seated by the sacred Book: under him are singers, Rági, who are Sikh, and Rubábi Fiddlers, who are Mahometan, and a very disreputable body of Levites called Pujári, who conduct pilgrims to the shrine. All these beneficiaries are paid by assignments of Land-Revenue guaranteed by the British Government; and the great National Temple is richly endowed, if not by grants of money paid out of the Treasury, at least by payments of Land-Revenue intercepted before it reaches the Treasury, which is very much the same thing in the eye of the people, and for which the Sikh nation is very grateful.

Lahór Chronicle, 1862.

XXXVIII.

DEATH OF RAJA TEJA SINGH.

THE death of Raja Teja Singh at Lahór on the morning of the 4th instant, conjures up with momentary vividness the great events, in which he played a prominent part, and which involved the downfall of the Sikh, and the commencement of the British rule in the Panjáb. Nephew of Ranjít Singh's early favourite, Jemadar Khúshal Singh, the late Raja was a Brahmin of the Gour subdivision from the village of Ikri, in the Begum Samru's Perganah of Sirdhána, near Mirat. The Jemadar himself came to the Panjáb in 1806 as a private soldier, but subsequently rose to the confidential post of Musáhib. He became a Sikh and broke his Brahminical thread, which his more scrupulous brother Ram Lál refused to do. Teja Singh became a Sikh at the same time as his uncle, although in later years he resumed the use of the sacerdotal thread. It suited the policy of our Government in the Panjáb to treat Teja Singh with high consideration, but the cheery old man was of inferior ability, and of very little account in the Court of Ranjít, although his uncle, Khúshal, whom he succeeded as Chamberlain, was a star of first magnitude, who acquired vast jaghirs, built large houses at Lahór and Amritsar, and fitted up the tomb now occupied as Government House, which is still called Jemadar Ki-Koti. His nephew Teja at this period was a useful, but not distinguished, chief, employed at Pesháwar and elsewhere. When Ranjít died, and all his great captains were murdered or died also, the stars of less magnitude came to the ascendant, and in 1845, when, under

Maharaja Dhulip Singh's weak rule, the Khalsa Army marched on Ferozpur, Sirdar Teja Singh was chosen to be Commander-in-Chief from default of a better man. The Sikh Army crossed the Satlaj between the 11th and 14th December. It is said that Teja Singh belonged to that party among the Sirdars, who doubted the power of the Khalsa to make head against the British, but, unable to restrain the soldiery, and fearing, that they might turn and rend them, urged them on to hostilities and destruction. Lal Singh, the Wazir, commanding the Corps d'Armée, confronted Lord Gough at Ferozshah, while Teja Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, was at the head of the other in front of Ferozpur, where Sir John Littler's division was posted. Here, Sir John dodged him, by leaving his camp standing, and quietly abandoning Ferozpur during the night, and joining the main body of the British Army. Had this junction not been accomplished, and had Teja Singh at the same time been earnest in his desire to effect the destruction of his enemy, our defeat was almost inevitable, but he was at that moment in constant correspondence with the Political Agent, Major Broadfoot, who fell on the field of battle (and I, who was his personal assistant, and with him, buried him), and with him all the threads of the intrigue were snapped. Teja Singh, in fact, saved our Army at Ferozshah. Had he attacked General Littler at Ferozpur, or had he supported Lal Singh at Ferozshah, especially at the moment when, under mistaken orders, a portion of the British force was retiring on Ferozpur, or had he renewed the fight with his combined force on December 23, the result might have been very different from what history now records. Teja Singh is fairly entitled to the designation conferred upon an abler and more honest Panjabi, that of "Saviour of British India," as our power was tottering, when he made his escape over the bridge of boats at Sobraon. Whether he was a traitor to his own Government or not, has never been fully substantiated, but certain it is that his countrymen, or rather the Sikhs, sorely doubted his patriotism, as the ballads of the time prove.

But whether Teja Singh was true or not, certain it is that, on the occupation of Lahor, he was in high favour with the British, and was nominated President of the Council of Regency, and created Raja of Sealkot, although the Maharaja Dhulip Singh, instigated by his mother, refused in the famous Durbar to place the marks on his forehead. Nevertheless, he enjoyed the confidence of Sir Henry Lawrence, who recommended that a jaghir of £6,000 per annum should be granted to his family in perpetuity.

Time passed on: the second Sikh War broke out; the current of National and Religious feeling swept away many of the leading Chiefs, but the crafty old Raja ventured not into the troubled waters, and giving Sir Frederic Currie such counsel as he was able, he was left on their subsidence in uninterrupted prosperity.

At the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny at Sealkot, he hospitably provided shelter in his Fort for the Europeans, who could not safely remain in the Cantonments.

On Lord Canning's visit to Lahór the Raja pressed his claims to be maintained on an equal position to that which he held in his own domains during the brief reign of Dhulíp Singh. The ever generous Viceroy lent a favourable ear to his representations, and in virtue of what the Raja held to be a guarantee of the British Authorities, he was invested with full Magisterial Authority in the neighbourhood of Batála. It may, however, be questioned, if the jurisdiction thus coveted and attained, increased the real happiness of the Raja, and whether he did not sometimes look back with regret to easier days spent in the Castle of Sealkot, or amongst the rivulets of Bejwat, when he enjoyed his revenue free from the cares of office, and from the domestic disputes which of late beset him. He was long childless, but two years ago he announced the birth of a son by one of his brother's widows. Of course, such a marriage was illegal according to the Hindu Law, if not more than illegal, as not only do Rajpút widows not remarry, but it is not clear whether any marriage took place at all. We have yet to see whether this child will be acknowledged.

The consolidation of Ranjít Singh's Monarchy and the successes of his Army; the gradual disorganization of both under his successors; the eventual direction of affairs by the soldiery; the two wars with the British; the complete subjugation of the country; the degradation from power of the native ministers; the light taxation of the agricultural population; the general contentment, in which subjugation was forgotten; the sudden rise of a new Sikh Army to fight on the side of the conquerors; the more liberal policy granted to a people, who had remained tranquil amid great excitement; such were the eventful scenes enacting during the Raja's life, in which more or less conspicuously he bore a part. It suited the Government to treat the Raja as the representative of the old aristocracy of the Province, though he was neither a Sikh nor a Pan-jábi, nor yet, it is more than suspected, true to his adopted country; but, nevertheless, although we cannot justly accord to his career the tribute of admiration and respect due only to eminent merit, we may at least in sincerity concede such measured praise as, fairly weighing the circumstances in which he was placed, may not be withheld from a temperament void of guile, and conduct unstained by wilful oppression.

Lahór Chronicle, 1863.

DEATH OF RANI JINDA KOUR.

A BOLD and bad woman has died in a hired house at Kensington, Rani Jinda Kour, the mother of Maharája Dhulíp Singh, who was aptly called the Messalina of the Panjáb twenty years ago by Sir Herbert Edwardes

She was the daughter of a Sikh horseman of low extraction, who made a present of her to Maharája Ranjít Singh, then in his dotage. He sent his shield and sword, but never saw her; he grinned horribly the next year, when the news of the birth of a son was announced to him, and died soon afterwards, having been several years in a state of paralysis. It was never presumed for a moment, that Ranjít Singh was the father of this child, the honour being generally attributed to one Gulu, a carpet-sweeper of the Palace. The Rani played an important part in the last year of the Khalsa. Lal Singh was her paramour, Jawáhir Singh her brother. Sir Frederic Currie had her first locked up in the fort of Shaikhopurah, and at length despatched her to Allahabad: but are not all these things told in the histories of the time?

The Rani broke prison years ago and fled to Nepal, and would have never again been heard of, but for twenty lakhs of rupees and jewels, which accompanied her from Lahór, and which remained locked up in the Treasury of Banarás, narrowly escaping being plundered in the Mutinies. Dhulíp Singh cast a covetous eye on these jewels, and coming to Calcutta a couple of years ago, got possession of his mother and the jewels, introduced her to some of the Authorities, dressed her in Paris costume, and took her to Kensington, where, having done her duty, she died in Abington House. We should like to know exactly the cost, which this popinjay, the issue of Messalina and Gulu Furash, has cost the finances of the Panjáb. We believe that he gets a lakh of rupees per annum still.

One by one the actors in the turbulent drama of the last years of the Khalsa are disappearing. Each year some well-known face is missed, and nearly all have died, or are without male issue. It is generally believed, that the grant of a jaghír or pension at once has a Malthusian effect on the recipient. Nephews, brothers, sons of slave-girls are always forthcoming, but the real pukka male heir of the body lawfully begotten in marriage, is a thing scarcely known among the Chieftains of the Panjáb.

Lahór Chronicle, 1863.

XL.

RUKMA-BAI.

In your issue of Saturday you have a correspondence with regard to Marriage in India, headed "A Jubilee for Women of India."

But why do you impute to the Courts of Justice of all the Provinces of British India the vagaries of the Presidency-Town of Bombay?

In the Panjáb Civil Code, Section 156, para. 12, it is thus written: "Marriage: an action for damages will lie both against the child, who violates the contract, and the parent, who made it." And in para. 13: "In no case can the Court compel either party to complete the marriage against his or her will."

Unless I am greatly mistaken such is the Law in the Courts of Justice all over India outside the Presidency-Towns.

Of what advantage is it to raise a cry of a National wrong when none exists? There are fathers and brothers in India, who would no more allow an injury to be done to their female relations than they would in England.

Letter to Times, April, 1887.

Rukma-Bai must belong to a very peculiar Hindu Caste, as she appears to have a stepfather. One of the greatest grievances of the Hindu woman is, that though the British Government has passed a Law declaring the issue of a remarried Hindu woman legitimate, no respectable Hindu will marry a widow.

Another great grievance of a Hindu woman is supposed to be that, while yet a child she is made over to the family of a boy-husband, and that the marriage is consummated, while she is scarcely mature. And yet this lady appears to be grown up, and though the marriage-contract has been made, it has never been carried out. These facts show the case to be very exceptional. In all my experience as a Judge, I never knew one like this, though I have decided hundreds.

In the North of India children are generally contracted in marriage about the age of three: the Marriage-ceremony takes place at about the age of six: but the girl remains with her parents until the friends of the bridegroom are officially informed by the

parents of the bride, that she has arrived at maturity. She is then fetched to her new home by the bridegroom, in person, with pomp and rejoicing.

As each Province of India was conquered, proclamations were issued, promising to the people :

- (1) Toleration of Religion.
- (2) Inviolability of rights of property in land and chattels.
- (3) Maintenance of Law and customs having the force of Law, with regard to Marriage and Inheritance.

How different is the practice of the South African Company in Rhodesia?—slaughter, confiscation of property, breaking up of homes.

In India, when a Marriage-contract before consummation is broken, and this often happens, an action for damages lies, as a real injury has been done to both bride and bridegroom, who in many Castes will have the greatest difficulty in supplying themselves with a partner.

Specific performance of a Marriage-contract, implying the handing over of a female unwillingly to her husband, is as improper as it is intolerable and illegal.

Letter to Record, April, 1887-1896.

XLI.

DWARFS IN THE PANJÁB.

In the Panjáb certain Dwarfs are called “Chúha Shah Dowlah,” “Rats of the shrine of Shah Dowlah, a Mahometan Saint, who has a shrine in the Panjáb, which I visited in my winter-tour of the Lahór Division. It so happened that in 1851, I saw in Paris two of these Dwarfs exhibited in a Circus, riding on ostriches: they were described as a peculiar race of Pigmies. I asked Mahommed Latif, a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, residing at Jalandhar, to send me an accurate account of these Dwarfs, for they were quite remarkable enough to dispense with lying legends, and he sent to me for the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of 1896, the following narrative, which I reprint as of general interest.

London, July, 1896.

Jalandhar, Panjáb.

April 27, 1896.

SIR,—I have made inquiries regarding the people known in the Panjáb as “*Chuha Sháh Daula*” found in Gújarat District and elsewhere in the Panjáb. The hereditary custodians of the shrine of Sháh Daula, in the city of Gújarat, maintain, that parents not blessed with a child make a vow at the Chawngál, the mausoleum of the Saint, that, should they be gifted with a child, male or female, they would make an offer of him or her at the shrine of the Saint. If through the blessings of the Saint a child is born to the parents, in fulfilment of the vow they offer the child at the shrine. The child’s head is invariably small, and so the epithet *Chuha*, or “Mouse,” is given to it. The story, however, is wrong. In the first place, why should parents ask the gift of a child, whose head is so small that the child, when grown up to manhood, becomes an idiot, and is devoid of all senses? A child so born is quite useless to the parents and to the world at large. Secondly, the story as to the blessings of the Saint is absurd, since the gift of a child in such condition is rather a curse to the parents than a blessing.

The truth of the matter is, that the *Chuha*, males or females, born with small heads, are extraordinary creatures, and the fashion has grown in the Panjáb of making an offering of a child so born at the shrine of Sháh Daula in Gújarat, and the child is called “*Chuha Sháh Daula*.” I made inquiries about the matter from old and well-informed people, and they all agree, that there is nothing supernatural in the birth and constitution of these individuals, and that they are merely extraordinary creatures.

At a time it was gravely suspected by the authorities, that the hereditary custodians of the shrine of Sháh Daula in Gújarat, who keep a number of these extraordinary creatures at the shrine (who prove to them a source of gain), employed artificial means for making the heads of new-born children small, and prevented the natural growth of the head by squeezing it in an iron vessel, and keeping it in such a condition for a length of time until its further growth has ceased. But at length careful inquiries into the causes of the smallness of the head showed, that it was due neither to supernatural powers, nor to artificial agencies, but that the people were merely extraordinary creatures.

The saint Sháh Daula was born in 975 A.H. (1567 A.D.), and died at the age of 150 in 1125 (1713 A.D.), or in the time of the Emperor Jahánghir Sháh. He was a descendant of the Behlol kings, and on the mother’s side was related to Sultan Sárang Khan, a *Ghakkar* chief. He was an eye-witness of the events of the reigns of Akbar, Jahánghir, Sháhjahán, and Aurangzeb, the four celebrated Moghul emperors.—Yours obediently,

MAHOMED LATIF.

JOHN, LORD LAWRENCE OF THE PANJÁB.

At the close of the year 1845, John Lawrence was the active and highly esteemed Magistrate and Collector of Delhi. In the neighbouring districts, Sir Donald McLeod, Sir Robert Montgomery, and Mr. Edward Thornton, held similar posts. The Governor of the North-West Provinces at that time, Mr. James Thomason, used to send the most promising young men, as they arrived, to be trained in their duties by Lawrence and McLeod.

During the last weeks of that year, the Sikhs invaded Northern India, and were met and defeated by Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough in the famous battles of Múdkí, Ferozshahr, Aliwál, and Sobraon. Peace was granted at the price of the forfeiture of the Jalandhar Doab, and the whole of the mountainous region from the Satlaj to the Indus. That portion of the cession, which lies betwixt the Rávi and the Indus, was sold to the Maharája of Jamú, who became thenceforward Sovereign of Kashmir. The remainder of the cession was formed into a new civil division, called then the Trans-Satlaj districts, consisting of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpúr, and Kangra.

John Lawrence, then about thirty-five years of age, was summoned from Delhi to be Commissioner and Superintendent of the new tract, and arrived at his ground in March, 1846.

Lord Hardinge appointed, as his assistants, three very young men, who had served through the campaign, and were present in the great battles: one at the side of the Commander-in-Chief, and the other two at the side of the Governor-General: their names were Herbert Edwardes, of the Company's European Regiment; Edward Lake, of the Bengal Engineers; and Robert Needham Cust, of the Civil Service, who alone survives, and writes these lines.

Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Napier of Mágdala were already at Lahór, and Sir George Lawrence at Pesháwar. Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Donald McLeod, and Mr. Edward Thornton, arrived three years later, when the Panjáb was annexed in 1849; but Reynell Taylor and John Nicholson had been through the campaign with their regiments, and Destiny was drawing them to that frontier, where their names will never be forgotten.

It seems but yesterday, that I first stood before John Lawrence in March, 1846, at the town of Hoshiarpúr, the capital of a district in the Jalandhar Doab, which was my first charge. I found him discussing with the Postmaster-General the new lines of postal delivery, and settling with the Officer commanding the troops the limits of his cantonments. Sir Harry Lumsden, then a young

subaltern, was copying letters. Seated round the small knot of Europeans were scores of Sikh and Mahometan landholders, arranging with their new lord the terms of their cash-assessment. He was full of energy, and was impressing upon his subjects his principles of a just State-demand, and their first elementary ideas of natural equity, for, as each man touched the pen, the unlettered token of agreement to their lease, they were made to repeat aloud the new Trilogue of the English Government, "Thou shalt not burn thy widows: Thou shalt not kill thy daughters: Thou shalt not bury alive thy lepers": and old greybeards, in the family of some of whom there was not a single widow or a female blood relative, went away chanting the dogmas of this new Moses, which next year were sternly enforced. Here I learned my first idea of the energetic order and the rapid execution, which make up the sum-total of good administration. Here I first knew the man, who was my model, my friend, and my master, until, twenty years later, I sat at his Council Board in Calcutta, and, thirty years later, consulted him on details of the affairs of the Church Missionary Society, and joined his committee in opposition to what we believed to be the mistaken policy of a second Afghan War, and which proved to be so.

From 1846 to 1849 he discharged the duties of Commissioner, with occasional visits to Lahór to assist his brother, Sir Henry, who was Resident. In the last year the second Sikh War broke out, which culminated in the annexation of the whole of the Panjáb to British India, and his transfer to the post of member of the Central Board of Administration. In 1853 the Board collapsed, owing to the irreconcilable differences of himself and his brother, and he became Chief Commissioner. In 1859 that title was changed for Lieutenant-Governor, which he held only for a few weeks, as, in March, 1859, he resigned the Service, and left India, as it was then imagined, for ever.

The work, which he had done for the Jalandhar Doab in the first three years, he carried out in the wider field of the Panjáb during the remaining ten years between 1849 and 1859. Order and firm rule were established, where there had been none for centuries: a firm rule, but not that of the Oriental Pasha, or the Russian Military Dictator. There were no soldiers employed in an administration, which was purely civil; there was no secret police, no passports, no spies, no gagged Press, no prisons full of political *détenus*, no Siberia for countless exiles: but an abolition of monopolies, except that of liquor and drugs; an equitable and fixed assessment of the land-tax; a reduction of pensions, and of assignments of land-revenue, which wasted the resources of the State; a disbandment of all feudal troops, and the substitution of a strong and disciplined police; a simple, cheap, and rapid system of justice between man and man; a stern protection of life and property from violence or fraud; a levelling of all petty fortresses, a disarmament of the warlike classes; freedom

of Religion, freedom of trade, freedom of speech and writing, freedom of locomotion; the foundation of a system of National Education; the lining out of roads, the construction of bridges, the demarcation of village boundaries, the establishment of posts and telegraphs; the encouragement of Commerce and Manufactures by removal of every possible restriction. When I think of all that was done, when I remember the state of the country before the annexation, and the marvellous change, that came over it in the course of so few years, I cannot but regret that such men are not found for the other dark places of this globe. Peace had her victories, no less renowned than war: Plenty poured forth her abundant horn; the Sikh yeoman stood waist-deep in the exuberant harvest, where there had been a desert; canals were opened or extended. As the shining Reports of the eloquent Secretary, Sir Richard Temple, went forth year by year, as the Panjáb-trumpet, blown lustily, sounded all over India, the official world in other Provinces were credulous or jealous. Even the difficulties of the frontier of the Indus seem to be in a fair way to be settled, and Dost Mahomed, the Amír of Kábul, came down to Pesháwar to ratify terms of perpetual friendship. With failing health the great Ruler was preparing to leave for England, when the grave events of the 10th of May, 1857, altered the course of his life, and the history of India.

The time of trial came: the last expiring click of the Delhi telegraph told them of the Mutiny at Mirat and the Rebellion at Delhi; but Lawrence, Montgomery, and Herbert Edwardes, Nicholson, Corbett, and Cotton, were equal to the occasion. The Panjáb was, as it were, rent from India by a wide gulf of mutiny and disorder. Lawrence stamped with his feet, and raised a new army to replace the disbanded mutineers; the very soldiers, whom I could remember fighting against us at Múdkí and Sobraon and Gújarat in 1846 and 1849, were called from their villages, and helped to avenge themselves against the Sepoys. Other Governors might have selfishly thought only of their own Province, and sacrificed the Empire to it; but Lawrence had been Magistrate of Delhi, and recognized the paramount importance of the Imperial City. He summoned his great feudatories of Kashmír and Patnála; he enlisted his old enemies on the frontier, and launched them all against Delhi, preferring to throw all upon the die than to be consumed piecemeal. Then came the time of restoration, but not of revenge. Some, who had done nothing during the days of peril, became active then: but the brave are ever merciful; and, when Delhi was made over to Lawrence, he peremptorily stopped the indiscriminate slaughter, and recorded the famous minute, that he was the first to strike, and the first to leave off striking. Victory was thus crowned with mercy.

Perhaps his figure stands out in more knightly proportions; perhaps he was more entirely himself the man, who had found the

Panjab a den of wild beasts, and left it an orderly garden, as I remember him then, and I quote the description, which in 1859 I wrote in the *Calcutta Review*, which speaks more particularly of his outward appearance, and the feelings with which he was regarded :

“ One man, one only, has in these last days [1859] retired from
 “ the Service amidst the plaudits of England and India : and as
 “ on the eve of his departure, the great Proconsul was about to
 “ resign his dictatorial wreath, he received from his fellow-labourers
 “ an ovation far transcending the vulgar strut up the Sacred Way,
 “ or the blood-stained triumph of the Capitol. He had no more
 “ favours to bestow, no more patronage to dispense ; but he was
 “ the pilot, who had weathered the storm, and he deserved the
 “ acknowledgments which he received. There he stood, firm on
 “ his legs, square in his shoulders, dauntless in his aspect, built in
 “ the mould of a Cromwell, ready to look friend or foe in the face,
 “ incapable of guile, real or implied, and yet so strong in his sim-
 “ plicity and straightforwardness, that he was not easily deceived.
 “ Age had silvered his hair and dimmed his eyesight, since thirteen
 “ years ago I met him, as he crossed the River Satlaj, but nought
 “ had been diminished of his energy, or of his firmness of purpose.
 “ Good fortune, and a wonderful coincidence of events, had seconded
 “ his exertions, and, rising from the ranks of his profession, he
 “ had, in his own rough way, carved out a European reputation,
 “ received every honour, which a citizen could wish for, the great
 “ Civil Order of the Bath, and the thanks of Parliament ; but,
 “ amidst the applause of all parties, he had not contracted one
 “ spark of conceit. His nature was too pure and unalloyed to be
 “ contaminated by the servile flattery which accompanies success
 “ and intoxicates weaker spirits. Elevation had not spoiled him.

“ He was equal in all things, a good man and true, who did the
 “ work, that was set before him, strongly and thoroughly ; who,
 “ when experience failed, drew on his own judgment, trusted in his
 “ own firmness, and was never found wanting. Indomitable in
 “ adversity, and restrained in prosperity, he has left to the State
 “ a train of followers, who are proud to be called ‘ the School of John
 “ Lawrence.’ In the United States of North America, such a man
 “ would have been President of the people ; in England, had the
 “ aristocratic element been less exclusive, he might have been a great
 “ Minister, like the elder and younger Pitt. In the Middle Ages
 “ he would have carved out for himself a principality. He knew
 “ and remembered, after a lapse of years, the minutest details of
 “ our administrative system ; still he grasped, and at once adopted,
 “ the general view of a subject, which so many narrow official
 “ minds miss. Unrivalled in dispatch of business, he never tolerated
 “ delay in others, but he knew when to relax and when to tighten
 “ the rein. He was the master, and not the slave, of his work,
 “ and of the machinery for the dispatch of that work, and he never

“sacrificed ends to means. So great was the prestige of the “success of his ten years’ administration, that all, military as well “as civil, older in years or younger, tendered to him the willing “homage of obedience. He rose to ennoble the last years of the “great East India Company, as if to prove, that the system of “nomination by patronage could sometimes, by a happy chance, “produce a man, as a set-off to the succession of hereditary dullards, “by whom India had been oppressed. He all but effaced the stain “on the shield of the great Company, that during a century of “rule she had never given one servant to take his place for purely “Indian service among the hereditary senators of his country.”

He returned to England in 1859, and might have spent the remainder of his days in the strenuous idleness of the Indian Council, the inglorious ease of the London club, or the obscurity of the Highland valley. When Lord Canning in 1862 resigned the Viceroyalty, his name was mentioned as a possible successor, but the choice fell upon Lord Elgin, who succumbed to disease in the Autumn of 1863, while a serious war was raging on the frontier. The occasion had arisen, and the man, though past fifty, was ready. As he was seated in his room at the India Office, the Secretary of State, Sir C Wood, looked in, and said briefly: “You are to go to India. Wait till I come back from Windsor.” And so Lawrence returned once more, and held the post of Viceroy during five years of peace and progress. He returned finally to England in 1869, where ten years of honour and repose were vouchsafed to him, before he was summoned to his last home in 1879.

What of the man? In reviewing the greatest of his contemporaries, what was his place? He was not one of those giants, armed at all points, before whom all men insensibly bow down. He could not speak like Dalhousie, or write like Ellenborough; he had not the noble presence of Canning, nor the courteous urbanity of Sir Bartle Frere. Even compared with his own school, he had not the fiery eloquence of Sir Herbert Edwardes, the calm wisdom of Sir Donald McLeod, the sweet gentleness of Edward Lake, the dauntless pluck of Sir Robert Montgomery, the sparkling genius of George Christian, who perished during the Mutinies, the brilliant talents of Sir Richard Temple, or the comprehensive grasp of Sir George Campbell. Others of his followers surpassed him in natural gifts or acquired attainments; but he was the good man and true, strong in his clear perception, strong in the firmness of his purpose, his disdain for all meanness, and the entire absence of petty feelings.

Like all men endowed with greatness of character, he drew around him a school of followers. Men admitted to his presence felt, that they were face to face with a master-workman, who went to the bottom of everything, and that bottom was the best interests of the people. There were no platitudes to disguise ignorance;

there was no veneer of official phraseology to hide the absence of fixed principles; tolerant of contradiction, he was fertile in argument, and convincing in his own simple eloquence, but ready in council to admit the cogency of the views of his antagonists; but when it came to orders, there must be obedience. I myself have accepted cheerfully from him blows, which I would have tolerated from no one else, and, as I rose to power, handed them on with good will to my subordinates, for there was no *arrière pensée*, no secret intrigue: it was simply, "Do this or that, or go," and the thing was done! There was a time, when the rough-and-ready free-lances of the Panjáb were laughed at: the time came, when they were feared and imitated, when the model Province stood out as the object of imitation, when the personal friends and followers of John Lawrence, long before he became Viceroy, had been translated into the highest posts in Maisúr, Haiderabad, Bengal, Nagpúr, Allahabád, Lakhnau, and Burma. After the Mutiny, it became the fashion to look to the Panjáb for a soldier-civilian, or a civilian-soldier, for every duty; and Lord Canning, who came very slowly and gradually into a full appreciation of the merits of a lieutenant, who had obscured his own grandeur as Governor-General, replied to a remonstrance against the promotion of so many men into other Provinces, that he must take more; and so, indeed, it went on, until the whole of India had passed under the more or less direct influence of the new principles of administration which were shadowed forth by Dalhousie, and worked out by John Lawrence. And his power of selection, his divining-rod of a man's capacity, was wonderful. He must have, he used to say, brains or sinews: one or the other, or both. His frontier-men must have sinews to guard the marches and lead the foray; his councillors and his administrators must have brains. Some, like Sir Richard Temple, had both; the seat in the saddle, the bright intelligence at the council-table. He rejected the feeble fool, or the lazy giant. Moreover, he stood by his subordinates; if they made a mistake, he knocked them down himself; but, having done so, he placed his broad shield over them, and no one else should touch them. He accepted the credit of their joint success; he submitted to the blame of their co-operative failures. So men knew whom they were serving, and gave true yeoman-service.

Constant intercourse with the people in their villages, seated on a log under the shady grove, on horseback, in the evening walk, climbing the mountain-side, floating down the river, was the secret of his personal rule; an intimate knowledge of the Language, of the people, their customs, their prejudices, their weaknesses, and their abundant excellences; a ready ear to their complaints, and a prompt decision; a never-failing flow of good humour and *bon-homme*, of good-fellowship, and cheerful jokes, under the influence

of which a man, who had lost his case, went away smiling; of distinct and simple orders, and hard blows, when occasion required: and all this accompanied by businesslike method, accuracy of autograph record, simplicity of routine, promptness and clearness of account of money collected and disbursed, and immediate reply to letters received: this was the machinery, by which an Oriental people, who had been untamed for three centuries, became as lambs within a decade. When the second Panjáb War broke out in 1849, and, deceived by rumours, some few chieftains of the Jalandhar Doab rose up in a parody of a rebellion, by the orders of John Lawrence I wrote a proclamation to the headmen of the villages to meet us at different points of our hasty march to grapple with the insurgents, a copy of which I attach to this Notice. At each halting-place they were assembled in scores, and, when a sword and a pen were placed before them to select the instrument, by which they wished to be ruled, the pen was grasped with enthusiasm. With the genius of a general, Lawrence planned, and carried into execution, this bloodless campaign, where delay would have been fatal.

His great strength was his love for his people: he resisted the Supreme Government, if it were attempted to overtax, or pass an unpopular Law; he resisted his own subordinates, if they were harsh or neglectful; he resisted the nobles of the Panjáb, and, later in life, the Talúkdars of Oudh, and the indigo-planters of Bengal, if they attempted to oppress the tillers of the soil. He resisted his own brother Sir Henry, who erred from noble mistaken sentiment, and not from personal motives; he would have resisted the Missionaries, if they had attempted to depart from the great principles of Toleration (which in India they never have done), if they had erected their places of Worship in offensive proximity to some shrine of local sanctity, or if they had waged war against the time-honoured and innocent family customs of the people. His ideal, which I have often heard from his lips, of a country thickly cultivated by a fat, contented yeomanry, each man riding his own horse, sitting under his own fig-tree, and enjoying his rude family comforts, may not have been the ideal of a State in the Nineteenth century politically free; but for a people, whose destiny it has been for centuries to be conquered, domestic comforts, and the enjoyment of their own customs, their own Religion, and their own Language, soften the sting of foreign domination. "An iron hand in the velvet glove; plenty of the rein, sparing use of the whip and spur; "be accessible to all": these were his maxims and his practice. If, in his morning ride, an old Sikh would seize the bridle of his horse, or in his evening walk an irrepressible old woman would clasp his legs, he would, indeed, shake them off with a full flow of vituperative vernacular, for such approaches are often the cover of the assassin; but he would carefully note the

name and residence of his assailants, and, to their surprise, they would find themselves called for, and their cases attended to at the earliest opportunity. "You have been too hard upon the poor Raja," were the first words of a letter written to me more than thirty years ago, when I was pressing my heel too heavily on one of the lineal descendants of the Sun and the Moon in the lower Himaláya ranges; and the words have often recurred to me in after-life, and, with all those, who love the docile and gentle people of India, I perused, with gratitude and thankfulness, the parting admonition of the great Proconsul, when he left Calcutta for the last time: "Be kind to the Natives."

A mighty horseman, he thought nothing of a score of miles before breakfast; a mightier disposer of business, he would be seated in the midst of his Native subordinates, or in later years, in his study, and getting through more work in a morning than many men of untrained experience, and uncertain purpose, would in a week. He had the art of making others work also. Like Caesar and Julian, he seemed to be able to listen to Reports, write, and dictate, at the same time. Seated pen in hand, with naked arms in the intensely hot weather, he seemed to be striking the iron while it was hot; then was the time of the famous orders scored roughly in pencil to "bring each sinner's nose to the grindstone," and to tell the writer of a letter that he was a fool, "but let me see the draft before it is copied." For with this stern rule there was ever the ready joke, the deep, good-natured sense of fun, the twinkling of the kind grey eye. And more than that: in the midst of all the business of Empire, he found time to write a brief yet sympathetic letter to the bereaved husband, or to the sorrow-stricken widow, to condole on the death of a little child. Although no domestic sorrow ever came near his door, he had the heart to sympathize with the sorrows of others; and a short time before his death, while he was sick and blind, he followed to the grave the wife of one of his old assistants, who was absent in India.

Simple in his habits, the Ambassadors of Kábul or Kashmír would find him playing on the ground with his children, or, with his shirt-sleeves tucked up, up to his eyes in correspondence. If not received with much dignity, they had the inestimable advantage of direct intercourse with him without interpreter or go-between. If they heard rough truths, they were soothed with cheerful laughs and pleasant jokes. If they found a man, whom no astute practice of theirs could deceive, they left with the firm conviction, that by that man, in deed or word, they would never be deceived; for he had a heart incapable of guile, a tongue which could not be shaped to deceive, rough and yet kindly. His "yea" was "yea," and his "nay" was "nay" to all men, and the people of the Panjáb learned to prefer his hard speech and soft heart to the soft speech and hard heart of some of his fellow-labourers. If one characteristic

were more conspicuous than others, it was his truthfulness. As the writer of this memoir followed him to the grave in Westminster Abbey, he had the unexpected honour of walking by the side of Mr. Gladstone, who had arrived too late to take his proper place in the procession. On mentioning to him, that truthfulness was the great feature of the character of the great man, whom they were following, he replied, that truthfulness was indeed the great characteristic, and the sharpest weapon (if we only knew it rightly) of a dominant race, and it was this, that distinguished the policy of the English from that of the Turks, whose every counsel, act, and scheme, was more or less tinged with falsehood.

If by marvellous good fortune he rose to a position, of which it would have been folly to have dreamed in his early days, he bore those honours meekly, and was the same true man in the palace of the Viceroy as in the tent of the Commissioner. If not so great as Warren Hastings, he left India with an unsullied shield. He was equal, if not superior, to Lord Metcalf and Mountstuart Elphinstone; and the reputation of no other member of the Indian Civil Service, from the first to the present day, can be brought into comparison with his. He alone, of all Viceroys past, and possibly to come, could in the solemn durbars address the assembled chiefs in their own Language, and alone knew every detail of official routine. Such a ruler of men would soon have settled the difficulty in Egypt, steering carefully betwixt the insolvency of the State, and the oppression of the cultivators, which are the two rocks of Oriental administration. Such a ruler of men would soon bring to reason the conflicting nationalities of the Slavs, the Greeks, and the Turks, in the Balkan Peninsula.

But he might have been great in council, successful in administration, loving as a father, husband, and a friend, and yet the chronicle of his services would have found no place in the records of the Church Missionary Society, nor would his name have been a tower of strength, a staff of support, to all, who place before their eyes the spreading of the Gospel among the heathen, as one of the first duties of man. But amidst his great successes, and his unparalleled good fortune, he had the Grace given him to remember the Hand that gave, and, while mindful of things temporal, not to forget things eternal. He set the example of a bold, independent, and yet Christian ruler, an uncrowned King of men by Grace and election. He clothed with words the sentiment, which lies deep in the hearts of all who are thoughtful, that Christian men should do all things in a Christian way: that, while cleaving to Toleration, as the brightest jewel of Empire, and allowing not one inch to be yielded to the persecuting or patronizing Arm of the Flesh in Religion, still each man, each public officer, should not be ashamed, that the world should know that he was a Christian, in word, in deed, and in principles: that he should vindicate to himself, in his

private capacity, the same liberty which he asserted for and guaranteed to others, to the Mahometan, the Hindu, and the Sikh. They delight in their several ways to extend and advance the interests of their Creed: the Christian, within the legal limits, should do the same, openly, and before all men.

Thus, among the original founders of Missions in the Panjáb in 1851, I find the names of the two Lawrences; in 1853, his friends, Sir Herbert Edwardes and Reynell Taylor, founded Missions on the Indus-frontier. Thus, when the first sod was cut of the railway at Lahór, he assembled the nobles and citizens, and, in their presence, prayers, copies of which were handed to each person, were offered up to Almighty God, through the mediation of our Lord and Saviour. And, again, when he finally took leave of his subordinates in the Panjáb in 1859, he acknowledged his deep debt to the Author of all good: "What," said he, "without His guiding and protecting hand, would indeed have become of us all?" The instances could be multiplied, but what has been said will be sufficient.

Following the steps of James Thomason, a name not so honoured now as it deserves, he made Morality, Religion, and an interest in Missions to be respected. There was no narrow pale, no Shibboleth, no exclusion of outsiders, no patronage reserved to a sect. One of his most distinguished followers was a Roman Catholic; others were men who, Gallio-like, "cared not for these things"; but all knew that the Chief Commissioner had his Religious views, and made no secret of them. He was seen on his knees in his own tent, when on the march. Family prayer brought blessings down on his roof-tree. A few years later, Lord Canning heard with surprise, but received the rebuke with courtesy, that in the Panjáb no Official moved his camp on Sunday; and, when his Lordship was received on arrival by a company of men distinguished in peace and war, who had marched on the Saturday night, so as not to disturb the Viceregal arrangements, he was struck by the silent reproof, and no tent was ever again struck on a Sunday. In the North of India, for more than a quarter of a century, no Official Order has been issued, no Regiment allowed to march, no labour sanctioned on the public works, on Sunday; and this not from the operation of any Law, or the influence of clergy, but from the quiet and unostentatious example and orders of Godfearing men in authority. We doubt not that such is the practice all over India.

The same principles guided him during the five years of his Viceroyalty; and on his final return to England, it is gratefully recorded, in the annals of the Church Missionary Society, how, as their Vice-President, he was their ever-ready friend and wise councillor. He presided over the Sub-Committee of the Victoria Nyanza Mission, showing how large and universal were his sympathies with a suffering population. In his address to Bishop

Copleston of Ceylon, on the occasion of the latter's interview with the Committee before his departure from England, he dwelt with prophetic wisdom and loving large-heartedness, on the importance of co-operation between the Missionaries of different Protestant Societies, all warring under the same banner of the Lamb. He attended with another Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, to take part in the discussions on certain resolutions agreed upon by the Indian Bishops. He was prepared to come down in person to urge on the Committee the importance of exercising a wise caution in dealing with the difficult question of Caste, but was prevented on the very morning by illness. During the last months of his life he considered the difficult question of the relation of the State to Education in India, and forwarded his views to the Committee. On all points within the range of his experience, he was ready with clear, well-considered, and unprejudiced, expression of opinion; and those who, like myself, had the privilege of consulting him, feel that by his death they have lost what never to them can be supplied.

"Them that honour Me I will honour." God gave him of His best gifts, and the heart to know, whence those gifts came, and for what purpose they were given. The Viceroy, who preceded him, Lord Elgin, was cut off by disease: the great and noble statesman, Lord Mayo, who succeeded him, fell by the hand of the assassin; but the Almighty had hedged this man round with His special favour; He gave him physical and intellectual strength, and such opportunities as only occur once in a century. He was saved from the paw of the lion and the bear, from the assassin and the pestilence. When hundreds fell around him, his life was spared. He lived to be the last of the great company of soldiers, and councillors, whose names are famous as those, who added the Panjáb to British India, Hardinge, Gough, Dalhousie, Broadfoot, Sale, Havelock, Harry Smith, Henry Lawrence, George Lawrence, Reynell Taylor, Frederick Currie, Mackeson, and a long array of Sikh, Afghan, and Rajpút chieftains and nobles, whom I remember, and among whom I lived in my youth, and all of whom have passed away.

To the sympathizing friends the veil of his private life may be respectfully lifted up. He might have achieved a cold reputation, and never won the priceless treasure of a loving heart; but he was, indeed, one of the tenderest and most loving of men; and he was blessed, thrice blessed, for the same sweet companion, who was with him five-and-thirty years ago in his Indian home and tent, charming all with her youthful beauty, copying his letters, and cheering him in his labours, was by his side, when premature old age and visual darkness fell upon him, writing letters at his dictation, his stay and his comfort, and following him to his grave. He was permitted to see his numerous children grow up like

olive-branches round his table. He was blessed with troops of friends, counting the period of their attachments by decades, and not by years: some few from the days of his schooltime in Londonderry; some from his college-days at Haileybury; some from the days of the Delhi magistracy; and scores from the long years of the Panjáb. He died full of years, for Anglo-Indians seem old at fifty; full of honours, for a grateful country had nothing more to bestow that a simple citizen could accept, except a grave in Westminster Abbey: with a reputation unblemished in any particular, for in Indian circles there were no secrets, that could be whispered, which could tell against John Lawrence; nothing hidden that could be revealed, except unrecorded acts of generosity, and kindness, done long ago, and known only to a few, and private and earnest words of advice or caution, remembered gratefully after the lapse of years. It is a touching circumstance, and worthy of record, that the angel of death came to him at a time, when invitations were actually in circulation to friends to meet at his house to discuss the affairs of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India; and some, who would have listened to his voice and shared his counsels on that occasion, followed him to the grave a few days after the day fixed for the meeting, sorrowing, indeed, that they would see his face no more, but rejoicing, that Grace had been given him to accomplish his warfare as a true Christian soldier.

If, then, this life be but a vestibule to the mansions of our Father, a better life beyond the grave; if the first duty of a Christian man is so to pass through things temporal as finally not to lose things eternal; to discharge faithfully, and truthfully, the high office of life, and to lay it down with resignation and dignity; if the Divine Revelation has been made for the purpose of aiding us in this solemn duty, and giving peace at the last; then of this man it may be said, without doubt, that we leave him with a sure and certain hope of a blessed Resurrection. Of the many hundreds of England's noblest sons, who during the last six centuries, and the eighteen generations of men, have been garnered into the vaults of the great Abbey, over the graves of how many must their friends have sorrowfully thought that "he that was least in the kingdom of Heaven was greater than them"!

An equestrian statue in the metropolis of India records the appreciation of the services of the only man, who has as yet risen from the post of an Assistant to that of Viceroy of British India. Guns were fired in every cantonment of that great Empire to record, that a great man had passed away. Tributes of respect and regret were expressed by speech in all the numerous Languages, or engrossed in all the different written Characters, of Her Majesty's Oriental subjects. Old greybeards in the Panjáb, when they heard that "*Ján Lárens píra hoa*," thought of him sorrowfully,

and told their sons and grandsons of the strong, kind man, who, years ago, at the commencement of the British Ráj, stood up for the rights of Jat Zemindars, as if he had been one of their Caste, and to whose forethought they owed their title-deeds, and the equitable assessment of the land-tax. Old friends in Indian circles, when they met, mingled words of sorrow with unqualified tributes of admiration, and professional pride, for the grave had closed over all the petty jealousies and envies, which surround unexpected and self-achieved greatness. An acquaintance extending beyond one-third of a century, an appreciation of his sterling character, before the great world knew him, and of many excellences, which the world never knew (far removed from the blind worship, or servile adulation, which he himself would have despised), justify me in placing on record, how much I admired the Statesman, how entirely I accepted and adopted his principles of Indian Administration, and how profoundly I honoured the native nobility of the man.

If to some few, who followed him to the grave in Westminster Abbey, the thoughts went back to the solitary tombstone in the old Residency at Lakhnau, where Sir Henry Lawrence sleeps, cut off in his prime, under the touching self-indited scroll that "*Here lies one who tried to do his duty,*" still all must feel, that on the stone of the younger and more fortunate brother might be inscribed, that "*Here lies one who did his duty to the last.*"

Church Missionary Intelligencer, August, 1879.

Proclamation in the Urdu Language written by Robert Needham Cust, Magistrate of the District of Hoshyarpúr in the Panjáb, calling upon the Landholders of the Hill Villages to abstain from joining the Sikh Rebellion in December, 1848.

I expect, and am fully confident, that you are in your villages, and have kept clear of any Rebellion. If any of your relations have joined the rebels, write to them to come back before blood is shed: if they do so, their fault will be forgiven. Consider that I have in person visited every one of your villages, and know the position of every one of you. What is your injury, I consider my injury, and what is gain to you, I consider gain to myself. The rule of the British is in favour of the Agriculturist: if your lands are heavily assessed, tell me so, and I will relieve you; if you have any grievance, let me know it, and I will try to remove it; if you have any plans, let me know them, and I will give you my advice; *if you will excite rebellion, as I live, I will surely punish you.* I have ruled the District three years by the sole agency of the pen, and, if necessary, *I will rule it by the sword.* God forbid that matters should come to that! This matter affects your families, and your prosperity. The

Chiefs of the country get up the disturbance, but it is the land of the Landholders, which is plundered. Consider what I have said, and talk it over with your relations, and brink all back from Rebellion : and, when my camp arrives in your neighbourhood, attend at once in person, and tell those, who have joined the Rebellion, to return to me, *as children, who have committed a fault, return to their father, and their faults will be forgiven them.* Let this be known in the whole valley of Jeswan, and be of good cheer.

In two days I shall be in the midst of you with a force, which you will be unable to resist.

November 28, 1848, Camp Hajpúr.



L.S.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST,
Magistrate.

XLIII.

SIR HERBERT EDWARDES, K.C.B.

Eighteen years after his death the Memorials of this good and regretted man have appeared. There is much in these two volumes, which we could have wished to have expunged. Special pleading was not necessary to bring out his great merits, and we have not far to dig for the fine gold of his character. He had a sweet individuality all his own; he had peculiar gifts, in which he far outshone all his compeers; by a measurable distance in other particulars he fell below many of them. I knew him in 1845, when he was with his Regiment as a subaltern, before he stepped out on his grand career. I was with him, the same year, in the great battles of Múdkí and Sobraon; I was often, in subsequent years, in touch with him, always within hearing of his achievements. United in our desire to extend our Master's kingdom, we stood on the same Mission-Conference platform in 1860 at Lahór, and on the eve of his last departure from India in 1865, we met for the last time in Calcutta under the roof of our common friend and master, John Lord Lawrence. Once only we came into collision; Edwardes, in his hatred to what was wrong, once unduly attacked the memory of his dead predecessor in office. I made an indignant protest, and the attack being withdrawn, the controversy

ended with a sentence to the following effect: "If it be my destiny to outlive Sir Herbert Edwardes, I will be as bold in praising his great merits as I am now in shielding the failings of his predecessor" After a lapse of a quarter of a century, that opportunity has arrived.

Gay and gallant, witty and wise, generous and gracious, ready and resolute, eloquent and energetic, the doer of acts worth recording, and the writer of pages worth reading, a faithful friend, a faithful servant of the State, a still more faithful servant and stout-hearted witness of his heavenly Master: such he was from his youth to his grave. Many, who knew him, bless him for his good and fearless example. He died at the age of forty-nine, which seems a short life to those, who have long passed that span. He served the State in the Civil Department from March, 1846, to January, 1865, barely nineteen years, and of that period two years were spent in England. No true life is long. These few years were sufficient to fill the trump of fame, and give him a lasting claim on the admiration of his countrymen now and in the future.

Forty years have elapsed since February 10, 1846, the great battle of Sohraon, which was the starting-point of the history of the Panjáb, and of Herbert Edwardes, and of myself. Twenty-nine years have passed since May 10, 1857, the date of the Mutiny of the Mirat Garrison. Of those, who shared in the last-named struggle, there are many; of those, who were present at the former, there are few. Since then there has been a long procession of heroes and Statesmen traversing the plains of Northern India. Amidst that great assembly, to me, who knew and held converse with them all, no character appears more chivalrous, more unique, more satisfying, than that of the *preux chevalier*, who loved the Lord, and loved his fellow-creatures; who, to use his own words, took heed each day to place a stone in the basket of Human life, with a face upturned in faith to Heaven, and the air of one, who builds for eternity. What made the Province in which he served the model of India? Because its rulers started upon a new platform with four great principles: (1) An intense love for the people. (2) A proud disdain of all that is wanton, sordid, and immoral. (3) An outspokenness even to a fault, and a freedom from red-tape officialism even to a blemish. (4) And, chiefly, a humble confidence in the leading of God's Providence, whom every Official, from the highest to the lowest, was not ashamed to acknowledge and to worship, while he deemed it his duty, to extend the knowledge of the saving Truth to the Heathen and the Mahometan. The two types of that school were Sir Herbert Edwardes and John Lord Lawrence: there was a diversity of their gifts, but the same spirit: all that they did, they did to the glory of God.

"Them that honour Me, I will honour."

Edwardes commenced his civil career as assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident at Lahór, in 1846. Twice he was deputed to the District of Bannu to settle the affairs of a wild country, and he accomplished the task with wonderful success; and on April 22, 1848, he received news from Multán of the rebellion of Dīwán Mulrāj and the slaughter of the English officers. Another man might have hesitated, but he at once with his native levies marched to the spot, and without any resources, but those supplied by his own genius and pluck, he fought battles, gained victories, and besieged Mulrāj in his own city, and held his own until many months afterwards a regular force arrived from Lahór, and after long delays stormed and took the fortress. This was but one incident in the second war of the Panjáb, which ended in the annexation of the whole Province. On his return from England in 1851, Edwardes became District-Officer of Jalandhar, when he was transferred to Hazára on the frontier, and soon afterwards he was promoted to the post of Commissioner of Pesháwar. Here he ruled the tribes with a strong hand, negotiated an important treaty with Dost Mahommed, the Amír of Kábul, and, when the mutiny of the Sepoy Army convulsed Northern India, he so conducted the affairs of the frontier, maintained so firm a front, stirred up such a spirit among the natives, acted so entirely in harmony with the military authorities, that he was able to hold his own, and despatch newly raised regiments to the siege of Delhi. His services were of the highest order; it is doubtful whether anyone but himself could have done what he did. When peace was re-established, in 1859, he revisited England in broken health, the consequence of his exertions and exposure. In March, 1862, he returned to India as Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States, and in December, 1864, he finally resigned active service.

We must think of him as a soldier, a civil officer, a writer, as well as an orator and a true Christian man.

It were wrong, for an instant, to class him among the great commanders of England and India, such as Clive, Havelock, Clyde, or Sir Charles Napier, who commanded great armies, and won great battles. His place is more with such brave men as Garibaldi, and Gordon, who by force of character led undisciplined troops to victory, and by their genius made things possible, which appeared impossible. As a civil officer likewise, except in that branch, which is called political, he had no great capacity or experience; he cared not for the peaceful duties of magistrate, collector, and judge, of a well-ordered district; his genius and gallant spirit enabled him to curb barbarous tribes, win the love and respect of indomitable, yet noble, savages. He made plunderers leave off plundering, fighters leave off fighting, and, when the great crisis occurred of a mutiny and a rebellion, he was found dauntless, unmoved, full of resource, ready to strike, never for one instant

doubting of the goodness of his cause, of the wise ordering of Providence, and the certainty of success, and in the time of triumph he was merciful

It was as a writer and an orator, that he elicited the surprised admiration of his acquaintances. Before he came into public notoriety he had written clever letters to a local newspaper, but subsequently his contributions to the *Calcutta Review*, his "Year on the Panjáb Frontier," his public letters, his private correspondence, and the first volume of his unfinished "Life of Sir Henry Lawrence," placed him in the foremost rank of the literary men of his period in India. Indeed, we know of none, who can equal him in some particulars. Add to this his remarkable speeches and addresses in England during his two visits. The great merit of these Memorials is, that they bring all his public utterances together, and reveal for the first time some of his private correspondence. Their characteristic is, that they contain sentiments of surprising beauty, clothed in words of most happy selection, struck off at the spur of the moment, for his mind must have been a fountain of sweet thoughts and happy images ever bubbling up, ever tinted with the true colour of an abiding faith, springing from an innate nobility of nature, purified by a humble Christian spirit. He passed without an effort from grave to gay in his charming conversation, and was equally a master of wit and pathos, making his hearers laugh or weep, as if by a magic spell, though the pensive mood came oftenest. There was a musical clearness in his voice, and a ring in his intonation when on the platform, as of a trumpet talking with the audience; although his hearers could not always agree with all his sentiments, which were often extreme, they came away smitten with his power, and carrying away some expressions never to be forgotten. At a prayer-meeting, or an assembly, a hearer for the first time might ponder whether he stored up in his brain his sweet impromptus during his walks, or as he lay waking on his bed, or whether they came rushing from his heart to his brain and his mouth in the inspiration of the moment; it was equally the characteristic of his writings, whether permanent or ephemeral; spontaneous pearls seem to drop off the margin of each page of his writings, and over the bar of the platform, as he spoke, into the shorthand notes of the reporter. Sometimes they were jovial, for his was a sunny nature, sometimes classical, sometimes moralizing, always happy, refined, and soul-lifting, never far-fetched, or lacking in transparent purity. They remain as treasures in the memory connected with the man.

What of his Christian character? Mr. Venn said to him in parting, that he recognized the Grace given to him to dedicate his ability and influence to God's glory. One, who knew him well, said that he had never heard anyone so bold in confessing Christ. Many of us felt as he did, but at our time of life had not the

courage to avow it, for he did it in his youthful prime, bringing to the Lord the offering of a pure and unsullied life; it might under another set of rulers have marred his official prospects, but he heeded it not. His weaker compeers cannot clearly tell, how much they owed to Edwardes for the stability of their faith, any more than a private soldier on the eve of a battle can clearly define, how much of his courage he owed to the dauntless bearing of his officer in the moment of peril.

Some may have charged him with vanity, and these Memorials betray to the world, that he thought too much of the services, which he had rendered, and of the estimation, in which the World held them. He had not risen to the grand level of rejoicing in the work itself, in finding his reward in the work done, and in the infelt gratitude, that God had chosen him for the work. Had he lived a little longer, in the calmness of his spirit he would in his own manner have recalled the great Roman citizen, who left his farm to save the State, and went back to it, when his work was done, seeking no praise, content to have done his duty. A wiser chronicler of his life would have suppressed those casual bursts of discontent, and unjust reflections on others. Had he lived to reach sixty, he would have burned the letters, as he would have forgotten the feelings

It is idle to speculate on what this kind and good man might have done, had he been spared to enjoy the calm and quiet decade, that follows the completion of half a century, for which so many have to be deeply grateful; the excitement of his nature would have calmed down, his deep Religious convictions would have been broadened: he might have seen some things differently. He would certainly have finished the life of Sir Henry Lawrence, which consists now of a living photograph from the pen of Edwardes in the first volume, and a cold dead philosophic second volume by another hand, linked to the first by a Mezentius-chain. Perhaps he would have been the chronicler of his own deeds by writing a narrative of "A Year on the Frontier during the Mutinies"; hearts would have been uplifted by more of his stirring addresses; as a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society he would have helped to manage the mission which he had founded and endowed at Pesháwar. In the present year how welcome he would have been as President of that Society! But it was not to be.

Let us be silent and thank God. Better than a bench of Bishops, better than a convent of recluses, better than the transcendentalism of the daily celebrant, better than the vaunt of the blue ribbon, is the character of the earnest Christian soldier, standing as a light amid heathen darkness, doing Christian things in a Christian way, living in the World and holding his own among men of the World, and yet himself out of the World. How knightly seems that form

amidst the shattered idols on the pedestals of many of his contemporaries! Others after a youth of wildness may, by the Grace of God, have passed into the number of His elect; some, alas! of those, who at that time were foremost in the work of bringing souls to Christ, have become themselves castaways. But the shield of this man was never dimmed by the faintest cloud; he had no vulgar vices or doubts to get rid of, he went on his way a rejoicing Christian all the days of his life, singing a song of triumph down to the banks of Jordan.

The value of such works as this and the lives of Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Lawrence, and Sir Henry Havelock, consists in the fact, that the young servant of the State can in them see, that it is possible to be a public Official, and yet still to love his Lord; that it is possible to devote time and talents to a calling honourable in sight of men, and yet live close to God, who searches the heart. The attractive personality of Edwardes will be forgotten, when the generations of men who knew him pass away; but his lofty ideal, his consistent practice, his soul-stirring words, his unaffected piety, ought ever to be the beacon and the guiding-star to the young Christian soldier. All cannot have his talents, his great gifts of oratory and composition, and his marvellous good fortune, but all can attain to his faith and holiness. Such characters should not be allowed to die.

The Record, May, 1886.

N O T E.

The contrast of the characters of Lawrence and Edwardes is brought out by the Minute, a copy of which is subjoined. When we had recovered from the shock of the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857, we all thought, that something ought to be done to manifest more clearly the Christian profession of the great Officers of the State, without in the least infringing the principles of Toleration to the Religious convictions of the people. The fiery spirit of Sir Herbert Edwardes induced him to propose a series of measures, which were endorsed by Sir Donald McLeod, but which did not commend themselves to those, who thought with Lord Lawrence, whose Minute contains the views which ultimately prevailed, and in which I then, and now, heartily concurred.

“Sir J. Lawrence has been led, since the occurrence of the awful events of 1857, to ponder deeply on what may be the faults and shortcomings of the British, as a *Christian nation*, in India. In considering such topics he would solely endeavour to ascertain what is our Christian duty. Having ascertained *that*, according to our erring lights and conscience, he would follow it out to the

uttermost, undeterred by any considerations. If we address ourselves to the task, it may, with the blessing of Providence, not prove too difficult for us. Measures of an *extreme* nature have been proposed as essential to be adopted by a Christian Government, which would be truly difficult or impossible of execution. But on closer consideration it will be found, that such measures are not enjoined by Christianity, *but are contrary to its spirit*. Sir J. L. does entertain the earnest belief, that all those measures, which are really and truly Christian, can be carried out in India, not only without danger to British rule, but, on the contrary, with every advantage to its stability. *Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen*. About such things there are qualities, which do not provoke nor excite distrust, nor harden to resistance. It is when *unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity*, or when *Christian things are done in an unchristian way*, that mischief and danger are occasioned. The difficulty is amid the political complications, the conflicting social considerations, the fears and hopes of self-interest, which are so apt to mislead human judgment, to discern clearly what is imposed upon us by *Christian duty*, and *what is not*. Having discerned this, we have to put it into practice. Sir John L. is satisfied, that in the Panjáb he can carry out all those measures which are really matters of Christian duty on the part of the Government. And further, he believes, that such measures will arouse no danger, will conciliate instead of provoking, and will subserve to the ultimate diffusion of the truth among the people.

“Such measures and policy, having been deliberately determined upon by the Supreme Government, should be openly avowed, and universally acted upon throughout the Empire; so that there may be no diversities of practice, no isolated, tentative, or conflicting efforts, which are indeed the surest means of exciting distrust; so that the people may see, that we have no sudden or sinister designs, and so that we may exhibit that harmony and uniformity of character, which befits a *Christian nation striving to do its duty*.—Lahór, April 21, 1858.”

SIR CHARLES UMPHERSTON AITCHISON,
K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

THIS distinguished public servant, and estimable Christian man, expired at his residence in Oxford, on February 17, 1896, at the age of sixty-four, after five years of almost daily agony, which he bore with patient fortitude. He was an example to those, who came in contact with him, both in the manner of his life, and the mode, in which he quitted it. It must indeed have been a trial to him to give up the opportunity of serving his Master with unabated energy and full experience for another ten years, as had been, and is, the lot of so many of his life-friends; but he had learned the lesson in his youth, that obedience was the best form of service, and no murmur escaped his lips.

He was born at Edinburgh in 1832, and in 1855 he passed with honour into Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service in the first batch of competitors under the new system. On September 24, 1856, he landed in Calcutta, and in May, 1857, he was appointed assistant to the Commissioner of Lahór in the Panjáb. The mutiny of the Native Army was then at its height, and the Empire of India was trembling in the balance. The writer of these lines was summoned by telegraph in May, 1858, from Allahabad to occupy the vacant post of Commissioner of Lahór, and then for the first time made the acquaintance of Charles Aitchison, a tall, strong, and intelligent young man, in his twenty-sixth year, who helped him, as his Assistant, to restore order after a year of mutiny, rebellion, and confusion. The feeling of mutual esteem, which was formed then, remained unchanged to his last year. In 1865 he rose to the position of District Officer of Lahór, in 1867 to that of Divisional Commissioner, and in the same year he became Secretary to the Government of the Panjáb.

But greater duties awaited him. In 1869 he was appointed Foreign Secretary to the Viceroy of India. In 1877 he took a furlough to England. In 1878 he was made Chief Commissioner of the newly-annexed Provinces of British Burmah. In 1880 he took his seat as Member of the Council of the Viceroy. In 1882 he assumed the reins of the Government of the Province of the Panjáb, which had been the scene of his youthful labours, where he had learned the lesson, the Imperial lesson, of ruling wisely, justly, and sympathetically, the subject millions of conquered

kingdoms, on the principles of our great master in the art of rule, John Lord Lawrence :

“ The iron hand in the velvet glove ” ;

“ Firmness, yet kindness : authority veiled in sympathetic words.” Thus passed five happy years. In 1887 he returned to England, wishing to resign the Service ; but in 1888 he was wanted again as Member of Council of the Viceroy for a duty, for which he was specially qualified. In 1889 he finally left the country of his adoption, after a noble service of thirty-three years in the highest posts, which can be attained short of the Viceregal dignity.

And it cannot be doubted, that he deserved them. He may be deemed to have been fortunate, for his career was not brought to premature close, while on the threshold of honour, by death under fifty, as has been the fate of so many dear friends of himself and the writer of this memoir ; nor was the serenity of his high office marred by continuous, or recurring, maladies ; nor, lastly, did domestic affliction cut short his career prematurely, as had been the sad lot of myself, his early friend and master, in 1858, just as my foot was in the stirrup. As was remarked by a great Latin historian of a noble Roman, he was worthy of great honours, and he bore them meekly ; he was appointed to high posts, and filled them with dignity. Perhaps his name will not rank hereafter with the Paladins of the British rule in India during the last half-century, such as John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, Temple, Dalhousie, and Dufferin ; yet if it be grouped with the honoured name of James Thomason, the wise and pious Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, it will be sufficient, for

“ Peace has her victories, no less renowned than War.”

Throughout his career he was the consistent friend of all efforts to evangelize the people of India, *all lawful efforts*, such as a wise Christian Ruler of a non-Christian people can consider it consistent with a high sense of Toleration and Justice to exert. And we doubt not, that in his last years of pain and anguish, he looked back on what he had been permitted to do for the Great Cause—“ the something for Christ, who had done so much for him ”—with the most complete satisfaction. At that period of life, and under such circumstances as his, earthly honour, power, and opportunity of doing *material* good to subject Nations assume their just proportions, when in the balance of Divine guidance and Human possibilities they are contrasted with what has been attempted or done for the *spiritual* good of some of God's poor creatures, placed by Divine ordering of Human affairs under the influence and holy persuasion of Christian men. And so we humbly trust, that it was

with our dear friend, whose lifelong services to his Sovereign, and his God, we have ventured thus imperfectly to describe.

On the platform, and in the chair at public meetings, he was rather impressive than eloquent; he had none of the airy graces of the ready speaker, but no one, who listened to his weighty words, full of love and pity, failed to feel, that he spoke as one in authority from his heart, and that his opinion was valuable, because given by one, who had had the fullest opportunities of forming an opinion, and who was not led to pass by the subject of the Evangelization of the World in cold and silent contempt, or on the other hand to lend himself to sensational methods, or thoughtless abuse of the ancient customs and Religious Conceptions of the great people, whom he dearly loved, and whom the Ruler of Human destinies had permitted to increase and multiply in the same region from the time of Kings David and Solomon down to the present epoch, monuments of His longsuffering and mercy.

C.M.S. Intelligencer, Feb. 24, 1896. (Aet. 75.)

If anyone in the Twentieth century wonder what manner of men they were, who successfully administered the newly-conquered Province of the Panjáb from 1846 to 1887, perhaps these characters, which I, with fullest knowledge, have written of,

My *Master* in the art of rule, John Lord Lawrence;
My *Colleague* and friend, Sir Herbert Edwardes;
My valued *Disciple*, Sir Charles Aitchison,

will enable him to form an idea.

June, 1897.

C. AFRICA.

XLV.

LIQUOR-TRAFFIC.

MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DIFFERENT PROTESTANT MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

Proposed Resolutions.

A. That the Protestant Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland should send a deputation to the Foreign Office to point out the ruin, which threatens the Negro populations of West Africa generally, and of the Basin of the Niger in particular, by the unrestricted importation of spirituous liquors from Northern Europe, and to inform the Foreign Secretary, that the German and German Swiss Missionary Societies, assembled at Bremen last October, have brought the subject before the notice of the Imperial Government at Berlin with the same object, admitting frankly that the town of Hamburg is one of the greatest offenders in this matter.

B. The Deputation would impress upon Her Majesty's Government, that the present state of affairs will not only prevent the development of legitimate trade in the Manufactures and Products of Europe, but will destroy, physically as well as morally, the population of a country rescued from the Slave Trade by the expenditure of English lives and resources.

C. The remedies suggested as feasible, in which the German Societies agree, are :

- (1) The imposition of a substantial Import-duty, fixed at a scale just low enough as not to make smuggling profitable.
- (2) The introduction of a system of Licenses, by which the sale would be restricted to certain shops, maintained by responsible parties. A substantial Fee to be levied for each license.

- (3) The forbidding of any English person or English Company remunerating labour, or bartering for natural produce, in spirituous liquors.
- (4) The discontinuance on the part of the English Authorities of making presents of cases and bottles of spirits to Natives, or offering or receiving entertainment in spirits on the occasion of public ceremonies.
- (5) The Revenue collected from the Import-Duty and License-Fee will suffice to maintain ample Government Establishments for the purpose of enforcing the Regulation of Customs and Excise now proposed.

D. The leading secular organs of public opinion should be invited to bring home to the public conscience the lamentable consequence of the neglect of remedial measures *before the evil exceeds the possibility of control and remedy*. A promising market, both of Export of Native Produce, and the import of European Manufactures, will be destroyed by the short-sightedness of the first generation of Merchants, who would literally kill the goose to get at the golden eggs: this point of view concerns the Manufacturer and Merchant; but the Missionary Societies should have their thoughts solely fixed upon the awful crime of ruining Millions of a race in a low state of culture, and unable to protect themselves, by the introduction of Rum, Gin, and Alcohol, *of the very existence of which the Negroes never heard before, and with which they could not supply themselves except by the Agency of European Merchants*.

ROBERT CUST,

*Member of Committee of Church Missionary Society,
and of the British and Foreign Bible Society.*

*Wesleyan Mission House,
Monthly Meeting of Secretaries.
January 20, 1886.*

XLVI.

CRIME IN WEST AFRICA : CANNIBALISM.

In the third series of my "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," p. 586, I printed a letter, which on June 1, 1886, I had been compelled to write to the Foreign Office, stating the atrocious crimes, which took place in the British Protectorate, and the absence of that stern determination on the part of British officials, which enabled us in British India to put down, and entirely extinguish, certain offences, which I remember to have been rampant in my early official days in 1846. I now print the reply.

In the previous year, October 29, 1885, I called the attention of the Foreign Office to a recent case of Cannibalism on the River Niger, and I print the reply. It so happened, that as Chairman for a long series of years of the African Sub-Committee of the Church Missionary Society, I had access to reports of Missionaries, and had interviews with Missionaries, both black and white, who wrote and spoke as eye-witnesses of such atrocities as joints of human flesh being sold in butchers' shops. I took the liberty of stating on that occasion, that my study of the subject had led me to the conclusion that Cannibalism arose from three distinct causes in different localities.

I. From the total absence of animal flesh, oxen, sheep, or goats : the only meat to be had was human flesh. In India tigers, when they have tasted human flesh, will always crave for it in preference to that of other animals : human flesh has the same attraction to the African.

II. From a desire on part of warriors to intimidate their enemies by making them feel, "I will not only kill you, but eat you" : it is difficult to arrive at this point of view in civilized countries, for after all it would only be robbing the meaner worm to be eaten by a Frenchman or a Russian.

III. From a desire to absorb into their system the great and brave characteristics of a noble victim : thus, one of the early Governors of Sierra Leone, noted for his valour, was killed and devoured.

In the Malay Archipelago in Asia an additional reason has transpired, which may be roughly classed as Filial Piety, or clearing away rubbish. At a certain period of each year, when

lemons are abundant, all the old and weak of the tribe are compelled by their children to climb up the spreading branches of trees, under which vessels filled with water are placed. The boughs are then shaken, and the aged infirm fall into the vessels, are cooked, and eaten with lemons. They had done the same themselves to an elder generation. If that custom were to extend to Europe, it would be a bad time for life-annuitants, pensioners, and dowagers with jointures.

London, 1896.

Foreign Office.

November 12, 1885.

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 29th ultimo, calling the attention of the Marquis of Salisbury to a recent case of Cannibalism at Nembe, in the Delta of the Niger, I am instructed by His Lordship to inform you, that the letter in question shall be at once sent to Mr. Hewett, Her Majesty's Consul for that district, now in England, and that, on receipt of his report, a further communication will be addressed to you on the subject.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

I. V. LISTER.

Foreign Office.

June 24, 1886.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 1st instant, with reference to a case of Cannibalism said to have taken place at Nembe on the lower Niger, West Coast of Africa, I am directed by the Earl of Rosebery to state to you, that Mr. Consul Hewett, whose time has been fully occupied since his return to his post, has not as yet furnished a report on the case, nor on the other matter to which you refer. When he does so a communication will be addressed to you.

I am to observe, that as the organization of the administration of the Protectorate has been delayed by many difficulties, it is premature to expect at present such results as may be anticipated in future from the influence of British officials, but that in the meantime much good may be hoped for from the civilizing effects of the Missionaries in the protected territory. It is deeply to be regretted, that in the cases, to which you draw attention they seem not to have gained as yet sufficient influence with the natives to have been able to check the atrocities perpetrated in the neighbourhood of Mission-stations.

I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

I. V. LISTER.

A MONROE-DOCTRINE FOR AFRICA.

PRESUMPTUOUS and audacious as appears to be the Message of the President of the United States on the subject of the Monroe-doctrine, December, 1895, is it not justified indirectly by the conduct of Great Britain to Africa during the last thirty years? I do not allude to the conduct of France and Germany: their conduct does not justify ours, and the threat of the President applies to them equally. Ought not Europe to be ashamed of itself?

In the *Débats*, Paris, occur the following words: "It is certain, that were there a Monroe-doctrine, and a United States, in Africa, the English would not be reigning as masters from the Cape to the Zambézi."

Mr. Olney, in his letter to Mr. Bayard, dated July 20, 1895, writes: "It is not inconceivable, that the struggle now going on for the acquisition of Africa might be transferred to South America: if it were, the weaker countries would soon be absorbed, while the ultimate result would be the partition of South America between the various European Powers."

M Valpey, in the *Figaro*, Paris, speaks of his thirty years' acquaintance with the Monroe-doctrine; and, while he holds, that Great Britain has been as high-handed in Egypt as President Cleveland, for twenty years she has been laying hands on Central America. Mexico and Peru are no longer their own masters, and unless obstacles arise, it will be Venezuela's turn next; but this last drop has made the cup overflow.

It has been my lot to watch the policy of Great Britain towards unhappy Africa since January, 1867, when I saw the fleet at sea carrying Lord Napier and his troops to invade Abyssinia. The Sovereign of the country was killed, his fortress destroyed, the system of Government so shaken, that it has never recovered itself. The policy of Great Britain was to make a raid, kill and destroy, and then retire to the ships.

The province of Egypt, an integral part of the Turkish Empire, was invaded and occupied, and the Khedive held in vassalage: there is no period fixed for evacuation, but every year of foreign occupation has rendered the task of a Native Government more difficult.

Khartúm, in the Súdán, has been invaded by a British Army: all possibility of any Native orderly Government has been destroyed, all commerce put to an end; the Súdán seems to have become the last refuge of independent freedom in the world; the Red Sea

littoral has been occupied, and been the scene of constant fighting; thousands of Africans have been slaughtered by the British, and it is with difficulty, that the object, or the advantage, can be discovered. It was mere wanton blood-shedding.

Following the East coast we come to Mombása. Here the new warlike commercial engine of the British comes into evidence, the blessed East Africa Company. Fortunately for Africa it has collapsed, after having, by its agents, carried its mischief to Victoria Nyanza, and beyond to the Albert Nyanza, slaughtering the free tribes, and the unoffending inhabitants of Uganda, some of whom were nominally Roman Catholic Christians. They have seized a vast region, and the delightful terms of Hinterland, Sphere of Influence, Protectorate, Colony, have come into existence, with the common feature of plunder of the possessions, and destroying the lives, of unoffending millions. "We come for your good!" cries out the Missionary, accompanied by the machine-gun and the liquor-barrel. If the poor natives could make themselves understood, they would reply: "You have come for our goods and chattels, our country, and our liberty."

A Missionary Society's supporters supplied the funds to enable the East African Company to occupy Uganda; the spread of Christianity was the pretence of this act of land-piracy. Passing down the coast of Africa we come to the islands of Zanzibár and Pemba. The Germans had occupied the Hinterland, so the British seized the Protectorate over the Arab Sultan, buying out the French by acknowledging their Protectorate of Madagascar. Here the reason put forward for European interference is the Slave-trade, and harrowing stories are quoted to justify violent proceedings.

Passing South, we come to the old Portuguese Colony of Mozambique. This Colony, like the sister region of Brazil in South America, is a record of Portugal's former greatness and actual decadence. This Hinterland, consisting of the Nyasa Lake, has been promptly annexed by the British because they wanted it, and under the pretence of the Slave-trade.

Passing South of the River Zambézi we come into temperate climates, suitable for European habitation, and with a fresh motive for Spheres, Protectorate, and Annexation, in gold-mines. We hear no more of Missionary Societies, or of the Anti-Slavery Society, but of the South African Company, formed to make up high dividends by gold. From this cause arose the cry to help the poor Ma-Shona against the terrible Zulu clan, known as Ma-Tabéle, which has ended in the slaughter of their unhappy king and the Annexation of the country, the confiscation of their cattle, the enslavement of the people, and the establishment of gold digging communities. Venezuela is said to have gold beneath the soil; the next century would witness its occupation in the same way as Ma-Tabéle-land,

Be-Chuána-land, and the free Republic of Transvaal: they are wanted for their gold mines.

It may be said, that the Republic of the Transvaal is only about fifty years old, and it is itself the creature of gross invasion and oppression by the Dutch Boers of the indigenous population: but they had been recognized as a Republic, and had repulsed a British invading force at Majúba Hill. However, the British found their way into the country as gold-diggers, and this very Christmas are attempting to overturn the Government of the Boer Republic on the grounds of the Rights of Man (that excellent American phrase), their numbers and wealth. At any other period than the present, or in any other country than Africa, the claim would seem as ridiculous as the claim of the passengers of a great Atlantic steamer overpowering the crew and seizing the ship. We have not a word to say for the Boers: with them the Zulu, the Be-Chuána, the Ba-Suto, the Ma-Tabéle, went for mere dirt: they cared nothing for them: they applied to the Bible-Society for copies of Joshua and Judges, translated into the Native Language, as their guide in the policy of destroying the occupants of the soil, a policy sanctioned by divine precedent, keeping a few alive as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Now that the time has come when the Uitlander wishes to swallow up the Boer, the British have no more idea of giving the franchise to the indigenous thousands of Transvaal, and the free immigrants from British India, subjects of Her Majesty, than the citizens of the United States have to give the franchise to the Negro of the Southern States. There may be a good deal said of the rights of Man, but the Man alluded to is neither red, black, yellow, nor brown, but the white man only.

Are the invaders of South Africa entitled by their antecedents to domineer over the native races? They consist generally of younger sons, who have shown no capacity for business, may possibly have been obliged to leave their School or College, or public office, abruptly: lads whom their parents, in despair, ship off to some colony. "Send him to Africa," suggests an uncle: "he will either get killed off like —, or kill hundreds of Africans like —." The material of the United States were men and women, who left their country to secure freedom of Worship, and to insure the rights of free citizens. Gold-dust and grazing-ground for cattle is the motive of the modern Pilgrim-Father.

In a letter from Paris to a London Daily, dated December 29, 1895, we read: "The situation in the Transvaal arouses the liveliest interest here. The personality of Mr. Cecil Rhodes has always appealed to the French people, who cherish the memory of Napoleon."

We are now, in our progress round Africa, following the Eastern coast southward as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and then the West coast northward as far as the River Kunéne. One name alone is

heard there now. The President of the Africander Republic, which in the womb of Time is now very near to gestation, has a finger in every South African pie; but he aspires beyond, and is preparing a line of telegraphs across Africa from the Cape to Khartúm and the Second Cataract of Egypt. The "Rhodes Doctrine" will soon be associated with the "Monroe Doctrine" in the ears of the public: orders will go forth Northward from the Cape over Africa, not Southward, as in the United States from Washington; but the orders of this pseudo-Napoleon, combined with Washington, will be couched in the same arrogant egotistic style: "the Rights of Man, when it suits my case, and the Rights of Superior Might at other times." Talk of Europeans, the Emperor of Russia, for instance, being arbitrary and egotistic, commend me to the President of a Republic, like a Cleveland in actuality, and *in petto* like Rhodes. We read in the last century of men wading through slaughter to a throne; in the Nineteenth century the ambitious man wades through slaughter and the ballot-box to a third occupation of the post of President of a Free Republic, jealous of its own rights, indifferent to the rights of those that are weaker.

Our course now lies Northwards along the West coast of unhappy Africa, beyond the limits of the Cape Colony. We pass by the Portuguese Colony of Angóla, the French and Belgian interests in the Basin of the Kongo, and the German in the Kamerúns. Every one of these enterprises represents an injury done to the indigenous population of Africa. Perhaps the Monroe-doctrine for Africa might have saved them. In the region on each side of the Basin of the Niger we come on the British again, pushing for new markets for the cottons of Lancashire, rifles, gunpowder, and alcoholic drink. There is no pretence of Slave-trade here, or of gold-dust. Development of trade, and "elevation of the character of the Negro," is presumed to be the object. The British Island of Lagos is reputed to be the great *entrepôt* of the Liquor-trade. If the Slave trade killed its thousands, the Liquor-trade kills its ten thousands, and demoralizes the populations of vast Regions, but the British, American, and German distillers grow fat on the profits, and live luxuriously in Europe on funds collected from the sins of their poor black fellow-creatures.

Passing on Northwards, across the bank of the River Volta, we come on Cape Coast Castle, and find that history repeats itself. Garnet Wolseley, twenty years ago, commanded an expedition to capture and destroy Kumási, the capital of the Kingdom of Ashanti. On the 1st of October, 1895, he came into office as Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces, and he has the pleasing duty of sending out a force to reconquer Ashanti-land, and redestroy Kumási. Are we not working in a vicious circle? Shall we have every quarter of a century to repeat the evil deeds of the last generation? Will Abyssinia have to be invaded by a second Napier, and Khartúm rendered famous by the death of another Gordon?

But in dealing with Africa peace has her slaughterings, no less than war. Talk of the mischief done by the slave-dealer; it is on a small scale compared with that of the European Geographical Explorer. Henry Stanley has twice drawn a red line of blood across the continent. Heaps of bones, and destroyed villages, mark the spot, where British or French slaughtered Africans with the sole object of filling up a vacant space on their map, or securing a new market for cotton goods and alcohol. It will not be forgotten in the Day of Judgment. There are National as well as Personal sins to be accounted for at the Last Day.

A Monroe-doctrine held out as a warning might arrest the promiscuous slaughter of Africans; at any rate, it will render it impossible in South America. It is well to have the strength of a giant, but not to use it as a bully. It is not well to slay the freeman of the Súdán, or the Zulu of South Africa, or the Ashanti of the Western Coast, for the purpose of maintaining an imaginary prestige, and keeping the British Army and fleet ready for a European war. We have not got to the last chapter of the history of the Egyptian occupation. Imperial Rome went on in much the same way on the Euphrates, the Danube, in North Africa, Spain, and Britain. Their day of reckoning came at last, and the Goths glutted their ire; their ancestors had been butchered as gladiators to make a Roman holiday. The poor African of the Nineteenth century dies, with his wife and children, to enhance the wages of a Lancashire spinner, or strengthen the dividend of a speculating British stockjobber.

The boldness of President Cleveland may have an unexpected result, if it compels the British Land-Pirates to keep their hands off the Republics of South America, and arouse a conscience with regard to the spoliation and extermination of the races of Africa.

January 1, 1896.

XLVIII.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA.

(LA GRIBOUILLETTE POUR AFRIQUE.)

UNDER this title is a suggestive article in the *Times*, during last month. It is not pleasant reading to those, who take an interest in the welfare of the People of Africa; and it is worthy of consideration, that the Nation, which among European Nations raises her voice the loudest on account of the dismemberment of her own Provinces, is the most ready by the exercise of mere brutal force

to bring independent tribes, or even kingdoms, under her subjection. Algeria, Tunisia, Senegambia, the Sahára itself, the Basin of the Upper Niger, the Basin of the Ogowé, and even of the Kongo, are objects of attraction to the French Republic: not that there is the least intention of founding a Colony in the proper sense, or the least hope of deriving profit from the Commerce, but merely from the Earth-greed, which seems suddenly to have seized the French people. Imaginary rights are based upon treaties, which were in some way or other concluded by travellers, or Naval officers, or even Missionaries; and the power of a great Nation, with all the resources of modern Civilization, is suddenly turned upon an unhappy kingdom, like Morocco, or unhappy tribes like those on the Senegál: a great many thousand Africans are killed, lands confiscated, villages burned, and stores of hate and rancour gathered up, which will last for generations: all this is done under the pretext of extending Civilization.

Germany, up to 1884 had not yet fired a shot, nor shed a drop of African blood, but was in a fair way of doing so. Although Germans leave their Vaterland in thousands, to swell the Colonies of other Nations, such a thing as a purely German Colony in the ordinary sense of the word, and out of Europe, was unknown. The annexation of Holland would give them just what they want, but their operations on the West Coast of Africa are insignificant, although their commercial establishments are thriving, and important, at different points of the West Coast. They have long been looking wistfully at the Niger, and, indeed, a German Society, whose object is as much Commercial as Geographical, has long had an explorer passing up and down the waters of the Quarrah, and the Binué, who in his reports looks forward to the time, when the German flag will float over the whole length of the latter river, the source of which he has discovered. Far from discouraging the German aspirations, it would be sound policy on the part of Great Britain to give them every facility, for they are peaceful, scientific, Law-loving, and honest traders. No one can speak too highly of the German Missionary in his peculiar vocation. It is very questionable whether the expense attending Annexation of detached positions, and the necessity of making them defensible against the savage residents of the Interior, will be at all commensurate with the advantage. However, just as a person, who has risen from the lower classes, sets up a carriage, as a mark of gentility, so the German Empire seeks to acquire a position, as possessing Colonies, and desire to be a Kolonial Macht.

Spain and Portugal have Islands, and a considerable coastline, and detached posts, but they seem quite incapable of doing justice to them. Spain reasserted her right to the Island of Fernando Po, and the very first thing done was to eject the Baptist Missionaries. Portugal has systematically neglected her large Provinces of

Angóla, and Mozambique, and yet still desired to be put in possession of the mouths of the River Kongo, after evidencing her incapacity of rule by her long neglect of the mouths of the River Zambézi.

Holland and Denmark used to possess small isolated ports on the West Coast, but parted with them to England for a consideration.

In Liberia, on the West Coast, in the Colonies of Cape Town and Natal, and the independent Republics of the Orange State and Transvaal, we have instances of self-governing States, where an alien race has firmly established itself in possession of the soil, and keeps the indigenous races in subjection. The *Africander* means something very different from the African.

The United States of North America have no territorial interest in Africa, nor are they likely to assert any claim, but their commercial interests are so large, and the African Slave-trade has made the subject of Africa so familiar in America, that they are not likely to look on unmoved at any attempts of European Powers to shackle the freedom of African Commerce. They have given an instance of this in the prompt acknowledgment afforded to the International Association on the Kongo.

This Association is a new phenomenon in international politics. Its Patron and Founder is the King of the Belgians, but Belgium as a Nation has no political relations with the new State. All, who are interested in Africa, watch with eagerness the development of this new Power, for Power it will certainly be, if it survive the initial struggles that await it. It is vain to hope that a Government, however rude, can exist without some form of Revenues, and that as valuable property accumulates, it will not require protection. From these two causes two consequences must follow: taxation of some kind, and a certain amount of armed forces; and these two things imply Sovereignty.

England has on the West Coast three Colonies, Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, and Lagos, and several outlying posts. Under the necessity of the case it has lately placed the mouth of the River Niger under its protection, and annexed a large tract lying betwixt the old boundary of the Sierra Leone Colony and Liberia. England has no desire, nor interest, to add another square mile to her territory and responsibilities, nor will she willingly extend her flag into the interior, beyond the reach of the guns of her ships. The English people have already suffered too much pecuniary loss from the waging of South African wars, and is not likely to run the chance of any future expenditure of the kind, which would be as profitless as the French Colonies have been to France.

It will be remarked, that not a word has been said by any publicist in favour of the people of Africa, and the policy and Christian duty of leaving their country alone, and restricting the relations of European Nations to legitimate Commerce, and the peaceful settlement of Missionaries. That such a policy is possible,

is evidenced by the total abstention of the United States, and of the Brazils, and some of the smaller Nations of Europe, who carry on legitimate Commerce without attempting any Annexation, or the false and cruel half-measure, called Protectorate. The British Isles were, in centuries gone by, reduced to the lowest ebb of well-being by the successive invasions of the Roman, the Saxon, the Dane, the Norman, who found fertility and weakness combined. It may with show of reason be said, that the contact of Africa with Europe has been entirely to the injury of the former, and the benefit of the latter. Moralists do not blow the trumpet so loudly about the infamous traffic of Implements and materials of War, and intoxicating liquors, which are ruining Africa, as they do about the Chinese opium, but it would appear, as if the former were introduced so as to encourage, and render more deadly, the internecine tribal warfare, and the latter for the purpose of reducing to a still lower state of degradation races already on the lowest round of Civilization. Demijohns of Rum seem to be of the ordinary currency, and it is only this year, that a Missionary Society has been compelled to interdict the practice of her agents receiving their wages in Gin. The bombardment of Alexandria indeed raised an outcry, but bombardments on a small scale in the African Rivers, specially the Niger, are of constant occurrence. Much sympathy was felt at the death of a young officer, quite a boy, last year, who was fatally wounded in an attack on a village in the River Niger, which had given some offence to the British Merchants. On inquiry it was found, that many hundred Negroes had been killed, chiefly women and children, and the village burned, and no sympathy was expressed for them: the sympathy was with the man, who was beating the dog, and not with the beaten dog, who bit the man in defence of his own bones.

It appears, therefore, to me, that the great States of Europe, England, France, and Germany, ought to be ashamed of their conduct towards defenceless Africa: they would not dare to act in this way to the smallest State in Europe. All public Law is set aside, all the conventional decencies of warfare, all idea of "*meum*" and "*tuum*," are put out of sight. A German agent and a German vessel drop along the Coast, and hoist up a pocket-handkerchief in token, that that particular town, whether part of Damaraland, or Namáqualand, or the Kamerúns, or the Gold Coast, has ceased to belong to the tribe, which has inhabited it for centuries, and is transferred to the German Empire. A form of treaty is signed, but in a few days the treaty will be violated; then come lofty notions of violated compacts, insulted flags, and national honour. Surely it is the fable of the "Wolf and the Lamb" again. It is the saddest sight, and the only comfort is, that the Deadly Climate will prove the infallible avenger of the White man, who has abolished Slave-Trade, and substituted Earth-greed.

And how can we blame the Boers of Transvaal from following the evil example set by Europe? If the Lion goes hunting, shall not the Jackal try the same game? The Africander thinks, and thinks justly, that he is the inheritor of the Regions of South Africa. The destruction of the French power in Canada, led on to the assertion of American Independence. The destruction of the power of the Zulu King has cleared the way for the Africander. We have occupied the mouths of the Nile and the Niger to suit our purposes. The Boer lays his hand on Be-Chuána-land. It is well to have a Giant's strength, but it is better to have the grace not to use it as a Giant. The Citizens of the United States have made short work of the American Indians, the Russians have subdued the Turkomans and Circassians, the French are trying to subdue the Tuwárik of the Sahára: the Government of Anglo-India sends expeditions on the same lines of Civilization and Bloodshed, to the Zhób Valley in Independent Afghanistan. Who can blame the Boers for trying their prentice-hand in the work of Annexation? The Australian Colonies have set them this example in New Guinea. Might is Right: there is not a thought for the Natives of the country, but a general scramble for enlarged dominion, forgetting that dominion brings duties, and exterminated indigenous tribes leave a Nemesis behind them.

Africa (a periodical long since defunct), October 16, 1884.

Twelve years have passed away since the above lines appeared in print: vast lawless Annexations have been made by Germany, France, and Great Britain: new terms have come into official use, such as "Sphere of Influence," and "Hinterland." Thousands of poor Africans have been killed: they knew not why they were attacked, but the Shareholders of the great Companies knew why, and so did the legion of land-pirates, who swarmed to appropriate the land, the cattle, and the mines, of the slaughtered Natives on the East and the West of South Africa.

But the end is not yet. This game of plunder and extermination of weaker races has been repeatedly played in every part of the Globe, but there was also a Nemesis behind them, and perhaps the Twentieth century may see the last Act of the cruel tragedy of Africa occupied by Europe in the Nineteenth century. At least, there were some, who protested against the crimes of their country.

London, December, 1896.

XLIX.

THE TRANSVAAL AND THE MA-TABÈ'LE RISING.

"It is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

Of all the Nations in Europe the most sympathetic with the British are the Dutch, and yet the policy adopted in late years in South Africa has tended to create an antipathy to us, which may have bad consequences in the future.

The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope was founded by the Dutch; during the wars of Napoleon the British annexed it, and at the time of the Peace in 1815 it was recognized as British. The majority of the colonists are still Dutch. When slavery was abolished, a large number of the Dutch settlers left the boundaries of the Colony, and formed two republics in the unknown and uncultivated interiors. By occupying Natal the British anticipated their desire to have an outlet to the sea: they thus became an "enclave" in the midst of British and Portuguese Colonies. In 1877 the Transvaal Republic surrendered its autonomy to the British: then followed a rebellion, the defeat of a British force at Majúba Hill, and in 1881 the withdrawal of the British from the country, conceding to the Boers complete internal autonomy, but reserving to Great Britain a Suzerainty as regards their relations to other European Governments.

Unluckily, the discovery of gold led to the arrival of a great many British settlers, and the foundation of the City of Johannesburg. These immigrants far exceeded in number the Boer population, and paid more than half the taxation. They had not been invited by the Boers: they came for their own profit: a majority never expressed a wish to become citizens of the Republic: they proposed to remain British, make a fortune, and go home. A portion really desired to become citizens of the Republic on their own terms, and because the Government of the Boers hesitated, the British prepared to obtain their object by force. It is strange, that they could imagine that they had any such rights. Supposing that a number of French, Dutch, or German, tea-planters and miners, exceeding that of the British population in India, settled in that country, and became so audacious, as to harass the Anglo-Indian officials, and to claim a share in the Government of India, which is also that of a white minority over dark millions, how very speedily the Government in

question would have deported these "Uitlanders"! It is true that the Government of India, unlike that of the Transvaal, is strong and has a large Army: but the principle is the same. No one has a right to enter a civilized state, recognized as such by foreign Powers, and attempt to force upon the ruling race a change of their Constitution, just to suit the views of the newcomers. The offence of the men of Johannesburg was high treason of an aggravated kind: that of Dr. Jameson was the invasion of a friendly State in order to aid and abet a rebellion against the constituted authorities.

A Parliamentary Inquiry will take place into the whole of these transactions, and it is as well to await its result before recording an opinion as regards any *individual* coming under such inquiry, as distinguished from the public or Imperial merits of the question under discussion.

"The game is not worth the candle" to the British Nation as such, or the expenditure of a shilling of public money. It is the sole concern of private individuals and of Companies, that have interests at stake in South Africa, and especially of those, who propose eventually to cease to be British subjects, and to become citizens of the great Africander Republic, which a few years will bring into existence, and which will occupy all South Africa South of the River Zambézi on the East, and the River Cunéne on the West. Our only wish is, that this transformation of Colonies and independent Republics into one great Republic should take place without conflict, or loss of life, or engendering bad feeling between Nationalities. It may have been noticed, that in all the blusterings of the Boers and Uitlanders in the Transvaal, not a word escaped either as to the rights of the Native South African Bantu races, whose numbers far exceed the united population of Dutch and British, and whose occupation of the whole region is many centuries old. Both Boer and British, as regards these natives, were mere Land-Pirates, who wrongfully forced themselves upon a weak coloured race, and reduced them to the position of helots. If abstract justice could be secured, both Boer and British ought to be ejected from the Region, though in the eyes of some so-called Christians of the British middle-classes a black man has, practically, no right to his home, his cattle, his wife, even to his life, when it pleases the white man to take them.

Linked by lawlessness and brute force to the Transvaal-raid is the Ma-Tabéle rising. A few years ago it suited the financial aspirations of a Company in London to pick a quarrel with the King of Ma-Tabéle, Lo-Bengúla, to raise armed retainers without the authority of the Queen, to attack and eventually kill the King, killing also many of his subjects, reducing the rest to helotry, after confiscating their private property and cattle, and destroying their homes. Thus was founded a British Colony; the motive, as

in Johannesburg, so in Ma-Tabéle-land, being to find gold. Had the rocks of the land not been supposed to be auriferous, Lo-Bengúla and his men of valour, might still have flourished. A little diplomacy on the part of a Missionary, or of some one who knew the Language, might have done for Lo-Bengúla what Mr. Moffat did for Khama, the Chief of the Be-Chúana: the Company, however, was in a hurry, had to pay dividends, and attract a brilliant list of Shareholders and Directors, Dukes and merchant-princes, and so short work was made in 1893 of the poor Ma-Tabéle and their kinsmen, the Ma-Shona. Dr. Jameson, who had passed from the service of Aesculapius into that of Mars, had the deplorable fortune of leading the slaughterers of the Ma-Tabéle in 1893, and of putting the match to the train, which has not only blown up the bubble of the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, but has also created bad feeling between the British and Dutch in South Africa, strained the relation of the Transvaal Republic with Great Britain, and has lastly culminated in a rebellion of the unhappy Ma-Tabéle, causing the death of many British settlers, and of a still greater number of aborigines.

Some writers have compared the conduct of the South African Company with that of the East India Company at the beginning of this century: but there is a difference. The East India Company was, no doubt, desirous to expand trade, but it never was a cattle-stealer or grabber of private property in land. The great Company fought battles; her armies, led by men of the stamp of Sir Arthur Wellesley, annexed great kingdoms and defied mighty potentates; but she never confiscated private property, cattle-ranches, gold-mines, and dwelling-places. The subjects of the conquered country, as I myself can bear witness to in the Panjáb in 1845-6, transferred their allegiance from a Rája or a Nawáb to that of the Company, and had to obey a Mr. Smith or a Mr. Thompson, instead of a native with a long name: but everything went on just the same as before: no man could say that he was deprived of home, fields, money, or wife: there was no army of hungry settlers ready to take up allotments, which had been assigned to them in return for carrying a rifle, and helping to kill a native: the difference of the system was, that the East India Company waged war with a regular army under the usual laws of warfare of civilized nations. The South African Company organized a body of *volunteer burglars*, who were to force the house, and then divide the spoil. In India the population increases by three millions annually: in Ma-Tabéle-land we read of battues, not battles; so many so-called rebels killed here, so many blown up there by a mine laid by a white settler before he fled; and all this may yet go on for a long time. Is there no pity for unhappy natives, who, like the Scotch at Bannockburn, like William Tell, and King Alfred, are fighting *pro aris et focis*? They had never done Great Britain any

harm; their sin was the supposed possession of auriferous land, coveted by a white riffraff, the scheme being promoted by Ducal Companies, desirous of high dividends.

*“ Quid non mortalia pectora coges,
Auri sacra fames ? ”*

In the reports of the local correspondent of the *Times* at Pretoria occur phrases such as the following: “ The Jameson-raid on the “ Transvaal struck a common note of indignation in Africa: it was “ regarded as a wicked and unjustifiable act: no possibility of “ extenuating circumstances was recognized.”

But how about the Jameson-raid two years before on Ma-Tabéle-land? did it not strike a common note of indignation throughout all Christianity? Was it not wicked and unjustifiable to invade the inhabitants of an independent country, slay their men, confiscate their cattle and their lands? Do not let it be argued for a moment, that the political conquest of a kingdom necessarily entails the confiscation of the lands of its subjects. Millions of natives in India hold their hereditary lands under British Rule, which has strengthened rather than weakened their title: it is no disqualification to a landowner to be brown in colour, and not to be recorded in the Census, as a *nominal* Christian. Is it possible, that it is the white man only, who has rights to property or political independence? In the early days of England our poor island was invaded by Danes, and Norse, and Saxons, and we are in the habit of sympathizing with the patriotism of King Alfred: the Britons and Anglo-Saxons of that time were not much in advance of the Ma-Tabéle in the matter of culture.

What is the meaning of the words “ rebel ” and “ murdered ” ? The Ma-Tabéle are called “ rebels,” because the first of Jameson’s raids succeeded: the Uitlanders, for whose benefit Jameson made his second raid, are treated as rebels, were sentenced to death, and have now been fined, because Jameson’s second raid did not succeed. All the poor natives, whom Jameson killed in his first raid and whom the British forces are killing now, are deemed to be justifiably killed; while, if a white man be killed, he is described as “ murdered.” No doubt, in the Danish Chronicles of the time, King Alfred was described as a rebel, and it was complacently recorded that so many rebels on his side, fighting for their ancestral land, were killed: if any of the freebooting Danes were cut down, paying the penalty of their crimes, of course the Danes considered them to be murdered. So it is in Ma-Tabéle-land: the intending land-grabber, cattle-stealer, gold-pro prospector, is described, when killed, as being “ murdered,” as if he were a saint, and not, from the Ma-Tabéle standpoint, a burglar caught in the act.

The Hebrews, whom the Boers so readily quote, set a bad

example to after ages: they had been in bondage in Egypt, and yet they ruthlessly seized the land of the people of Canaan, sparing neither woman nor child. The modern freebooter of Ma-Tabéle-land quotes the Resolution of a gold-digging Company in London, and the guidance of Mr. Rhodes, who is their Moses. What, however, did the Hebrews gain? They were eventually swept out of their ill-gotten possessions by still stronger races, and carried into captivity. This is a warning first to Great Britain, and secondly to the *illuvies Anglicae gentis*, described in my presence by an ex-Secretary of State as "the riffraff of the British Nation": the surplus progeny of the prolific middle-classes, who marry early, and are encumbered by families larger than they can support; the "boys," that cannot find a decent livelihood in England, having failed to qualify themselves for any respectable profession of their class. At the time of the foundation of the North American Colonies the very salt of the nation went forth in such companies, as that of the "Mayflower," seeking liberty of Religion, and political independence. Even with them was a century of reproach, during which the noble Red Indians were shamefully treated. It is, indeed, sad to admit, that of all invaders of regions occupied by weaker races, the Anglo-Saxon is the most merciless, while at the same time the standard of Christianity is hypocritically unfurled: Missionaries accompany the advancing force, and large allocations of land, seized from natives, are handed over to them for the cause of Religion: Charles Martel, when he helped the early Missionaries of England to convert the Germans by force, could not do worse.

The Boers of the Transvaal are a small body, compared with the swarming natives, whom they hold in subjection. Why do not the Uitlanders side with the native races? For the very good reason, that they want to hold them as subjects for their own advantage. They talk of liberty for themselves, but do not practise it, where others are concerned.

Can anything be done to avert the inevitable Nemesis, that must overtake Great Britain for its treatment of Africa? When the arm of the Hebrew, the Roman, and the Spaniard, was shortened, their day of punishment came. Let us leave the Transvaal alone: if the alien immigrants cannot get what they want, they should leave the country, and go elsewhere. The Jews expelled from Russia flock into London, but they have not as yet claimed a share in the government of that city. Why should the "Uitlanders" rule a Republic, to which they will not even swear allegiance?

As regards Ma-Tabéle-land, let it be brought back into a realm of Law. The great Mutiny in British India taught Anglo-Indians the lesson of gentle conciliation: let some officials from British India, who have settled disturbed provinces in Burmah, or Assam, or elsewhere, try their hands in Ma-Tabéle-land, assisted by such

men as Mr. Moffat, the son of the great Missionary of South Africa, who knows the Language and the people, and is known by them: let the experiment be tried, which was so successful in the Panjáb, of the “iron hand in the velvet glove”: the wise and strong rule, clothed in gentle words and sympathetic measures: thus conquest has been, as it were, sanctified. Let each native have a guarantee of undisturbed possession of his own lands, and territorial rights: there is abundance of unoccupied area for the new settling intruders: the rocks, from which the gold is extracted, were of no possible use to the barbarous tribes. But there must be absolute equality before the Law betwixt the savage, who hails from England, and the savage who is born in Africa. The Sixth and Eighth Commandments must be respected, for the sanctity of property, whether in land or chattels, is the basis of all civilized communities. The distinction of *meum* and *tuum* seems to have ceased in Ma-Tabéle-land since the Chartered Company got the upper hand. Subjects of Her Majesty have all the same rights, whether black or brown, red or yellow, or white: we have got to that stage in India. An English discharged soldier in the Panjáb killed a Native, because he would not sell him a sheep: I gave him the chance of being tried by English Law, sent him to Calcutta, and one of Her Majesty’s Judges sentenced him to death, and he was hanged. We must have similar acts disposed of in a similar way in Ma-Tabéle-land before there is any chance of good government.

Think of the character of the British people in after ages. The Spaniards acted in the Sixteenth century very much as the British are acting in the Nineteenth. Has Spain increased in power, wealth, or reputation?

Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly, 1896.

L.

“CAVE, CAESAR, NE RESPUBLICA DAMNUM
CAPIAT!”

(“*Have a care, England, lest you suffer a great calamity!*”)

THIS is not a question of party politics, but of Imperial importance. The Russians and French must look on with pleasure at the frightful error, which the Government of this country are committing. The original occupation of Egypt was benevolently intended, and has been successful. The unhappy valley of the Nile has had a term of peace, and tolerably good government, a development of its

resources, an adjustment of its debts, and even-handed justice to the people. The time has come for us to withdraw, and, if we do, the Egyptians will look back on the last decade with feelings of gratitude, and the young Khedive, having been educated in Europe, and having been a witness of the quiet revolution of the administrative wheel, might be trusted with independence, and his kingdom could be placed like Belgium under the protection of the Six Great Powers. Rightly or wrongly, the French thought themselves injured by the English occupation of Egypt. It was their own fault: they deliberately refused to take part in the expedition to put down the rebellion of Arabi Bey. Still the work of pacification and reformation having been done, and well done, the time has come for the English to retire, and leave the Khedive in full power to carry out the system now in force.

Some demon has whispered into Lord Salisbury's ear: "Get up some pretext for a further continuance of the tutelage. Involve the Egyptian forces in an endless warfare, and make this an excuse for staying on." Perhaps the name of the demon was "Cromer," who felt that his occupation was gone, if the English evacuated Egypt. Perhaps it was mere "Jingo." The two words in use are "Scuttle" and "Jingo": we confess that we prefer the former, although a dignified laying down of an office well discharged is anything rather than a disgraceful scuttle, like that of the Italians from Abyssinia, and the French in 1870 from Rome. Besides, we fear that 1897 will witness a "scuttle" with disgrace. There is much reason to fear that sooner or later terrible disaster will follow this stupid forward and wayward move up the Basin of the Nile. What profit did England gain from the two invasions of Afghanistan, especially the last under the Orders of Lord Beaconsfield? The climate of the Súdán is hot; the products little or nothing; there are no seaports, no River but the Nile, no cities, no manufactures, no commerce. The sandy deserts are occupied by brave Mahometan Arab Nomads. The Súdán is the last refuge of the free man in these days of unscrupulous Military invasions. These Arabs have not invaded Egypt; on the contrary, Lord Cromer, in his report of last year, states that the Dervishes had in 1895 given little or no trouble. The Province of Dóngola never has been part of the Kingdom of Egypt. I was in that country in 1843, and remember Dóngola being spoken of as a mysterious place, dimly known. The craze had not entered into Lord Cromer's brain, when he wrote: the demon had not entered his brain. The existing frontier of Egypt to the South is remarkably strong, as against predatory invasion of barbarous Nomads. When once we have got possession of Dóngola, we shall be craving for Abu Hamed, Berber, and Khartúm, and then what? A state of continual warfare, a constant sacrifice of the blood of men, a vast waste of the resources of Egypt, a never-ceasing anxiety as to what will happen next. In

the last invasion by Hicks, and the profitless administration of Gordon, and the fruitless enterprise of Wolseley, it is calculated that upwards of nineteen thousand of the free inhabitants of the desert Súdán were killed. We ask why. Does this so-called Civilization, and the vaunted Christian Religion, mean the destruction of Freedom in every other country? Are we to employ the Egyptians to exterminate these last representatives of free manhood?

The trumpet of a European war may suddenly sound: is England prepared to meet it? Let the opinion of the country be expressed, and this iniquitous policy be abandoned, and Egypt be evacuated "with honour." The time may come when we shall lose Egypt and Honour at the same time.

Herts Mercury, March, 1896.

LI.

NATIVE TRIBES OF THE ZAMBÉSI.

In the number for February, 1883, of the *Précis Historiques*, a French periodical published at Brussels, appears a contribution by Père Depelchin, of the Society of the Jesuits, leader of the Roman Catholic Mission on the Zambési. In June, 1881, he had reached the confluence of the rivers Chobe and Zambési, and had opportunities of conferring with Messrs. Westbeach and Walsh, who have resided there for mercantile purposes a considerable time, and are well acquainted with the country, the people, and their Language. Père Depelchin had with him a copy of Stanford's map of 1855, and Holub's contribution to the Journal of the Vienna Geographical Society, 1879, and the same author's great work, "Seven Years in South Africa." It may be added that the Père is a man of experience as a traveller, having been eighteen years in India. He maintains that the following tribes alone are found on the Zambési in the neighbourhood of the confluence with the Chobe: (1) The Ma-Nansa or Ma-Kaláka, on the left bank of the Zambési, opposite to the embouchure of the Daka and Matielsi. They were driven forward by the Ma-Tabéle, and placed themselves under the protection of the Ba-Rotse. (2) The Ma-Laya, who extend from the frontier of the Ma-Nansa as far as the Victoria Falls. To the north of them are the Ma-Shukulombwe, a numerous and independent tribe, but harassed by the Ba-Rotse. (3) The Ma-Shubia are an important tribe, who inhabit the banks of the

Zambési as far as Shesheke, and of the Chobe as far as Linyanti. To them is intrusted the ferry over the river at the confluence. (4) The Ma-Tótala, famous for their skill in working iron, are found to the north of Sheshéke. This tribe is identified with the Ba-Nyeti, which name appears three times in Stanford's map; but this word means only "workers in iron," which is not the speciality of any one tribe. (5) The Ba-Rotse or Ma-Rotse, who are the ruling tribe, are established in the great valley which extends to the right and left of the River Malile. The kraal of the Chief, Lebushi, is called Laroé. (6) The Ma-Ntchoia dwell in the north-east of the valley of the Ba-Rotse, and are partly independent, and partly pay tribute. (7) The Ma-Mbunda dwell on the left bank of the River Zambési, betwixt the Ma-Ntchoia and the Ba-Rotse. Stanford, according to Père Depelchin, is wrong in placing them on the right bank. The Ma-Mbunda are still sufficiently strong as to cause serious alarm to their conquerors, the Ba-Rotse, who only last year thinned their numbers by a treacherous massacre. (8) The Ba-Libale are found to the north-east of the Ma-Mbunda on both banks of the Zambési up to its source. (9) To the north of the Ba-Libale are the Ma-Pingula, a tribe resembling in character the Bushmen, and only partially subject to the Ba-Rotse. (10) The Ma-Hés possess the valley of the River Chobe from Linyanti up to the 6th degree of S. lat. Such are the tribes who are subject to the empire of the Ba-Rotse. The Ba-Tonga, who dwell on the left bank of the Zambési from the kraal of Wanki as far as Moemba, are a small independent tribe. Père Depelchin states that he went over the names of the twenty-four tribes mentioned by Holub with Mr. Westbeach, and found that the vernacular terms for professions had been entered as the names of separate tribes: e.g., the Fishers, the Hunters, and such like appeared in the list as racial divisions. The Père was detained at Membwa, on the left bank of the Zambési, the residence of the Sub-Chief Mgunba, before he was permitted to advance to the royal kraal of Lebushi, the Chief of the Ba-Rotse, and he employed his forced leisure in acquiring the Language, and confirms the oft-repeated assertion that, although each tribe had its own Language, they all spoke the intruding Se-Kolólo, the Language of the former rulers, the Ma-Kolólo, who though they had lost their power, had left their Language as the *lingua franca* of the country. He explains, also, that the Se-Kolólo is a dialect, akin to the Se-Suto and Se-Chuána; for though the original Ma-Kolólo were Ba-Suto, they incorporated members of so many other kindred tribes, that the compound dialect called Se-Kolólo is intelligible to anyone who knows the Se-Suto or the Se-Chuána. As a proof of this, he mentions that his own interpreter knew only Se-Chuána, and that when he asked the Sub-Chief Mgunba what the Se-Kolólo Language was, he instantly replied the Se-Chuána; and he knew it to be so,

because one of his wives was a Ba-Mangwáto from Shoshong, and her Language and the Se-Kolólo were the same. At the same time, so strong was the affinity to Se-Suto, that the Père remarked, that all the Religious and Educational Books published in Ba-Suto-land would be of use on the Zambési. Brief as the empire of the Ma-Kolólo had been, it had lasted long enough to stamp the new Language on the country. The Ma-Kolólo had passed away as a ruling tribe, but the Se-Kolólo remained as a dominant Language.

Proceedings Royal Geographical Society, 1883.

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LII.

“THE KÍLIMA-NJARO EXPEDITION.”

THE Author is favourably known by his work on the River Kongo, published in 1882. He was deputed by the British Association, and the Zoological Society, to ascertain the relationship of the Fauna and Flora of the snow-capped mountain, situated 175 miles from the East Coast of Africa, in the third degree south of the Equator, and rising to an elevation of 18,800 feet above the sea-level. The Author left London, March, 1884, and got back again, with ample collections and scientific observations, on the last day in the same year. He has compiled a most lively and instructive volume, and published it on the eve of his departure for the second time to the West Coast of Africa, as Vice-Consul of the Kamerúns and the Oil Rivers.

Already one of our Missionaries has followed his steps, and is settled at Moshi, the capital of Mandára, one of the Chieftains of the Chagga tribes, at an elevation of not less than 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. Mr. Johnston's camp was on a spur of the mountain, not less than 5,000 feet of ascertained altitude, and yet we are told that the people of both sexes went about entirely nude, without any consciousness of modesty or fear of the cold. They possessed a certain amount of Civilization, were agriculturists, and most skilful in the no mean art of conducting the melted snow by artificial canals down the slopes of the great mountain so as to ensure abundant crops.

From this point of view the book is of the highest interest to our Missionaries. The Author took an interest in everything, and his narrative occupies little more than half the volume, the remainder being devoted to chapters on the Climate, Geology, and Botany,

Zoology and Anthropology. There is a most important chapter on the Languages, which, with the exception of the Masai, are all of the Bantú Family. The Author possesses also the ready talent of an artist, and the book is enlivened by original sketches of scenery, figures, arms, and implements, some of which have appeared, by permission, in our own *Gleaner*.

Such books as these, and its predecessor on "The Kongo," will help to make the problem of African Civilization and Evangelization intelligible. They are books, which everyone will read and derive profit from. The character of the book is very lively, and of the Author exceedingly genial.

We hear of no village burned, and no Human life sacrificed, although many difficulties had to be overcome. It is feared that German Annexation may complicate the political difficulties of this Region. It is much to be desired, that all European Powers would stay their filching hands, and leave to the Native Chieftain the chance of working out a new Civilization with the aid of the European merchant and Missionary, who are prepared to supply their material and spiritual wants, and develop their productive power and intellectual aptitudes.

Church Missionary Society Intelligencer, 1886.

LIII.

THE RIVER KONGO, FROM ITS MOUTH TO BOLO'BO. By H. H. JOHNSTON.

At the first meeting of the Geographical Society's autumnal session last year a new traveller was introduced to the Fellows, who brought the news from Henry Stanley on the Kongo. Young though he was, and even boyish in appearance, his hearers soon found out, that he was a real explorer and accomplished traveller, who, if his life and health are spared, may do great things for Africa; and before this narrative of his excursion to the West Coast appeared he received a commission from the Royal Society and the British Association to work his way up to the snows of the equatorial mountain of Kilima-njaro on the East Coast.

His book is a reproduction in a collective form of matter, which has already appeared before the public in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, and the pages of the *Graphic*; in the latter all the excellent illustrations, which give considerable charm to the book, have also appeared. There is something fresh and attractive in these sprightly pages, interspersed with solid scientific knowledge and many accurate and judicious remarks. It must be

at the volume is not a record of new discoveries like "Scientific Results of Stanley's Expedition," of Stanley, nor is it a complete and final account of the Congo basin thoroughly brought under observation; it occupies an important position, and represents the views of an intelligent Indian, who availed himself of the wonderful opportunities afforded him to inspect the work going on under the patronage of the King of the Belgians in the Basin of the Kongo, and who was lucky enough to preserve his health and to penetrate as far as Ba-Loboko, a territory of U-Yanzi, a territory entirely unknown, even by name, a few years ago.

Mr. Johnston has something of the eye as well as the hand of an artist, and his descriptions of tropical scenes are extremely good, while with the instinct of a naturalist he has a few words to say, and to say prettily and correctly, of every bird on the trees, every animal in the forest, and every tree or plant, which either impeded or overshadowed his path. If the insect world were sometimes painfully alive to him, he has described it minutely; we find scattered everywhere thoughtful remarks, such as those regarding the survival of certain plants, and kindly expressions towards the natives, with whom he was in full sympathy. So deeply was he imbued with admiration for all the wonderful things, which he met on his path, that his narrative is quite as readable as a good novel, while it has the advantage of being accurate.

The most surprising fact is brought out by his narrative, that these Regions, over which a veil has so long been spread, teem with an industrious and manageable population, possessing a certain amount of culture, and that under the influence of Stanley peace and security prevail. The author travelled in boats or small land parties; accompanied by his three faithful Zanzibári servants, he often went alone into villages; he slept quietly either in his tent or in a native house, and suffered neither in person nor property. It is quite delightful to read the terms of affection, with which he speaks of his three African servants, with whom he lived weeks and months alone. In his pages there is no abuse of the natives, and in his camp there was no occasion for the whip. Particular attention may be called to this fact. The beauty of the scenery and the colouring must be wonderful, for Mr. Johnston never wearies in expatiating on the fruits, the flowers, and the foliage. Separate chapters are devoted to the fauna, the flora, and the ethnology of the races. People have been asking, with an incredulous sneer, what Mr. Stanley has been doing, and for what purpose the King of the Belgians has spent nearly one hundred thousand pounds in the last five years. This book is the best reply. Mr. Johnston was merely a passing traveller, with no interest in the enterprise, and his evidence is, therefore, worth much more than long reports from paid employés of the Association.

Athenaeum, 1884.

INTRODUCTION TO "AFRICA REDIV¹_e

In the course of the compilation of my two volumes of the Languages of Africa," I became so interested in that country I proposed to write two additional volumes, one on the Scramble for Africa, and the second on the Missionary Occupation of Africa. The scramble has this year come to an end, but in the interim it has been described by most competent authors, so I pass it by: the second subject remains mine, and mine only. The great majority of writers would not notice the Missionary occupation at all, and if any Protestant and Roman Catholic friend of Missions has turned his attention to the subject, each has absolutely ignored or undervalued, the work of his great Rival. I am tall enough to look over the barrier, only breast-high, which separates earnest Christian workers

My book is compiled in a catholic spirit of sincere love to earnest Christian work, but the criticisms on Methods employed none the less severe, because in my opinion it is required: there are several deep-rooted errors which must be eradicated. The Church of Rome must leave off the purchase of slave-boys and girls: found Congregations, and the Protestants must adopt in the Equatorial Regions Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods, as the only effective and lasting machinery, if they wish to make any impression.

Four Mission-Maps have been compiled under my instructions by Messrs. Stanford of Charing Cross. To suppose that a first effort of this kind would be absolutely correct would be ridiculous. I can only hope that it is approximately so, and will form a basis for one that will be more correct, and I shall keep the Maps on the stone for a couple of years for that purpose. In 1884 I compiled, and printed, lists, and sent them with a Circular to the leading Protestant Missionary Societies begging for information and correction: some replied, or sent a copy of their Report. There is no difficulty about the great Societies: their Annual Reports are sufficient; but a great deal of inquiry and promiscuous reading has been necessary to find out about the smaller Societies, and there are obscurities still unravelled.

When I was at Rome in 1879, I could get no information even at the Propaganda about the Missions of the Church of Rome: but the world has advanced. The yearly volume of *Missiones Catholicae* now published by the Propaganda in the Latin Language leaves nothing to be desired, and Werner's *Orbis Terrarum Catholicis* in

the Latin Language published this year gives even fuller details. For the Missions of Africa there are special volumes, and the information being official for the whole Roman Church, may be accepted as correct.

"Africa Rediviva," by R. N. Cust, 1891.

LV.

THE TREATMENT OF NATIVES OF BRITISH
INDIA IN NATAL.

My only qualification for discussing the above subject is an intimate personal knowledge of British India for a quarter of a century, and a certain acquaintance with Africa, the result of a long study of that continent. I occupy the position of Counsel for the Plaintiff, because all members of the Services in British India take a deep interest in the welfare of the great Nation entrusted to their charge. This interest does not cease on the day, that India is left by them for the last time, but is part of the nature of the Anglo-Indian in his retirement. He is ready to oppose the benevolent, but injudicious, members of the Community, who injure the people of India by interference in their commerce, their excise Laws, their marriage-customs, their right to tax imports, and to be tried by the same Courts of Justice and Codes of Law as the British sojourners in India, as they are all, black and white, equally subjects of Her Majesty.

If an injury be inflicted on the Natives of India by the Governments of other countries or of British Colonies, the Anglo-Indian will not remain silent. If any citizen of a Foreign Nation, or any Colonial subject of Her Majesty, chooses to settle in British India, he is not placed before the Law at a disadvantage to the Natives or to the European residents: he possesses all the privileges of Free Trade, Free Agriculture, Free Labour, and equality of Taxation. In such a country as British India constitutional independence does not exist for any portion of the Community, and is not likely to come into existence owing to well-understood causes. Why should there not be a reciprocity of rights and privileges, when Natives of British India desire to migrate to a British Colony? The matter is one of vital importance to India: the population, in consequence of the long *Pax Britannica*, and the measures taken to counteract Famine and Disease, is

increasing at the rate of three Millions per annum, and India is become like a great vessel, full to overflowing. Fifty years ago there was abundance of culturable land lying waste, but that is not the case now: the villages have increased by thousands, and the population by tens of millions. Emigration to sparsely occupied Regions beyond the sea has become as much a necessity to British India with its 280 Millions, as to the British Islands with its 40 Millions. How to organize the vast ever-increasing industrial force of British India, and dispose of it so that the very numbers shall not tread each other down, is becoming the supreme problem of British rule. The Native Regiments are welcomed at Suákim in East Africa when there is war in Egypt: the Native Military Police from India do our work well on Lake Nyása in East Africa: Indian traders conduct a great part of the business of the East African Ports, supplying that amount of capital and that commercial knowledge, which the Native African races do not possess: Indian subjects form the mechanics and coolies for the Mombasa Railway in East Africa. As it so surprising, that Indian labourers should cross the sea by thousands to settle in South Africa, considering that there has been a Malay emigration to the Cape Colony time out of mind?

Indian labour is cheapest where that of Europeans is dearest, and is effective under circumstances which would be unendurable to the white man. In many varied undertakings in East Equatorial Africa we have had to seek the aid of Indian clerks, Indian merchants, and Indian workmen. And it is precisely this aid, which gives to Great Britain a decisive advantage in the race for Africa over other European States.

When India passed in 1858 from the old East India Company to Her Majesty, it was declared by Proclamation in express terms, that Her Majesty held herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations which she owes to the rest of her subjects. She offered equal protection, and has received equal loyalty in return, nor do these assurances of protection thus given cease to exist the moment that the British Indian subject, under the emigration arrangements of the Government, leaves the Indian shore to do honest labour in other portions of Her Majesty's dominions. That Proclamation, which I myself took part in making public on the 1st October, 1858, is the Charter of British India, and justifies the protest, which I am now making.

It is expedient in the present discussion to confine ourselves to the question of the Colonies of South Africa on the East Coast, and to make no allusion to the independent Republic of the Transvaal and to the German East Africa Colonies, as both of these are foreign Governments. Nor is it expedient to allude to the position of Indian subjects in other British Colonies, except Natal and Cape-town. In these last years of the century there are at least 100,000

Indian subjects of Her Majesty in East and South Africa, and that number will certainly increase, in spite of the monster-meeting held at Durban on the 5th January last, at which Government was asked to send back to India two shiploads of Indians, and the citizens resolved to prevent in future, if necessary, by force, the landing of Indians.

In 1895 a deputation of Indians resident in London, to complain of the treatment of their countrymen by the Natal Colonists, was received by Mr. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary: a printed Memorial was handed in by Mr. Naoroji, M.P., and we thus have a specific statement of the grievances. The treatment which they receive is humiliating to their self-respect, and restrictive of their legitimate trade.

Two distinct grievances are brought by two distinct classes of the Indian immigrants:

- I. Grievances of the agricultural immigrants from India.
- II. The refusal of constitutional rights to the better class of Indian settlers.

I. For some time past there has been an influx of Indian labourers into Natal, who come over under contract to work for a certain number of years. The expenses of the voyage are supplied by their future employers: their interests are watched during their term of service by an official Protector of Immigrants, and they have a right to a free passage back to India. Many of them, however, allow their right to the return passage to elapse, and desire to make Natal their home: the number of such is about 25,000: they have found a home in the Colony, and are in the way of earning a sufficient and certain livelihood. Their contract being completed, they can dispose of their labour as they like, and in a sparsely-occupied Region their labour has a value.

The growth of this industrious body of aliens tends to reduce wages, and is opposed by competing labour-interests. It must be recollected, that Natal was occupied by British Colonists in the reign of Her Majesty Victoria, and is not an old Settlement. The Natal Legislature has passed a Law, which practically deprives the Indian Labourers of their freedom of choice at the end of their contract, and compels them either to return to India, or enter into new indentures, and the free immigrant is thus reduced to what looks very like compulsory service with the alternative of banishment. This Law provides, that every indentured Indian Labourer, who fails to return to India, or take out new indentures, shall take out a license to remain in the Colony, and pay an annual fee of £3, which amounts to a quarter of the year's earnings on the Indenture Scale. The Indian residents in Natal ask the Secretary of State to refuse his sanction to this new Law: it practically destroys the

status of free Indian Labour in the Colony, and is an unjust treatment of a quiet law-abiding section of the community.

It is urged by the Colonists, that they were brought to supply labour to develop agriculture, and not to form a part of the South African Nation. They contracted to assist the Colonies at fair wages, not to become competitors in the labour-market against the Colonists. Some take the more moderate view, that the Indian labourer having given some of the best years of his life to his new home, it would be unjust to send him back, if desirous to stay. Better by far stop the introduction of Indian Labourers: it is inconsistent to desire Indian labour, and yet try to avoid the consequences of Indian Immigration. One of the Commissioners writes: "Stop Indian Immigration, but do not do the immigrants a great wrong; it is foreign to justice to take the best out of a labourer, and then get rid of him out of the country, when his best days are passed."

II. Now as to the refusal of Constitutional Rights.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi published a return of the voters of Natal. There are 9,309 European registered voters against 251 of Indian origin, a proportion of 1 : 37. We must really be practical, and there seems under these conditions a small chance of the European vote being swamped in the immediate future. The existing franchise Law excludes the great mass of Indian immigrants from the vote, as every voter must possess immovable property of the value of £50, or rent property to the yearly value of £10. This excludes all labour-immigrants, but Indians of a better class have votes: the whole Indian population amounts to 51,000, of whom 30,000 are not under contract, 16,000 under contract, and 5,000 are traders with more or less capital. It seems reasonable, that in a country with free institutions so large a number should have some voice at the polls.

There is no desire to obtain new privileges, or to lessen the safeguards which secure the voting power to the European population. The Indians merely ask not to be deprived of the very limited franchise which they now possess: and those, who do possess the franchise, are not unskilled workmen, but Merchants, Storekeepers, Goldsmiths, Jewellers, Schoolmasters, Photographers, Clerks, and Bookkeepers: their social position is not inferior to that of the Colonist.

Let me now state the view of the Colonist, remembering that he is himself an intruder and immigrant into Natal during the present reign. No one cares for the thousands of Zulu, Kafir, or Be-Chuána aborigines of the Colony: they count for nothing. In British India, Laws are passed in the interest of the Native Indians, whose homes and lands have been scrupulously respected by the white rulers. The British Indians are to the governing Colonist of Natal